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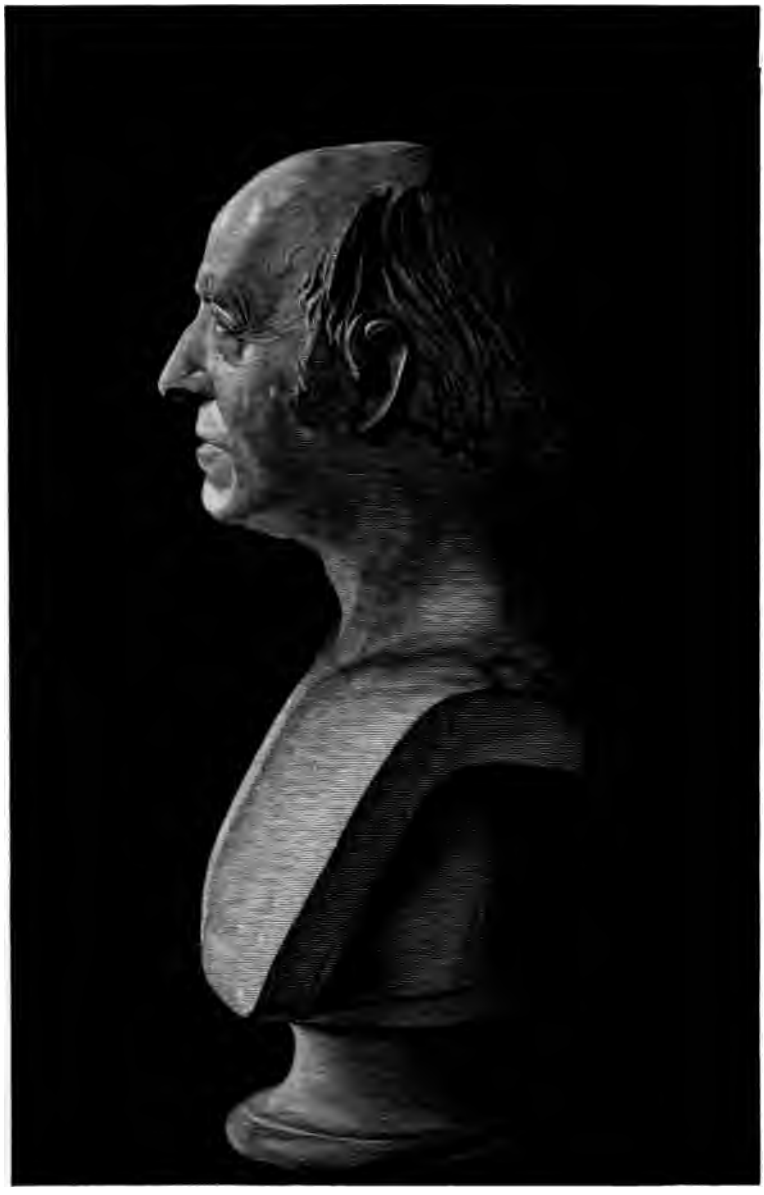

WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON.

Ætat. 72.

From the bust by Anne Whitney, 1878.

WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON

471892

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The truth is, he who commences any reform which at last becomes one of transcendent importance and is crowned with victory, is always ill-judged and unfairly estimated. At the outset he is looked upon with contempt, and treated in the most opprobrious manner, as a wild fanatic or a dangerous disorganizer. In due time the cause grows and advances to its sure triumph; and in proportion as it nears the goal, the popular estimate of his character changes, till finally excessive panegyric is substituted for outrageous abuse. The praise, on the one hand, and the defamation on the other, are equally unmerited. In the clear light of Reason, it will be seen that he simply stood up to discharge a duty which he owed to his God, to his fellow-men, to the land of his nativity.

WM. LLOYD GARRISON, at the Celebration of the Twentieth Anniversary of the *Liberator*, Jan. 24, 1851.

It appears to us a self-evident truth, that, whatever the gospel is designed to destroy at any period of the world, being contrary to it, ought NOW *to be abandoned.*

WM. LLOYD GARRISON, in the Declaration of Sentiments of the Peace Convention at Boston, Sept. 18-20, 1838.

In short, I did what I could for the redemption of the human race.

WM. LLOYD GARRISON to Henry C. Wright, Aug. 23, 1840.

TO

SAMUEL MAY,

OF LEICESTER, MASSACHUSETTS,

WHO FREED FROM TOIL AND CARE THE DECLINING YEARS OF

WILLLIAM LLOYD GARRISON,

THIS WORK IS GRATEFULLY AND AFFECTIONATELY

INSCRIBED.

---

nobis haec otia fecit.

PREFACE.

THE delicacy of the task begun in these volumes called for an unusually copious reference to authorities. In order to effect a division between the specialist and the general reader, indications of the sources (together with sundry explicatory entries) are placed in the margin, opposite the line or passage to which they relate. These, though sometimes immediately helpful, can be neglected by any one not intent on enlarging his information or proving the veracity of the narrative. The foot-notes, on the other hand, however much they interrupt the reader's progress, cannot, as a rule, safely be overlooked. Taken together, the two sets of references will meet, it is hoped, the requirements of study, of controversy, and of veneration.

By far the greater number of them are to the *Liberator*, which, to an extent seldom witnessed in journalism, involves at once the biography and the autobiography of its editor, and which, as has been truthfully said, contains "the archives of the abolition cause" and "the spirit of the age on the great subject of slavery." Moreover, its files are accessible in the principal public libraries of the country.[1]

[1] The following is a list of the completest known to us: MAINE, *Portland*, Public Library. MASSACHUSETTS, *Boston*, Public Library, Athenæum; *Cambridge*, Harvard College Library; *Worcester*, American Antiquarian Society. RHODE ISLAND, *Providence*, Rhode Island Historical Society. NEW YORK, *New York City*, Astor Library; *Brooklyn*, Long Island Historical Society; *Ithaca*, Cornell University Library. OHIO, *Cincinnati*, Public Library. DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA, *Washington*, Library of Congress. In private hands we can enumerate complete sets in possession of Mr. Garrison's family at Roxbury, Mass., and of the Misses Weston at Weymouth, Mass., and one nearly complete in the great anti-slavery collection of Mr. Daniel Parish, of New York City. The occasionally faulty paging of the *Liberator* we have endeavored to rectify in our references.

We have assumed, without fear or question, the entire good faith of the reproductions from other newspapers which abound in the *Liberator*—particularly those contained in "The Refuge of Oppression," the great repository of sentiments hostile to the abolition movement.

The hitherto unpublished manuscripts of which such extensive use has been made in composing the present work, form part of what is beyond doubt the largest and most important collection of anti-slavery autographs in existence—chance-medley as it is. This collection will be deposited with the Boston Public Library in perpetuity, for the use of students. Mr. Garrison's letters have been set apart by themselves, and will likewise be open to inspection at the same institution; but, for family reasons, some few of those partially quoted in the succeeding narrative have been reserved from the gift to the public. A certain number, also, of which we have been permitted to make copies, remain in private hands.

In so large a mass of numerical references there cannot fail to be errors both of transcription and of typography. Errors of fact, too, have doubtless escaped our vigilance. For all these, whether in text, margin, or note, or in the index (which has been turned to biographical account), we ask indulgence, and invite friendly correction through the publishers, or through either of the undersigned. We have been extremely fortunate in having had the criticism, either for the manuscripts or for the proof-sheets, of Samuel May, Oliver Johnson, and Maria Weston Chapman, three veterans of the cause, as intimately acquainted with the subject of this memoir as any persons, not of his own family, living or departed, that could be named. To our lasting regret, Mrs. Chapman did not survive to read the closing chapters of the second volume.

The illustrations, thanks to the liberality of the publishers, are more numerous than we could have expected. Preference has been given to portraits, and among these to such as have never been engraved before. Some that might, from the close personal relations of the subjects of them to Mr. Gar-

rison, have appeared here, will find an appropriate place in subsequent volumes. Our endeavor has been, where possible, to secure portraits most nearly contemporaneous with the beginnings of the anti-slavery cause. In this we have been fairly successful, through the kind assistance of friends and relatives, to whom we here renew our hearty acknowledgments.

To enumerate all those to whom we are under obligations in the preparation of the text, would be difficult, and we must beg them collectively to accept our assurances of gratitude. One who is no longer with us, however, deserves to be named for her extraordinary services in arranging the manuscript treasures described above. Their availability has added incalculable value to our labors, and will be a lasting monument to the memory of Mary Pratt Garrison.

For the period covered by these volumes, Mr. Garrison was the incarnation of the cause which he founded. On this account it has been extremely difficult to keep within strictly biographical limits, as well as to reduce the bulk of this work. On both sides we are probably open to censure. As regards bulkiness, let it be remembered what self-denial and toil were necessary to tell so much in so little compass. And, for the rest, if anything admitted be thought irrelevant to the biography, may it be pardoned as throwing light upon one of the greatest moral movements in the annals of mankind. We are more apprehensive, in truth, that fault will be found with us for omissions in regard to general anti-slavery history, or to Mr. Garrison's co-workers. Here, in all sincerity, we must plead our simple intention to produce a biography. So far as we have adhered to this, we may possibly be charged with prolixity, but we may safely challenge any one to show that concealment has been practised, where, indeed, there was nothing to conceal.

With these explanatory remarks, we offer to Mr. Garrison's countrymen—to his countrymen in the narrow sense and in that of his favorite motto—a faithful portrait of his life.

Writing not without bias, surely, but in a spirit emulous of the absolute fairness which distinguished our father, we have done little more than coördinate *materials to serve* posterity in forming that judgment of him which we have no desire to forestall. In a literary point of view, we have aimed at nothing more than clearness, sequence, and proportion.

The force of this narrative is cumulative, in a high degree. No one — let the observation seem ever so *naïf* — who does not read it consecutively, and (from the pains we have been at to avoid repetition) closely, will arrive at a just conception of the man, the cause, or the times. Many threads, of course, lead nowhere. Individual careers are not followed out to the end, whether more or less intimately connected with Mr. Garrison's. The threads of his development, on the other hand, are kept together as sedulously as in a novel.

In the field to which we now invite the general reader we have had almost no predecessors. The growing but still small number of anti-slavery memoirs[1] afford hardly a glimpse of the inner working of the organization which it was Mr. Garrison's destiny to create and to direct. In the following pages we are brought face to face with a world which will appear wholly new and strange to the generation now upon the scene. The school histories of the United States, with scarcely an exception, ignore it altogether; it barely comes within the horizon of the manuals of American history; it is invisible in the biographies of public men of the era before the rise of the Republican party, or even down to the eve of the Rebellion. Yet the abolitionists, it is now confessed, were all the time occupied with the main question of American politics — with

[1] Among the more recent, see particularly the Lives of Arthur Tappan, Samuel J. May, Gerrit Smith, James and Lucretia Mott, George Bradburn; S. J. May's 'Recollections of our Anti-Slavery Conflict'; the 'Letters of Lydia Maria Child'; Parker Pillsbury's 'Acts of the Anti-Slavery Apostles'; and Oliver Johnson's 'Garrison and his Times.' The last-named work, composed and published since Mr. Garrison's death, is the best and indeed the only general view of his career, particularly from the anti-slavery standpoint. It can be read with profit both before and after the reading of the present biography.

what had been the main question ever since the formation of the Constitution.

It will, however, quickly appear that while abolitionism is the leading phase of the present biography, a host of other reforms enter in by virtue of Mr. Garrison's profoundly religious nature. No one so perfectly and conspicuously represented that remarkable age of ferment, between 1825 and 1840, which will always be full of attraction for the philosophic mind. We have elsewhere called it the revival age. Modern science dates no further back: steam, chemistry, and electricity began then to work together for the marvellous material development of the race, and for the corresponding expansion of the human spirit. The authority of the Bible, as an infallible and universally applicable guide to conduct, reached then its highest pitch. No one now aiming to effect a great moral revolution would consider it indispensable to yoke the churches to his scheme, or to prove its legitimacy by chapter and verse from either Testament. From this point of view the anti-slavery agitation possesses peculiar interest, as probably the last great reform that the world is likely to see based upon the Bible and carried out with a millennial fervor. The so-called Christian contemporaries of Mr. Garrison judged him and his "isms" not by the Bible to which he constantly (though not exclusively) referred them, but by temporary considerations, of personal advantage and public welfare, which have always prevailed with the human race above abstract professions, however sacred. A generation which is at last conscious of the law of evolution illustrated by Darwin, and is familiar with his views on the origin of the human species, on the derivation of the moral sense and of the sanctions of morality, may find it hard to sympathize with Mr. Garrison's scriptural propaganda, yet ought to be able to decide impartially between him and his opponents on the common ground of loyalty to Revelation.

While the present instalment of Mr. Garrison's Life presents the fundamental characteristics of the man, much remains to

be told both as regards his anti-slavery policy and his religious growth. His domestic aspect, here shown only incidentally, must also be postponed. Such leisure as we can snatch from engrossing daily occupation shall be given to the further prosecution of our reluctant but dutiful undertaking. Its toilsomeness is lightened not by the feeling that we are vindicating our parent, but by the hope that the unfinished work of his life, the unfulfilled aspirations of his youth as of his old age, will be promoted by this review of his fortunate career. "To banish war from the earth, to stay the ravages of intemperance, . . . to unfetter those who have been enthralled by chains which we have forged [as in the subjection of women], and to spread the light of knowledge and religious liberty wherever darkness and superstition reign"— are still the highest aims of every lover of his kind. They were all summed up in the doctrine of Peace arrived at, enunciated, and exemplified by the subject of this biography. May our imperfect illustration of it do something to console and strengthen those whose hearts are sickened by the world-prevailing spirit of violence and destructiveness. May it also serve to enlighten moralists who, without having openly repudiated the Sermon on the Mount as a rule of conduct, regard Christian non-resistance as an absurdity.

WENDELL PHILLIPS GARRISON, New York.
FRANCIS JACKSON GARRISON, Boston.

THE FIFTIETH ANNIVERSARY
OF THE BOSTON MOB,
1885.

POSTSCRIPT.

THE following pages were both stereotyped and printed before we had an opportunity of examining that rare work by the Rev. George Bourne, 'The Book and Slavery Irreconcilable' (Philadelphia, 1816). We failed to recognize as an extract from it the sentiment ascribed to "Bourne" and placed by Mr. Garrison at the head of the first column of No. 17 of Volume I. of the *Liberator* (see the facsimile facing p. 232 within). Had we not overlooked this, we should have given to Bourne the distinction allowed to the Rev. James Duncan on p. 144 within, of being the first to broach the doctrine of immediatism in the United States. The passage in question is found on p. 12 of the appendix (dated Sept. 6, 1815): "The system is so entirely corrupt that it admits of no cure but by a *total and immediate abolition*. For a gradual emancipation is a virtual recognition of the right, and establishes the rectitude of the practice. If it be just for one moment, it is hallowed for ever; and if it be inequitable, not a day should it be tolerated." The same phraseology, "immediate and total abolition," occurs on p. 19 of the main text, while gradualism is repudiated expressly on pp. 133, 139, 140, and generally by the whole tenor of the argument. Moreover, a full year before the formation of the American Colonization Society, Bourne wrote (p. 134): "How shall we expel the evil? Colonization is totally impracticable."

We have unconsciously furnished, on p. 207 within, proof that Mr. Garrison was familiar with 'The Book and Slavery Irreconcilable' as early as Sept. 13, 1830, for the quoted passage beginning, "For this thing which it cannot bear," etc., was taken from p. 57 of Bourne. So, likewise, the inquiry on p. 206, "Are there not Balaams in our land who prophesy in the name of the Lord, but covet the presents of Balak?" reproduced an affirmation of Bourne's (p. 19). So, again, the spirited passage in Mr. Garrison's *Liberator* salutatory, p. 225 within, "On this subject, I do not wish to think, or speak, or write, with moderation," etc., was borrowed (and bettered) from Charles James Fox as cited on p. 4 of Bourne.

It would have gratified us to give in their proper places these illustrations of Mr. Garrison's obligations to the work as avowed by him on p. 306. He never surpassed its "harsh language," or the "Scriptural pungency" of its arraignment of pro-slavery churches, clergy and Christian professors. Those to whom this bold abolition landmark is inaccessible, may see an excellent summary of it in the Boston *Commonwealth* of July 25, 1885.

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Wm. Lloyd Garrison.

WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON.

CHAPTER I.

ANCESTRY.— 1764–1805.

THE scenic glories of the River St. John, New Brunswick, are well past on the ascent when, on the right, the obscure outlet of the Jemseg is reached. The hills on either shore have both diminished and receded; and thenceforward the voyager sees only the fringe of alder bushes, or willows, which hide on the one hand the level intervale, on the other the level islands, until Burton heights loom up on the south, and, on the opposite bank, the spires of Sheffield and of Maugerville.[1] Along this lowland margin a feeble line of French Acadian settlers stretched, in the middle of the last century, from the Jemseg to the Nashwaak. A couple of hundred souls were still clustered at the trading station of St. Ann's (now Fredericton) when, in the summer of 1761, Israel Perley, of Boxford, Essex County, Massachusetts, and a handful of companions, triumphing over the wilderness between Machias and the St. John, looked from the mouth of the Oromocto down over the gleaming waters and woody plains of this romantic region.

[1] Pronounce "Majorville;" and Jemseg "Jimsag."

CHAP. I. 1764–1805.

Perley had been sent out by the Governor of Massachusetts (Bernard) on an exploring expedition. His report to his neighbors in praise of these alluvial prairies — free of stone for the ploughshare, washed by waters dense with fish, and skirted by timber abounding in large game — must have produced a sort of "Western fever" among them. Many of his listeners had no doubt served in the Nova Scotia campaigns against the French which culminated in the capture of Louisburg in 1758, followed by that of Quebec in 1759, and the British occupation of the St. John as far as the Nashwaak; and were already aware of the natural advantages of the territory.

The first Essex County migration to Nova Scotia (as New Brunswick was then called) took place in the spring of 1763 in a packet sloop of forty tons burthen, commanded by Captain Newman. The following spring brought a reinforcement of colonists in the sloop commanded by Captain Howe, which "became an annual trader to the River, and the only means of communication between the Pilgrims and their native land." The arrival was most timely, for an early frost had blighted the crop of the previous year, and reduced the first-comers almost to actual want. The settlement now embraced families, more or less connected with each other, from Rowley, Boxford, Byfield, Ipswich, Marblehead, and adjacent towns, among whom the Perleys, Stickneys, Palmers, Burpees, Barkers, Esteys, Hartts, and Peabodys were prominent in numbers or in influence.

Hatheway's Hist. New Brunswick, p. 7.

Ibid., p. 8.

Ibid., p. 10.

Stickney Genealogy, p. 166.

On October 31, 1765, the district having been officially surveyed by Charles Morris, sixty-five heads of families, resident or represented, were granted Tract No. 109, in Sunbury County. This tract, in the parish of Maugerville and Sheffield, known as the Maugerville Grant, and twelve miles square, extended from the head of Oromocto Island to the foot of Mauger's Island, and had been partially cleared by the Acadians. The twenty-second

Secretary's book, Land Office, Fredericton, Vol. A., p. 122.

name on the list of grantees, for five hundred acres, was that of Joseph Garrison;[1] the twenty-fourth, that of his father-in-law, Daniel Palmer. The latter's portion consisted of two lots forty rods long upon the river, and some six miles (five hundred and fifty chains) in depth across the intervale towards Grand Lake. The western boundary of its frontage was just opposite the lower end of Middle Island; the river here being from one-third to half a mile in width.

Hatheway's Hist. New Brunswick, pp. 10, 11.

Daniel Palmer was great-grandson of Sergeant John Palmer (who, as a youth of seventeen, is reported to have come to Rowley in 1639) by a second wife, Margaret Northend. On the side of his mother, Mary Stickney, he was great-grandson of William Stickney, the founder of that family in this country, and of Captain Samuel Brocklebank, who was slain, with nearly all his command, by the Indians at Sudbury, in King Philip's War. Born at Rowley, in 1712, Daniel Palmer married in 1736 Elizabeth Wheeler, of Chebacco (a part of Ipswich, called Essex since 1819), with whom, eight years later, he was dismissed from the First Church in Rowley to that of Gloucester; but of his stay in the latter place, if, indeed, he removed thither, we have no record. He is yet remembered by close tradition as "a powerful man, of great muscular strength. Before he left for the East the Indians were troublesome, and there were three secreted in a house in Old Town, and no one dared pursue them. But he was fearless, and entered the house, where he opened a chamber window, and one by one he threw them out, regardless of life or limb, as though they were so many straws." Six children survived to him, and the two oldest girls, Elizabeth and Ruth, were married, when removal to the St. John was determined on. Leaving these behind, he took with him his third daughter, Mary (born January 19, 1741, in Byfield), and his three sons,

April 21, 1676.

MS. Lydia Silloway, great-granddaughter of D. Palmer.

[1] The twenty-ninth name on a list compiled by Hatheway, in 1846 ('History of New Brunswick,' p. 8), is "Galishan, ———," which clearly stands for Joseph Garrison. (Compare this writer's spelling of Marasheet, "Melicete," on p. 5.)

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Daniel, Nathan, and Abijah, and joined the company of townsfolk and kinsmen who were to plant a Puritan settlement on the banks of the St. John.

There is no evidence that Joseph Garrison was of this number. All that can now be learned about him warrants the belief that he was an Englishman, who was found upon the spot by the second, if not already by the first, immigrants from Rowley. We know positively that on his thirtieth birthday, August 14, 1764, he was married to Daniel Palmer's daughter Mary, perhaps in that church which "Richard Eastick [Estey] and Ruth his wife, Jonathan Smith and Hannah his wife," were dismissed from, the First Church in Rowley, to form "upon or near St. John's River, Nova Scotia," May 20, 1764. Sabine, who, with doubtful propriety, includes Joseph Garrison in his 'Loyalists of the American Revolution,' styles him "of Massachusetts"; but the name has not been met with in that State before the present century by the most diligent searchers of her archives. His comparatively early death will account for the diversity of traditions in regard to him among his own descendants, the most trustworthy of which is, that he was not a native of the colonies but of the mother country. The location of his grant is unrecorded, but traditionally was higher up the river than his father-in-law's. Sabine, again, says he was remembered in New Brunswick "as a skilful miner, and as the discoverer of the 'Grand Lake Coal Mines,' which of late years have been extensively worked." Grand Lake is the lowest part of the broad basin extending from Fredericton to the hills beyond the Jemseg, which at every spring freshet is covered by the swollen waters of the St. John. It is not unlikely that its shores were curiously visited by Joseph Garrison, and that he was the first to notice its very obvious superficial bituminous coal deposits. But the mining there, as late as 1850, was carried on "in a small and rude manner," and as late as 1830 only "by strippings or open diggings"; so that

Essex Institute Hist. Collections, 14: 152.

1: 464.

February, 1783.

Johnston's Report on Agr. Capabilities of New Brunswick, p. 41.

skill could hardly be ascribed to him where so little was required.

Joseph Garrison's occupation was that of a farmer, which then, as now, must have been one of comparative ease, because of the exceptional facility for growing hay and raising stock, and not conducive to progressive agriculture. Life was fairly amphibious: fences had (as they still have) to be taken down and corralled in the fall, to prevent their being floated off in the spring; and when at last the gentle flood covered the intervale as far as the eye (even looking from Burton heights) could reach, the farmer turned navigator over his own domain. Lucky if the main river-road emerged, and his house and barn were uninvaded by the tide, he was yet tranquil in the assurance that where he now drew up his herring, he should by and by view with satisfaction his crops of grain and potatoes. Daniel Palmer, we know, had pitched his log cabin too near the brink, and was made aware of the fact, in an extraordinary rise, by a huge cake of ice sailing through from door to door, and carrying off not only half the house, but the day's dinner of boiling meat in the pot, and the table gear, happily recovered after drifting against a stump.[1]

Johnston's Report on Agr. Capabilities of New Brunswick, p. 8.

Gesner's Hist. New Brunswick, p. 82.

One other incident of these early days of the settlement has a more immediate interest. Five children had been born to Joseph and Mary Garrison, the youngest, Abijah, being an infant in arms — say, in the spring of 1774. The mother had started in a boat down the river to pay her father a visit, taking her babe with her, and a lad who lived with the family:

"The river was clear of ice when she started, and she apprehended no danger. Long before she got to her journey's end the ice broke further up the river, and came down with such force against her boat as to break it badly, and compel her to exchange it for an ice-cake, which was driven ashore by a larger piece of ice. Like a mother, she wrapped her babe in all the clothes she could spare, and threw him into the snow on

MS. Eliza Adams (Mrs. Ebenezer Little), gr.-granddaughter of D. Palmer.

[1] This is thought to have occurred in the spring of 1778.

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the shore. By the aid of a willow limb which overhung the river, she and the lad saved themselves. She took up her babe unharmed. As she was wandering in the woods, without guide or path, she saw the smoke from an Indian hut, and on going to it found there an Indian[1] who knew her father. He entertained her with his best words and deeds, and the next morning conducted her safely to her father's."

This babe was the father of William Lloyd Garrison. It was not quite three years old when the progress of revolt in the colonies had infected the New England settlers on the St. John, and impelled them to a manifesto antedating the Declaration of Independence, imbued with the same spirit, "and, considering their insulated locality, and the vicinity to the old and well-fortified towns in possession of an English army and navy, . . . remarkably bold."

Kidder's Maine and Nova Scotia, p. 62.

Ibid., p. 62; Mass. Archives, 144: 153, 158.

ACTION OF THE PEOPLE ON THE ST. JOHN RIVER.

Whereas the inhabitants on the River St. Johns in the County of Sunbury and province of Nova Scotia being regularly assembled at Maugervile in said County on the 14th Day of May 1776 did then and there make Choice of us, Jacob Barker, Phin's Nevers, Israel Perley, Daniel Palmer, Moses Pickard, Edward Coye, Tho's Hartt, Israel Kinney, Asa Kimball, Asa Perley and Hugh Quinton a Committee in behalf of the Inhabitants of said County, to make Immediate application to the Congress or Gen'll Assembly of the Massachusetts Bay for Relief under their present Distressed Circumstances.

Now Know ye that we the Committee above named have by these presents Constituted and appointed two of said Committee (viz) Messrs. Asa Perley and Asa Kimball to act as agents for the body of said Committee to go personally to the said Congress or Gen'll Assembly and there present our Petition, also to act and transact, Determine accomplish and finish all Matters touching the premises as effectually as the body of said Committee might do, and we in behalf of the inhabitants of

[1] The St. John tribe was known as the Marasheets. These Indians had proved troublesome neighbors in the early days of the settlement. (Hatheway's 'Hist. New Brunswick,' p. 11.)

said county ratify and confirm whatsoever our said agents shall cause to be done in this matter.

Names signed, May 20, 1776.

All officers, civil or military, in the united provinces, and all others are desired not to molest or hinder the within Asa Perley and Asa Kimball in their progress, on the Contrary to Encourage and Assist them, as they would merit the Esteem of all Lovers of their Country's Liberty and the thanks of this Committee.

The Inhabitants of the County of Sunbury in the province of Nova Scotia being regularly assembled at the Meeting house in Maugervile in said County on Tuesday the 14 day of May 1776 to Consult on some measures necessary to be taken for the safety of the Inhabitants.

1. Chose Jaçob Barker Esq'r Chairman.

2. Chose Jacob Barker, Israel Perley, Phin's Nevers, Esq'rs and Messrs. Daniel Palmer, Moses Pickard, Edward Coye, Tho's Hartt, Israel Kenney, Asa Kimball, Asa Perley, Oliver Perley, and Hugh Quinton a Committee to prepare a Draught proper for the Proceedings of the Assembly. The meeting then adjourned till three of the clock in the afternoon.

Being again met the Committee Reported the following Resolves, which were read and after a second Reading the Resolves were passed in the affirmative, unanimously.

1. *Resolved.* That we can see no shadow of Justice in that Extensive Claim of the British Parliament (viz) the Right of Enacting Laws binding on the Colonies in all Cases whatsoever. This System if once Established (we Conceive) hath a Direct tendency to Sap the foundation, not only of Liberty that Dearest of names, but of property that best of subjects.

2. *Resolved.* That as tyranny ought to be Resisted in its first appearance we are Convinced that the united Provinces are just in their proceeding in this Regard.

3. *Resolved.* That it is our Minds and Desire to submit ourselves to the government of the Massachusetts Bay and that we are Ready with our Lives and fortunes to Share with them the Event of the present Struggle for Liberty, however God in his Providence may order it.

4. *Resolved.* That a Committee be Chosen to Consist of twelve Men who shall Immediately make application to the Massachusetts Congress or general assembly for Relief, and that said Committee or the Major part of them shall Conduct

all Matter Civill or Military in this County till further Regulations be made.

5. *Resolved.* That we and Each of us will most strictly adhere to all such measures as our said Committee or the Major Part of them shall from time to time prescribe for our Conduct and that we will support and Defend them in this Matter at the Expence of our Lives and fortunes if Called thereto.

6. *Resolved.* That we will Immediately put ourselves in the best posture of Defence in our power, that to this End we will prevent all unnecessary use of gun Powder or other ammunition in our Custody.

7. *Resolved.* That if any of us shall hereafter, Know of any person or persons that shall by any ways or means Endeavour to prevent or Counteract this our Design, we will Immediately give notice thereof to the Committee that proper Measures may be taken for our Safety.

8. *Resolved.* That we and Each of us will Pay our proportion of all such sums of Money as may be Necessary for Carrying these matters into Execution, and finally, that we will share in and submit to the Event of this undertaking however it may terminate, to the true performance of all which we bind and obligate ourselves firmly each to other on penalty of being Esteemed Enemies and traitors to our Country and Submitting ourselves to popular Resentment.

The whole assembly subscribed to the foregoing Resolves.

The Body then Voted.

1. That the above named Committee shall be a standing Committee to make application to the Massachusetts Congress.

Also to Conduct all Matters Civil or Military in the County till further Regulations be made.

Voted that we will have no Dealings or Connections with any Person or Persons for the future that shall Refuse to Enter into the foregoing or similar Resolutions.

A true Copy from the Minutes.

ISRAEL PERLEY *Clerk.*

Dated at Maugervile on the River
St. Johns May the 21, 1776.

Memorandum — by desire of the Committee.

Represent the Conduct of the Indians that Gen'll Washington's Letter[1] set them on fire, and they are Plundering all People they think are torys and perhaps when that is Done, the others may share the same fate. We think it necessary that some person of Consequence be sent among them.

If it be asked what Lands are granted on the River, it may be answered — there is four towns and a half granted to 68 gentlemen mostly officers in the armys. The towns are a hundred thousand acres each.

There is several other Large tracts of Land granted to particular gentlemen.

These townships and other Lands have but few settlers on them.

If it be asked what proportion of the People signed the Resolutions it may be answered, There is 125 signed and about 12 or 13 that have not, 9 of whom are at the Rivers Mouth.

The names of the Loyalists "at the River's mouth" are well known, but the record is silent as to the three or four residents of Maugerville who refused to subscribe to the resolves and the appeal for relief. It may be conjectured, however, that Joseph Garrison was one of these, having as his first motive his English birth, and the want of those New England connections which might else have made liberty to him also "that dearest of names"; and perhaps as his second, his better sense of the hopelessness of such an unsupported outpost maintaining itself against the authority of the mother country. Mr. Sabine found Joseph's descendants admitting his loyalty, and we may suppose him to have been temporarily ostracized, according to the terms of the vote, on account of his standing aloof from the almost unanimous action of his neighbors. At all events, it required no little independence of character to incur the "popular resentment"; and this trait may as well have been inherited by his

[1] Of February, 1776. See the reference to it in Washington's subsequent letter, Dec. 24, on p. 59 of Kidder's 'Maine and Nova Scotia.' See, also, for the state of mind of the Indians, *ibid.*, pp. 165–179, *seq.*, 310, etc.

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grandson as the spirit of the declaration of resistance to tyranny which Daniel Palmer subscribed.

His isolation, however, except in public sentiment, lasted hardly more than a year. Despite the good-will and assistance of Massachusetts, before a project of fortifying the mouth of the St. John could be carried out, in May, 1777, the British sloop *Vulture*, fourteen guns, from Halifax (a vessel afterward famous for having been the refuge of Benedict Arnold on the discovery of his treason), sailed up the river with troops, and, as was reported in Machias on the 29th, compelled the settlers to take the oath of allegiance to his British Majesty. Many were robbed of their all; some were carried away. A vain attempt to reverse this was made by a Massachusetts expedition in the following month. Boston was too far away, Halifax was too near. Submission was unavoidable; but time never reconciled all of the inhabitants to the separation from their kindred in the old Massachusetts home, and their regrets have been handed down to their posterity. Shut off from further increase by immigration from the original hive, they could only perpetuate their numbers by intermarriage; and the tourist on the St. John to-day finds in Sunbury County not only familiar New England names, but perhaps as unmixed a Puritan stock as exists on the continent.

Kidder's Maine and Nova Scotia, p. 86.

Of Joseph Garrison, except that he died at Jemseg in February, 1783, we know nothing more that is eventful. He passed for a disappointed man. His physical characteristics, as determinable from his posterity, may be set down as follows: a long chin and a large bump of firmness (phrenologically speaking), with a great length between; black hair, with early baldness. Probably to him, too, rather than to the Palmers is to be attributed an hereditary tendency to congenital lameness, which has shown itself in three generations,—though never in a straight line, and always (it is believed) in the male children,—and two instances of a prominent facial birthmark in a son and grandson of Joseph and Mary Palmer

Garrison. Mentally, besides the strong-mindedness already indicated, there is no salient feature to distinguish the founder of the line. His children, in a settlement deprived of every literary and social advantage, proved exceptionally intelligent. They educated themselves with the slenderest facilities; learned the art of navigation; became teachers. "They did not accumulate much," says the local tradition, "but they always left friends behind them." A fondness for music, and natural aptitude for giving instruction in it, have also been manifested in Joseph's posterity, among whom it has been handed down that he used to play the fiddle. Domestically, it may be inferred that Joseph Garrison was uxorious, since at least five of his children were named for his wife's relatives.

The Palmer type was also well supplied with firmness; had high cheek-bones, fair skin and hair; was of a quizzical and jocose temperament.[1] Religiously, the Palmers were affiliated with the Baptists, and Mary Palmer Garrison is said to have been the only person of that denomination on the Jemseg when she came there. (She joined the church in Byfield before the removal, October 10, 1762.) She long survived her husband, dying on February 14, 1822. On the 30th of January, 1787, she was granted eighty acres of land (Lot No. 6, Second Division) on the River St. John, opposite the Jemseg, in Queen's County. Later, her home was on the Jemseg with her son Silas, who cultivated the farm now shown as the Garrison homestead. At the time of her death

[1] From this side of the house were probably derived the characteristics of the Garrison-Palmer offspring indicated in the following extract of a letter from William Garrison (the son of Joseph) to his nephew Andrew (Jan. 31, 1831): "I think it a family trait that we are apt to be too sanguine and enthusiastic in many of our pursuits, which may cast a mist prejudicial to our true interests. . . . That would-be witty Devil has more than once proved injurious to our family." It should be further noted that the Palmers were full-lived. Sergeant John lived to be 72; his son Francis to be 76; *his* son John to be 74; *his* son Daniel to be 65 at least. William Lloyd Garrison died in his 74th year, far surpassing his father and paternal grandfather.

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she had been for many years the widow of Robert Angus.[1] She is remembered late in life as a jolly sort of person — portly, with round face and fair hair, of a sanguine temperament, and a great favorite with children, whom she amused with quaint stories.[2] From her there ran in the veins of her offspring the emigrant Puritan blood of Palmer, Northend, Hunt, Redding, Stickney, Brocklebank, Wheeler, and other (unnamable) *stirpes*.

By her, Joseph Garrison became the father of nine children, viz., Hannah (1765–1843),[3] Elizabeth (1767–1815), Joseph (1769–1819), Daniel (1771–1803), Abijah (born 1773), Sarah (born 1776), Nathan (1778–1817), Silas (1780–1849), William (a posthumous child, 1783–1837). The fifth in order, Abijah, must occupy our attention, to the exclusion of his brothers and sisters. The exact date of his birth was June 18, 1773, and the place Jemseg. He was named for his uncle Palmer. Except the romantic incident of his babyhood, already related, his early history is a blank. He alone of the family followed the sea. He became eventually a captain, and made many voyages, with his cousin Abijah Palmer as mate. His hour-glass, sole personal souvenir, is still preserved, with his rudely-cut initials. He was tall, but well-proportioned, of fine and even handsome appearance, in spite of an extraordinary birth-mark ("like raw beef," "sometimes as red as blood") extending from ear to ear and under the chin, like a muffler. He had the light hair and fair skin of the Palmers. He

Ante, p. 5.

[1] He died in the latter half of the year 1805.

[2] As a means of supporting herself and family after Joseph Garrison's death, she appears to have practised the art of a midwife for more than thirty years — "by night and by day, for they will have her out" (MS. Sept. 16, 1815, Sarah Perley).

[3] In the church records of the parish of Byfield, Newbury, Mass., this entry is found among the baptisms: "Hannah, Daut'r of Joseph Garrison of St. John's River in Nova Scotia but his wife a member of ye Chh here with her Child June 15, 1766." The last sentence, if punctuated thus, as it doubtless should be — "but his wife, a member of the church, here with her child" — is evidence of a visit of Mary Garrison to her old home at the date mentioned.

is remembered by one of his contemporaries as a "smart man, bright at most everything," and as an excellent penman. Moreover, he possessed a keen sense of the ludicrous, which often displayed itself — with the freedom of the time — in his versifying.[1] His son, William Lloyd, who had no personal recollection of him, thus summed up the traditions in regard to Abijah Garrison:

"I was probably not more than three years old when he took his final leave of my mother. I remember vaguely to have been told that he had a fine physical development, a sanguine temperament, a bald head, and a reddish beard, with a very noticeable scar on his face, a birth-mark; that he was very genial and social in his manners, kind and affectionate in his disposition, and ever ready to assist the suffering and needy; that he had a good theoretical and practical knowledge of navigation, and as a master of a vessel made many voyages coastwise and to the West Indies; and that he had a strong taste for reading, and evinced some literary talent. There is no doubt that his love for my mother was almost romantic; and it is questionable, when he deserted her, if he meant the separation to be final." *MS.*

Romantic love had a romantic beginning. By some chance of coast navigation Abijah found himself on Deer Island, N. B., in Passamaquoddy Bay (waters called Quoddy, for short). Here, at a religious evening meeting, his eye fell upon a strikingly beautiful young woman, dressed in a blue habit; or, more than likely, the previous sight of her was the cause of that evening's piety. At the close of the services he followed her to the door, and boldly asked leave to accompany her home, accosting her, for want of her real name, as "Miss Blue Jacket." Her reply was a rebuff. Nevertheless, Abijah lost no time in sending her a letter, which, it is safe to say, surpassed in literary graces any she had ever re-

[1] Mary Howitt, in her "Memoir of William Lloyd Garrison," in the *People's Journal* of Sept. 12, 1846, says the father was a "fine poet," which is certainly going beyond the record, as there are no remains whatever of his muse. See hereafter (p. 24) the last letter before his disappearance, in which the "sentimental piece" he promises to write is doubtless to be interpreted as verse.

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ceived, and her reply confirmed an acquaintance which ended infallibly in matrimony.

Frances Maria Lloyd was the daughter — one of a large family of children — of Andrew Lloyd, a native of Kinsale, County Munster, Ireland (about 1752). He came out to the province of Nova Scotia in 1771, as a 'prentice, bound to the captain (Plato Dana) of the ship which also brought over John Lawless, an Englishman, who had been a sergeant under Wolfe at Quebec; his wife, Catharine, said to have been a native of Limerick, Ireland; and their only daughter Mary, who was certainly born there. The 'prentice is believed to have improved his time so well on the voyage that, young as they both were, he married Mary Lawless on March 30, 1771, the day after they had landed on the island of Campobello. Andrew became a so-called branch (*i. e.*, commissioned) pilot, at Quoddy, and died suddenly in the service in the year 1813. His wife, whom he survived, though not long, was reputed the first person buried on Deer Island; and on this unfertile but picturesque and fascinating spot Fanny Lloyd was born in 1776, and became the belle of the family.

People's Journal, (Eng.) Sept. 12, 1846, *p.* 141; *Penn. Freeman, Mar.* 25, 1847.

"She was of a tall, majestic figure, singularly graceful in deportment and carriage; her features were fine, and expressive of a high intellectual character; and her hair so luxuriant and rich that, when she unbound it, like that of Godiva of old, it fell around her like a veil. The outward being, however, was but a faint image of the angelic nature within; she was one of those who inspire at once love and reverence; she took high views of life and its duties; and, consequently, when adversity came upon her as an armed man, she was not overcome. Life had lost its sunshine, but not its worth; and, for her own and her children's sake, she combated nobly with poverty and sorrow. Her influence on her children, more especially on her son William, was very great: he venerated her while yet a child; not a word or a precept of hers was ever lost — his young heart treasured up all, unknowing that these in after life should become his great principles of action.

"To illustrate the conscious [conscientious ?] and firm character of this admirable woman, we must be permitted to

give an anecdote of her whilst yet young. Her parents were of the Episcopal Church, and among the most bigoted of that body. In those days the Baptists were a despised people, and it was reckoned vulgar to be of their community. One day, however, it was made known through the neighborhood where she lived that one of these despised sectaries[1] would preach in a barn, and a party of gay young people, one of whom was the lovely and gay Fanny Lloyd, agreed for a frolic to go and hear him. Of those who went to scoff one remained to pray; this was Fanny Lloyd. Her soul was deeply touched by the meek and holy spirit of the preacher; she wept much during the sermon, and when it was over, the preacher spake kindly to her. From that day a change came over her mind; she would no longer despise and ridicule the Baptists; and before long announced to her astonished and indignant parents that she found it necessary for the peace of her soul to become publicly one of that despised body. Nothing could equal the exasperation which followed this avowal. They threatened that if she allowed herself to be baptized, they would turn her out of doors. It was not a matter of choice, but of stern duty with her; she meekly expostulated — she besought them with tears to hear her reasons, but in vain. She could not, however, resist that which she believed to be her duty to God; she was baptized, and had no longer a home under her parents' roof. She then took refuge with an uncle, with whom she resided several years. This early persecution only strengthened her religious opinions; and she remained through life a zealous advocate of those peculiar views for which she had suffered so much."[2]

The date of Abijah Garrison's marriage is uncertain, except that it was nearly at the close of the last century, and on the 12th day of December. The place of the ceremony is equally unknown; neither has it been ascertained where was the first home of the young couple. Not improbably, from what follows, it may have been

[1] Perhaps "Elder J. Murphy, a licentiate from a Baptist church in Nova Scotia," who in 1794 commenced preaching on the adjacent Moose Island, on which Eastport, Me., is situated. (See Millet's 'Hist. Baptists in Maine,' p. 338.) The church at Eastport, which ultimately grew out of this beginning, had members on Deer Island.

[2] As Mr. Garrison, on his visit to England in 1846, must have furnished Mrs. Howitt with these facts in regard to his mother, they are reproduced here as more authentic than any later recollections could have been.

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among the husband's relatives on the Jemseg, and here perhaps was born Mary Ann, who died in infancy. In 1801 they were settled in Duke Street, St. John, where a son, James Holley, was born to them on July 10, and possibly also a second daughter, Caroline Eliza (1803). Subsequently they removed to Granville, Nova Scotia, in the neighborhood of Fanny's sister Nancy (Mrs. Thomas Delap). To this period belongs the following fragment of a letter from the sailor to his wife:

Abijah to Fanny Lloyd Garrison.

MS.

NICHOLAS HARBOUR, April 24, 1804.

DEAR FRANCES: I am now at a Place they Call Nicholas Harbour about 14 Leagues to the Eastward of Hallifax. The *April 22, 1804.* Wind Came ahead on Sunday about 12 o'clock and Terminated into a most Violent Gale: however by Gods Providence we got into a safe and Commodious harbour, and screen'd from the inclemency of Weather. I write this as it were at a Venture not knowing Whether it will ever come to hand, but I feel it a Duty incumbent on me to sooth as much as Possible that anxiety of mind you must Consquently [constantly] feel in my Absence: and as writing to a Bosom friend is attended with more Pleasure than Pain I cou'd write whole Volumes if I thought it wou'd Redound to your happiness, but the Distance we are apart and the Uncertainty of Conveyance Confines [me to] very Narrow limits. I know of nothing in this life that wou'd [aug]ment my happiness more than to be at Home with my Family and Free'd from a Tempestuous Sky and Enraged Ocean, with Just Enough (Good God) to Supply our Real Wants and Necessities and Cou'd I once more enjoy a Ray of Divine Light from the Throne of God and Lamb I shou'd be the happiest of Sinners. We shall sail for Newfoundland the first fair wind and hope we Shall not stay over four Weeks there but it is a difficult Season of the year and if we are gone two months . . .

A year later, Abijah announces to his mother and stepfather his intention to return to the old home of the Puritan settlers on the St. John — to Essex County, Massachusetts. His wife appends a brief postscript, and the letter, precious for its incidental family history and

character glimpses, and for the union on one page of a still loving pair, is despatched to Mr. Robert Angus, Waterborough,[1] River St. John, New Brunswick, to the care of Mr. Geo. Harden, City of St. John. Thus it reads:

Abijah Garrison to his Parents.

GRANVILLE, April 4th, 1805. *MS.*

MUCH RESPECTED PARENTS: This perhaps is the last you may Expect from me dated at Granville as I am about to remove to Newbury Port in the united states, Where I Expect to Spend the remainder of my days. I have been following the Rule of false Position, or rather permutation, these Seven Last years,[2] and have never been able to Solve the Question to my Satisfaction till now. Not that I am disaffected towards Government but the barreness of these Eastern Climates rather Obliges me to seek the welfare of my family in a more hospitable Climate, where I shall be less expos'd to the Ravages of war[3] and stagnation of business, which is severely felt in Nova Scotia. The Prohibition of the American trade may in time help this Country[4] but from want of Circulating Cash this Country will long lay bound in Extreme difficulties and Perpetual Lawsuits. [The] last winter was attended with distress among a great number of Poor people in this Place. The scarcity of bread and all kind of vegetables was too well known in this Part of Nova Scotia, the Great Drouth Last summer Cut off all

[1] Jemseg was in the parish of Waterborough.

[2] This gives 1798 as the date of the last sojourn on the Jemseg, or even of the marriage of Abijah and Fanny.

[3] With Napoleon, namely.

[4] This refers to the short-sighted policy adopted by Great Britain after the American Revolution. Inasmuch as the United States had "become the rivals of England in trade and manufactures, it was thought necessary to confine the imports [of the colonies] to Tobacco, Naval Stores, and such articles as the British Colonies did not produce in sufficient quantities for their own use and consumption, and which could not be obtained elsewhere," and likewise to limit the exports, "such articles and goods being imported and exported by British subjects and in British ships" (Haliburton's 'Historical and Statistical Account of Nova Scotia,' 2:384). The act regulating this trade in force in 1805 was that of 28 George III.; and even as Abijah Garrison was writing, Sir John Wentworth, Lieutenant-Governor of Nova Scotia, was about to sign a proclamation (April 5, 1805) indicating certain articles which, under the discretion allowed him, might be imported for the space of three months, still in British bottoms only (Nova Scotia *Royal Gazette*, June 13, 1805).

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the farmers Expectations and People in general Experienc'd the want of hay Equal to that of Bread; the smiling spring has at last return'd but brings nothing with it as yet substantial for the present support of Man. I speak not this of myself, but of many of my Neighbours; I thank God I have a Competency at present, but the times forbode greater distress ahead. I have in the Conclusion settled my Business here and am now about to remove.

I lately rec'd a kind letter from Sally Clark[1] which merits my thanks and well wishes towards her. I shall Endeavour to write to her before I leave this Place if Possible. Silas[2] I'm afraid has forgot me. William[3] has wrote very kindly whom I shall answer the first opp'ty. It wou'd give me infinite Satisfaction when you write if you wou'd Cast off the formal method of arranging your letters and write more of the Particular Circumstances attending your welfare; how you get along thro this troublesom World, what difficulties you meet with how times and seasons are with you what alterations their is in the neighbourhood since I left Jemsagg — the smallest Circumstances will awake my memory and Present to my view the seasons when I left my native home. Fanny and the little ones are well, Little Jemmy says I must tell Granny Angus he has got a little fife and trumpet and a penknife and he Can Sing a Great many tunes. Fanny intended to write by this Conveyance but we are so much hurried to get things in order for moving that she scarcely has time tho Earnestly desires to be remembered to you and all the family.

I believe now the Enchantment is broke for I find that some of my letters have lately Reach'd you. I once thought that you never meant to write to me again after writing so many and not receiving any answer but without doubt they went thro a firey tryal. The Policy and Craft of Jealous minded People is beyond Description. I have enclos'd a letter I had lately (and the only one I ever had) from Rebekah Nathan[4] — which you are at liberty to read. I think myself Greatly injur'd by that Person: in the first Place when I left St. Johns I was in

[1] That is, his younger sister Sarah, who married Joseph Clark.

[2] His younger brother. "Slow as Uncle Silas" was a proverb at Jemseg, and doubtless applied to correspondence as well as to other things.

[3] His youngest brother, a cripple from birth, but a very intelligent schoolmaster.

[4] Apparently, Nathan's Rebecca is meant. Nathan Garrison, the next younger brother of Abijah, married Rebecca Analey. There was a "Rebekah Joseph" also in the family.

Nathan's debt according to his accompt £4 : 5 : 4. After I returned from the West Indies I Paid him Eight dollars which left a balance in his favour of £2 : 5 : 4. Some time after this I sent over to Nathan for my things which fanny left in his Care and was deny'd them on Accompt of what I Owed him. At the same time Got a Great deal of Abuse from Rebecca. The Report Came here and Rung thro all Granville at my Expence. Since that I Consign'd to Nathan in behalf of Mr. Delap nine Barrels of Cider which it seem by the letter they are About to make a Grabb at part of that and Leave my things at the mercy of fortune. If things run in this Channel and I shou'd send over a bank note for Exchange its Probable the Cider wou'd be set aside and a part of the Exchange secured as B——[1] it seem is an Excellent hand to take Care of Other Peoples money.— In all this Job sinned not with his lips; I dont blame Nathan for wanting his own and had he sent my things when I sent for them I shou'd have Paid him long Ago —but for want thereof take the Body.

I shou'd be happy to write to all my Relations but have scarcely time. May Kind Providence protect you thro all your difficulties and receive you at Last where the Wicked Cease from troubling Where Sorrow and Sighing shall flee away is the Sincere wish of your affectionate Son

ABIJAH GARRISON.

Give my love to Silas and William, Sally and all the Rest of our family.

DEAR PARENTS: I steal a Moments time to Insert a few Lines at the Bottom of this Letter to bid you a Farewell and once More to thank you for your Care and Attention to me in times Back which shall ever be Gratefully Remembered by her who is now Addressing you. I do not know what to write but my affection is not Lesened towards you. My heart overwhelms with Gratitude and Love, and a tenderness awakes in my Breast of filial Joy while writing to you. May God bless you in all things temporal and spiritual.

FANNY GARRISON.

The chance which preserved this document could hardly have been improved upon by choice, if it had been designed to exhibit on the one hand Abijah's

[1] Perhaps "Becky."

CHAP. I. 1764–1805.

native gift of literary expression, his liveliness as a correspondent — so different from the "formalism" of the period, of which he complains — his love of home and kindred, his pleasant and even his grim humor; on the other, the deeply emotional nature of Fanny Lloyd, thrilling not only with the thought of separation from past benefactors, but also with the new life just then beginning to stir under her bosom.

The same Providence by which slavers made their impious voyages in safety, attended the ship bearing its passengers, visible and invisible, from Nova Scotia to Newburyport, in the spring-time of 1805; whose arrival was the unsuspected event of the year in the third city of Massachusetts[1] — for the six or seven thousand inhabitants were celebrating rather the building of the new Court House on the Mall, the founding of the Social Library, and the opening of Plum Island turnpike and bridge, or making careful note of the thirty days' drought in July and August. On the 10th of December,[2] in a little frame house, still standing on School Street, between the First Presbyterian Church, in which Whitefield's remains are interred, and the house in which the great preacher died, — and so in the very bosom of orthodoxy, — a man-child was born to Abijah and Fanny Garrison, and called, after an uncle who subsequently lost his life in Boston harbor, William Lloyd Garrison.

Lib. 4:15.

[1] The seal of the province of New Brunswick is a ship nearing port under full sail, with the legend, *Spem reduxit.*

[2] The town records say the 12th.

CHAPTER II.

BOYHOOD.—1805–1818.

FEW New England towns preserve so well the aspect which they wore at the close of the last and the beginning of the present century, or have been so little affected, externally, by the changes and vicissitudes in their business and social life, as Newburyport; and the description which President Dwight of Yale College gave of the place in 1796 is, in the main, not inapplicable to-day.

Dwight's Travels in New England. I: 438–9.

"The town," he wrote, "is built on a declivity of unrivalled beauty. The slope is easy and elegant; the soil rich; the streets, except one near the water, clean and sweet; and the verdure, wherever it is visible, exquisite. The streets are either parallel, or right angled, to the river; the southern shore of which bends, here, towards the south-east. None of them are regularly formed. . . . Still, there is so near an approximation to regularity as to awaken in the mind of a traveller, with peculiar strength, a wish that the regularity had been perfect. . . . There are few towns of equal beauty in this country. . . . The houses, taken collectively, make a better appearance than those of any other town in New England. Many of them are particularly handsome. Their appendages, also, are unusually neat. Indeed, an air of wealth, taste, and elegance is spread over this beautiful spot with a cheerfulness and brilliancy to which I know no rival."

During the ten years following the period to which this description refers, the town was at the height of its prosperity. Commercially it was of much importance, excelled only by Boston and Salem, and owned a multitude of vessels engaged in the foreign and coastwise

CHAP. II. 1805-1818.

trade, and in the fisheries. Not only were its wharves constantly crowded with ships and loaded with merchandise, but the bank of the Merrimac River, even as far as Deer Island, two miles above the town, was occupied by busy ship-yards; and ship-building was one of the most important industries of the place. The prosperous merchants and ship-owners built fine mansions for themselves on State Street, and along the beautiful High Street, from which the town slopes gently down to the water; while their townsmen of more moderate pretensions occupied comfortable homes on the lower thoroughfares between High Street and the river.

The commercial glory and importance of the place have, thanks to the centralizing effect of the railroad, long since departed. Its wharves no longer wear a busy aspect; its ship-yards have one by one fallen into disuse until few remain; but its streets and dwellings still preserve the neat, attractive, and well-cared-for appearance which distinguished them when Dr. Dwight visited the town in 1796. If some houses of more modern construction have here and there arisen in places that were vacant, the old mansions have remained undisturbed, and they still predominate and give character to the place. The Newburyport boy of sixty years ago who revisits his native town to-day, finds many quarters whose general features are unchanged.

The Embargo of 1807-8 had not yet laid its paralyzing hand upon the busy port when Abijah Garrison came there to establish a new home for himself and family, and to seek employment. He was a stranger in the place, without friend or acquaintance among the merchants to whom he applied for a position; but his personal presence and bearing were such that he speedily won their attention and confidence, and secured an engagement as sailing-master,[1] in which capacity he made

[1] Presumably, since the books of the Newburyport and Salem custom-houses show no record of him as captain of any of the vessels sailing from those ports in 1805-1808. Yet he always bore that title.

several voyages. The only record that remains of these is contained in two letters, written respectively to his brother Joseph, then residing at Deer Island, and to his wife. The first, which bears date of April 3, 1806 (from Newburyport), mentions that he has "just returned from Virginia with a load of Corn and Flour," that he has declined numerous opportunities to go as pilot to "Quoddy" on good wages, not being aware that his brother was there, and believing that he could make more by going to Virginia; and that he has some thought of going on a fishing trip to Labrador, thirty dollars a month being the inducement. Evidently he was well satisfied with his experience in Massachusetts, for he had already written to his brother William that he liked the country in the main, though giving "some ludicrous descriptions of the customs of the place." And he now wrote to Joseph:

"I have not much time to write you the Particulars of Business here, but Earnestly recommend you to Come here if you possibly Can without Injuring yourself, for I am Confident you wou'd get a decent living here. There is more than fifty ways you might find Employment, and always have the Cash as soon as the work is done. Money is as Plenty here as goods." *MS.*

His closing sentence is characteristic:

"I shall for the future Put all my letters in the Post Office and wish you to do the Same. The Price of a letter by Post will not amount to more than a meal's victuals, and I am always willing to eat one Meal less for Every letter I receive from any of Our family (rather than fail of getting them)."

The letter to his wife was written towards the close of the same year, being dated Pointe-à-Pitre, Guadeloupe,[1] November 12, 1806, where, owing to the sickness of himself and the crew, consequent upon bad provisions, he had been detained twenty-four days, instead of five, as he had anticipated.

"God only knows," he wrote, "when we shall get away: it seems seven years to me since I saw you last. I cou'd with *MS.*

[1] He probably went out in the *James*, Captain Dole.

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pleasure this moment give all I shall earn this voyage to be present with you and my children. May God bless you [and] preserve you in health is the prayer of your affectionate Husband."

The modest house on School Street in which William, or, as his mother always called him, Lloyd, was born, belonged to Mrs. Martha Farnham and her husband, who was a captain in the coasting trade; and of them Abijah and Fanny Garrison hired a few rooms soon after their arrival in Newburyport. A strong friendship quickly sprang up between the two women, who found a bond of sympathy in the frequent prolonged absence at sea of their husbands, and in the fact that they were both ardent Baptists and members of the First Baptist Church, which had been established in Newburyport in the spring of 1805. This friendship abided during their lifetime, and was transmitted to their children, who grew up together as members of one family.

Before Lloyd was three years old, his parents lost their second daughter, Caroline, who died in consequence of eating some poisonous flowers in a neighboring garden. A few weeks later, in July, 1808, a third daughter was born to them, to whom the name of Maria Elizabeth was given, and not long after this date Abijah Garrison left Newburyport, never again to return to it or to his family. He went back to New Brunswick, and is known to have been living there in 1814, and to have made several short voyages, and he is also said to have taught school. Of the place and time of his death no knowledge exists, though he is believed to have ended his days in Canada, whither he finally went from New Brunswick.[1]

[1] The following, which is the last known letter written by Abijah Garrison, was addressed to his cousin, Joanna Palmer, of Sheffield, on the St. John:

WATERBOROUGH, July the 27th, 1814.

DEAR COUSIN: According to promise I have broken the Ice: or rather broke silence—after so long a time—and must apologise for this being the first from me, which I asure you was not from want of Respect, but principally

The cause of this desertion of wife and children by a man whose affection for them, as for all related to him, was so often manifested and cannot be questioned, must ever remain somewhat of a mystery. There is reason to believe that the constant temptation to drink, which the social customs and habits of that day, as well as the usages of the sailor's life, offered, proved at times more than he could withstand, and that he experienced a keen sense of mortification whenever his appetite had overcome him. Especially was this temptation strong in a town like Newburyport, itself the seat of numerous distilleries, and having always a considerable transient population of seafaring men, who, accustomed to regular rations of grog at sea, were naturally prone to convivial habits when in port.

"It was the fashion of the day," writes a venerable woman, a relative of Abijah, who well remembers that period, "to use alcoholic spirit in all places of honor and trust. We had it at our ordinations, weddings, births, and funerals, and the decanter was brought on the table to greet our friends with when they came, and was not forgotten when they left; and if they could stand the test and not reel, they were called sober men." *MS.*

There is no evidence that Abijah Garrison ever became an habitually intemperate man; but that his inability always to control an appetite which his wife abhorred with all the intensity of her nature, prevented his obtaining the employment which he had readily secured in previous years, and led him to seek new fields, is not improbable. Certain it is that his wife used entreaty and expostulation to induce him to abandon the habit, and it is related that on one occasion, when some of his fellow-captains came to the house for a carouse, she promptly

from a barrenness of anything to address you upon, in Consequence of the Whirl I have taken in the World. I shou'd be happy to see you often, and hope you will Indulge us with your Company soon, at least this fall. I shou'd be happy of your Correspondence by letters & hope you will do me the favour to write as often as you Can: When you answer this I will write you a Sentimental piece. Wishing you the Blessings of Health,

I remain your affectionate A. GARRISON.

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ejected and closed the door upon them, and broke the bottles of spirits — not a difficult feat for a woman of her physique, when her moral indignation was aroused. She was in the fulness of life and vigor when, at the age of thirty-two, she found herself left with three small children utterly dependent upon her for support, the eldest being but seven years old, and the youngest a babe in arms; while Lloyd, who was to become in later years her main comfort and hope, was less than three — too young, as already stated, to retain any personal recollection of his father. Up to that time she had enjoyed such exuberant health that she was wont to say that "only a cannon-ball could kill Fanny Garrison"; but though she resolutely set about the task of maintaining herself and her little ones, the blow of this desertion was one from which she never recovered, and it shadowed the remaining years of her life.

The struggle for existence became a severe and bitter one. The day of Newburyport's prosperity had passed, and the years of the Embargo and of the war of 1812-15 brought disaster and ruin to its business and commerce. It was no easy matter, therefore, to find the remunerative employment which would feed so many mouths. The little house in School Street still afforded them shelter, thanks to the sisterly devotion of Martha Farnham, who assured them that while she had a roof to cover her they should share it. When circumstances permitted, Mrs. Garrison took up the calling of a monthly nurse, and during her necessary occasional absences from home the children were under the motherly care of their "Aunt" Farnham. When Lloyd was older, his mother used to send him out on election and training days to sell the nice sticks of molasses candy which she was an adept in making, and he thus earned a few pennies towards the common support.[1] A harder task for the little fellow was

[1] This fact is recorded in the "common-place book" of Wendell Phillips, as told him by Mr. Garrison in "Nov., '47, once when his boys had a molasses scrape." "So Luther sang at doors for pence," adds the chronicler.

to go to a certain mansion on State Street for food, which the friendly inmates would put aside and send to his mother; and he sensitively tried to conceal the contents of his tin pail from the rude boys who sought to discover them and to taunt him.

With all her sorrow at heart, his mother maintained her cheerful and courageous demeanor. She had a fine voice — "one of the best," her son was wont to say — and was ever singing at her work; and in the church meetings at which she and Martha Farnham were constant and devoted attendants (sometimes opening their own house for an evening gathering), she sang with fervor the soul-stirring hymns which have been the inspiration and delight of the devout for generations. She was mirthful withal, and had a quick sense of the ludicrous. Once, when she strayed into the Methodist meeting wearing a ruffle about her neck, as was the fashion of the day, she was startled by the minister's singling her out for rebuke, in his prayer, for what he considered a frivolous habit. Her gravity was nearly upset when the good man exclaimed, "We pray thee, O Lord, to strip Sister Garrison of her Babylonish frills!" and she was convulsed with laughter, hours after, at the thought of it.

In September, 1810, she made her last visit to her old home at Granville, Nova Scotia, taking Lloyd with her; but he was too young to remember anything but the Indians whom he then saw, and who came to his aunt's house with their pappooses slung upon their backs. During the war of 1812-15, she removed to Lynn to pursue her vocation, taking James, her favorite son, a boy of much beauty and promise, with her, that he might learn the trade of shoemaking. Elizabeth was left in Mrs. Farnham's protecting care, while Lloyd went to live with Deacon Ezekiel Bartlett and wife, and their two daughters, worthy people, who dwelt at the corner of Water and Summer Streets, within sight and stone's-throw of the Merrimac, and who were faithful members

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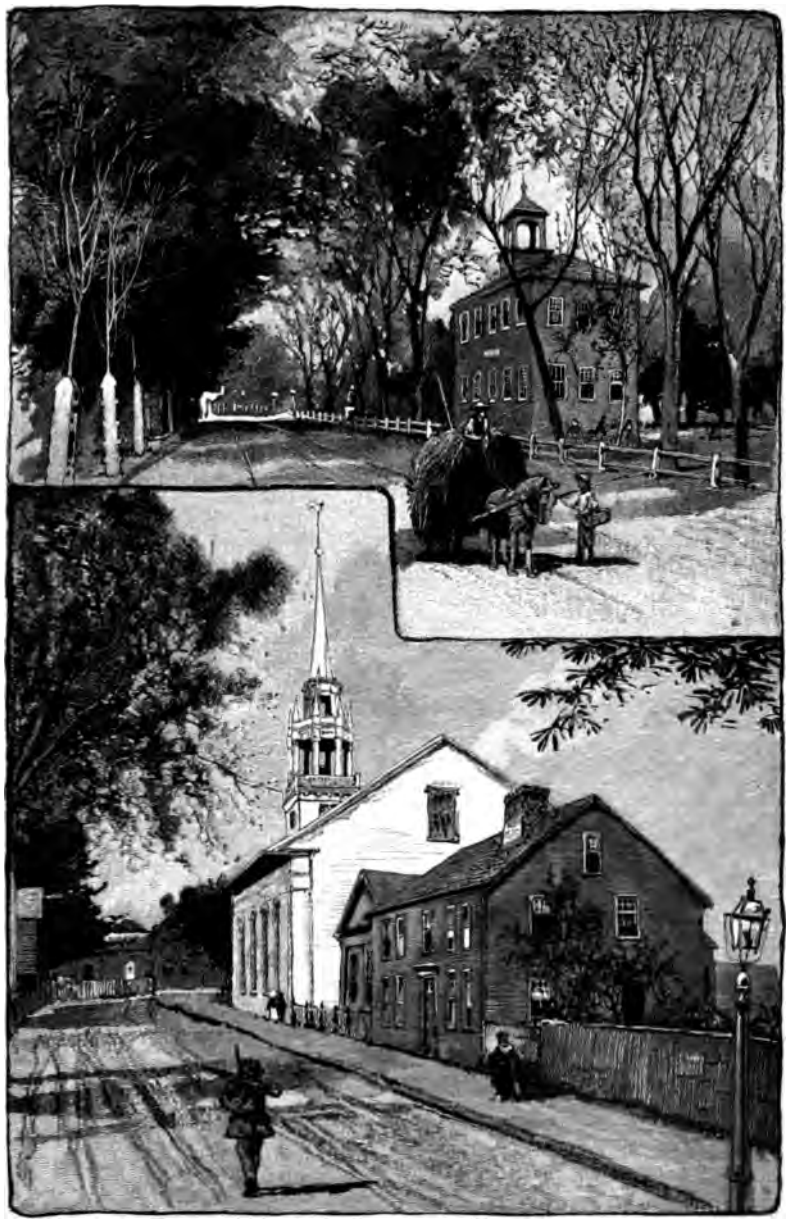
of the little Baptist Church. Up to that time, what little instruction the boy had received had probably been obtained at the primary or "writing school" opposite the Farnhams', in School Street; and he had not shown himself an apt scholar, being slow in mastering the alphabet, and surpassed even by his little sister Elizabeth. He finally learned to spell, read, and write correctly, though the last accomplishment was acquired with no slight pains, for he was left-handed, and his master promptly checked his propensity to write accordingly, by a rap over the knuckles with his ruler. The treatment was radical, and the result a clear, round, handsome chirography, which was exhibited in the banks and counting-rooms of the town as a model, and which always retained its character and beauty.

After he became an inmate of the Bartlett household he was sent to the Grammar School on the Mall, for three months, at the end of which he was compelled to leave, and do what he could towards earning his board by helping Deacon Bartlett. The good Deacon, who was in very humble circumstances, sawed wood, sharpened saws, made lasts, and even sold apples from a little stand at his door, to win a subsistence for his family; and Lloyd, who was an exemplary and conscientious boy, and warmly attached to his kind friends, dutifully tried to do all he could to lighten their burden of poverty. There were times, however, when he wished that he did not have to follow the Deacon about to help him saw and split wood, and would much rather have gone off to play with other boys; and once, when aggrieved by the denial of some privilege which he had asked of the Deacon, he ran away with an enterprising comrade, and was met twenty miles from town by the driver of the mail-coach, who picked up the fugitives and brought them back.

Lloyd was a thorough boy, fond of games and of all boyish sports. Barefooted, he trundled his hoop all over Newburyport; he swam in the Merrimac in summer, and skated on it in winter; he was good at sculling a boat;



THE OLD GRAMMAR SCHOOL, NEWBURYPORT.

GARRISON'S BIRTHPLACE.

he played at bat-and-ball and snowball, and sometimes led the "South-end boys" against the "North-enders" in the numerous conflicts between the youngsters of the two sections; he was expert with marbles. Once, with a playmate, he swam across the river to "Great Rock," a distance of three-fourths of a mile, and effected his return against the tide; and once, in winter, he nearly lost his life by breaking through the ice on the river, and reached the shore only after a desperate struggle, the ice yielding as often as he attempted to climb upon its surface.

It was a favorite pastime of the boys of that day to swim from one wharf to another adjacent, where vessels from the West Indies discharged their freight of molasses, and there to indulge in stolen sweetness, extracted by a smooth stick inserted through the bung-hole. When detected and chased, they would plunge into the water and escape to the wharf on which they had left their clothes. In this way they became connoisseurs of the different grades of molasses, and fastidious in their selection of the hogshead to be tested. Like most lads brought up in seaport towns, Lloyd was smitten with a desire to go to sea, but happily this never took full possession of him, as it subsequently did of his ill-fated brother.

Inheriting his mother's fondness for music, he joined the choir of the Baptist Church while yet a boy, and sometimes acted as chorister. He had a rich voice, which could soar high and follow any flute. It was a delight to him to go to singing-school, and many of the hymns and tunes which he sang all his life were associated in his memory with the circumstances under which he first learned them, or with the fact that they were favorites of his dear mother. The first psalm-tune he ever learned was the 34th Psalm,—"Through all the changing scenes of life, in trouble and in joy;" and "Wicklow" he first heard at a singing-school in Belleville (part of Newburyport), "where there were lots of boys and pretty girls." In later years, and, indeed, to the end of his life, it was

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his habit, each Sunday morning, to go through these, accompanying himself on the piano with one hand (he could never master the bass); and the strains of "Coronation," "Hebron," "Ward," "Denmark," "Lenox," "Majesty," and other familiar tunes, would waken the sleepers above, who, claiming their Sunday morning privilege, were still lingering in their beds.

He had a great fondness for pet animals, especially cats, who instinctively recognized him as their friend and would come and jump into his lap at first sight and without invitation. From earliest boyhood he had one or more pussies, and his first great sorrow was being compelled to drown an old favorite whose days of usefulness were considered past. He never forgot the agony of that experience. A pleasanter remembrance was of the demonstrations of delight with which another pet cat greeted him, on his return home after a considerable absence. A little while after the boy had gone to bed he was awakened by the rubbing of soft fur against his face, and found that puss had brought her latest litter of kittens, born while he was away, and had deposited them, one by one, about his head. "My eyes moistened when I realized what she had done," he said, "and we all slept in one bed that night."

During their mother's absence in Lynn, the children heard frequently from her by letter, and Lloyd was able to write to her in reply. Her little notes to him were full of tender affection and earnest hope that he would be a good and dutiful boy. Already her health and strength were beginning to fail, after her arduous struggle to maintain herself and her children; and her inability now to do continuous work made it all the more imperative that they should learn trades that would enable them to become self-supporting. So Lloyd was brought to Lynn to learn shoemaking, and apprenticed to Gamaliel W. Oliver, an excellent man and a member of the Society of Friends, who lived on Market Street and had a modest workshop in the yard adjoining his house. There the little boy, who was only nine

years old, and so small that his fellow-workmen called him "not much bigger than a last," toiled for several months until he could make a tolerable shoe, to his great pride and delight. He was much too young and small for his task, however, and it soon became evident that he lacked the strength to pursue the work. He always retained a vivid recollection of the heavy lapstone, on which he pounded many a sole until his body ached and his knees were sore and tremulous; of the threads he waxed, and the sore fingers he experienced from sewing shoes; and not less vividly, but much more gratefully, did he remember the kindness shown him by his worthy master and wife, in whose family he lived during his brief apprenticeship. From their house he witnessed the great gale of September, 1815, which made as strong an impression on his memory as the great Newburyport fire of 1811, which, when a boy of five, he had been held up to the window to see.

Lib. 19: 19.

In October, 1815, Mr. Paul Newhall, a shoe manufacturer of Lynn, decided to remove to Baltimore, Maryland, for the purpose of establishing a factory there, and he took with him a number of skilled workmen, with their families. Mrs. Garrison, who was known and beloved by them all, accepted an invitation to accompany them, taking her two boys with her, and the whole party embarked at Salem on the ninth of that month in the brig *Edward*, the journey by land being too formidable and expensive in those days to be thought of. The voyage was a rough one, lasting twelve days; but while Lloyd was so seasick that he lost all desire to lead a seafaring life, his mother proved herself a good sailor, and kept a log of their daily experiences in true nautical phrase. The narrative, which has been preserved, is curiously interspersed with solemn reflections on the miseries of this and the glories of the future life, and with humorous allusions to the sickness of the passengers and the terror of the women when a British sloop-of-war fired two guns to make the *Edward* hanl to.

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For a while after they reached Baltimore she and her boys lived in Mr. Newhall's family, James being again apprenticed at shoemaking, and Lloyd making himself useful as best he could in doing errands and other light work. She had great influence with the young men employed by Mr. Newhall, and they came often to see her, and to listen to the moral and religious views with which she endeavored to impress them. They called her "Mother," and sixty years afterwards the last survivor of them spoke of her in terms of enthusiastic and grateful remembrance.

Wm. Newhall, of Salem.

The shoe-factory proved a failure, and was abandoned after a few months, Mr. Newhall and his men returning to Lynn. Mrs. Garrison remained to take up the work of nursing again, and speedily won friends and patrons among the wealthy residents, of whose elegant summer retreats in the suburbs she wrote glowing descriptions. She attended church three times on Sunday, although she had to walk nearly two miles each time; and before the end of her first year in Baltimore she had established a women's prayer-meeting, which met every Saturday afternoon, and had the satisfaction of seeing it well attended.

Trials, sorrows, and disappointments nevertheless beset her path. Her son James, tired of the awl and last, ran away from his master and took to the sea, and Lloyd became so homesick for Newburyport that his mother had not the heart to keep him, for she, too, longed for the old home. Of Lloyd she wrote to Mrs. Farnham:

MS. April 18, 1816.

"He is so discontented . . . that he would leave me tomorrow and go with strangers to N. P.; he can't mention any of you without tears. He is a fine boy, though he is mine, and every Sunday he goes to the Baptist [church], although he has so far to walk. I expect he will be a complete Baptist as to the tenets. Mr. Newhall does not want to part with him, and Lloyd likes very well, but he longs to go back and go to school. I do hope he will always be so steady."

So Lloyd was sent back to Newburyport, and again made his home with the Bartletts, doing what a boy

of ten or eleven years could towards earning his board, and obtaining a little more (and what proved to be his final) schooling, at the Grammar School on the Mall.[1] He was very happy in this, and in returning to the only place that had ever seemed like home to him, but his poor mother missed him sorely, and, as no situation could be found for him in Newburyport, she proposed, at the end of a year, that he should return to Baltimore. Her hope of securing a place for him there was, however, disappointed. Under date of August 29, 1817, she wrote to him as follows:

MS.

MY DEAR SON: Your kind letter came safe to hand, and it afforded me comfort. To hear of your welfare adds to my happiness, and receive my tender love and affection for your earnest solicitude in wishing to settle yourself to ease my burden. Your good behavior will more than compensate for all my trouble; only let me hear that you are steady and go not in the way of bad company, and my heart will be lifted up to God for you, that you may be kept from the snares and temptation of this evil world. I have no place at present in view, and being disappointed in placing you with Mr. Richards, I have concluded to let you remain another year at N. P. If any offer should occur in that place, and Uncle Bartlett should approve of it, I should wish you to accept it until a door should open here. If there is no place you can get, don't think I want to force you to a place to live. I should rather you would remain at your school, as I am much pleased with your improvement. I am not anxious for you to be here at present [owing to freshets, yellow fever, etc.]. . . . I have heard nothing from James. I do not know whether he is dead or alive.

May God protect you in all your undertaking! I do long to see you, and my heart is ofttimes full when I think of you, my dear Lloyd. Be a good boy and God will bless [you], and you have a Mother, although distant from you, that loves you with tenderness. I will do everything for you I can; it will be my greatest happiness to make you happy. Write soon to her who is your tender and affectionate

FRANCES M. GARRISON.

It is easy to see what influence such motherly epistles as these must have had upon the lad who was just enter-

[1] The quaint little brick building, erected in 1796, is still standing (1885).

CHAP. II. 1805-1818.

ing his teens, and to understand the love and reverence in which he ever held the memory of his parent. "I always feel like a little boy when I think of Mother," he used to say in after years; and he never doubted that he had her strengthening and inspiring influence, and her constant approbation, through all his stormy career. Many years after her death he thus wrote of her to his betrothed:

MS. June 21, 1834, to Helen E. Benson.

"You speak of 'a mother's love,' and ask, 'What love is comparable to hers?' An allusion like this dissolves my heart, and causes it to grow liquid as water. I had a mother once, who cared for me with such a passionate regard, who loved me so intensely, that no language can describe the yearnings of her soul — no instrument measure the circumference of her maternal spirit. As to her person, I sum up my panegyric of it in the following original verse:

> She was the masterpiece of womankind —
> In shape and height majestically fine;
> Her cheeks the lily and the rose combined;
> Her lips — more opulently red than wine;
> Her raven locks hung tastefully entwined;
> Her aspect fair as Nature could design:
> And then her eyes! so eloquently bright!
> An eagle would recoil before their light.

But she was not remarkable for her personal attractions merely. Her mind was of the first order — clear, vigorous, creative, and lustrous, and sanctified by an ever-glowing piety. How often did she watch over me — weep over me — and pray over me! (I hope, not in vain.) She has been dead almost eleven years; but my grief at her loss is as fresh and poignant now as it was at that period. 'O that my mother were living!' is often the exclamation of my heart. Alas! she cannot come to me."

After a time Lloyd was apprenticed to Moses Short, a cabinet-maker at Haverhill, Mass., who took the boy into his family and treated him with much kindness. The work was not unpleasant, and he soon learned to make a toy bureau and helped at veneering, but his old homesickness seized him, and he became so unhappy that, at the end of six weeks, he resolved to make his escape. Watching his opportunity, one morning when his master had gone to the shop, he tied his shirt and other worldly

possessions in a handkerchief, threw the bundle down among the pumpkin-vines from his window, and then, going down and recovering it, started for Newburyport on foot. He had calculated the time it would take him to cross the long bridge; and when the daily stage-coach overtook him he seized the rack behind, and ran and swung himself by turns to facilitate his progress. When the stage paused at a stopping-place, he trudged on until it again came along, and then repeated the operation, in this way accomplishing several miles. The passengers in the coach, meanwhile, were wondering how so small a lad could keep up with it. But the fugitive was missed at Haverhill, and, as he was wont to tell the story in after years, his master took a *short* cut by which he saved time and distance over the stage-road, and recaptured his apprentice. He bore him no ill-will, however, and, when Lloyd confessed his homesickness, promised to release him if he would only return to Haverhill and take his leave in a regular and proper manner, so that neither of them should be compromised. He kept his word, and Lloyd again took up his abode at Deacon Bartlett's.

In a letter written to James by his mother, about this time, she said,—"I am trying to get Lloyd a place as house C[arpenter?], as he does not incline to go into a store. His reason is this: he says unless he has a capital when he is out of his time, he will not be able to commence business, but if he has a trade, he can go to work and help maintain his M[other]: a very good resolve for a child of fourteen." *MS.*

Repeated efforts were made to find a situation for him, but without success until the autumn of 1818, when Mr. Ephraim W. Allen, editor and proprietor of the Newburyport (semi-weekly) *Herald*, wishing a boy to learn the printer's trade, Lloyd was presented as a candidate for the place and accepted; and, having been duly apprenticed for the usual term of seven years, entered the printing-office of the *Herald* on the 18th of October, 1818.

CHAPTER III.

APPRENTICESHIP.—1818–1825.

CHAP. III. 1818–1825.

THE boy had not been many days in the printing-office before he was convinced that he had at last found his right place; but his first feeling was one of discouragement as he watched the rapidity with which the compositors set and distributed the types. "My little heart sank like lead within me," he afterwards said. "It seemed to me that I never should be able to do anything of the kind. However, I was put to learn the different boxes and to ascertain where the capitals and small capitals were placed, and, in the lower case, how the types were diversified, and very soon learned the whole." From that time on throughout his life it was a delight, and, as he used to express it, "a positive recreation," to him to manipulate the types; and the last time that he ever handled the composing-stick was in that same *Herald* office, just sixty years from the day on which he had first entered it as an apprentice. He was so short at first, that when he undertook to work off proofs he had to stand on a fifty-six-pound weight in order to reach the table. He quickly grew expert and accurate as a compositor, and was much liked and trusted by his master, of whose family he now became a member, according to the custom with apprentices in those days. As Mr. Allen's house was close by Deacon Bartlett's, on Summer Street, the boy was still near his old friend and protector, and he became very happy in

Speech at Dinner given by Franklin Club, Boston, Oct. 14, 1878.

his new home, caring for the younger children of the family as if he were an elder brother, and making himself always helpful. CHAP. III. 1818–1825.

His mother was not yet fully reconciled to his remaining in Newburyport, and again suggested his joining her in Baltimore during the following spring; but she left it wholly optional with him. He decided to remain in the printing-office, much to her disappointment, though she approved his choice. On May 5, 1819, she wrote him: 1819.

"All things considered, I think you have acted wisely in staying and learning your trade. Your dear Sister must have felt the loss of your company, and your prospect here was not the best, although you might have had a chance of doing well. You was to have nothing here but your board. I was to have found you all your clothes, mending and washing, &c., and if my life should not be prolonged (perhaps I shall not live) you will be among your dear N. P. [friends]. Was you here, if such a thing should take place, you might be led astray by bad company, which may God grant that you never may. . . . *MS.*

"Thank you for your kindness respecting the balsam of Quito. There is none of it here, and I wish for nothing more than the balm of Gilead, the great Physician of Souls, to heal the wounds that sin has made. . . . I should like to have Mr. Allen specify in writing what he intends to do. He is very partial to you and says he never had a better boy. Once more adieu, may Heaven bless you and my dear M. E." *Maria Elizabeth.*

The allusion to the Balsam of Quito which Lloyd had recommended to her betrays, even at that early day, a faith in advertised remedies which was ever characteristic of him. His mother's letter was written under much depression of spirits, after months of illness which had greatly shattered her. Five months later she wrote him of the terrible ravages which the yellow fever was then making in Baltimore, and of the happy fortune which had kept him in Newburyport and deterred him from joining her in the spring; for the youth who had taken his place had fallen a victim to the fever, with seventeen others in the same house or neighborhood. "A fierce *Oct.* 5, 1819.

MS. terror has entered Baltimore," she wrote, "and has removed hundreds in a week with the yellow fever. The countenances of the citizens wear a solemn gloom. (Every one imagines that 'I may be next.') Days of fasting and prayer are daily appointed through all the city. The youth, the aged, and the middle-aged are cut down in a few hours, raving like wild creatures,— no sense of this world or any other until they appear before the Judgment."

She herself fled with the multitude into the country, and while there was called to attend Mrs. Dorsey, a daughter of Timothy Pickering, in her last illness. "I lost a dear friend in her," she wrote.[1] Returning to the city in the fall, she again fell sick and was confined to the house for months, and she only rallied from one attack to succumb to another, so that her letters for the next three years are mainly a record of the constant inroads which disease was making upon her. Much of the time she was dependent upon the charity of friends, of whom she seems never to have known a lack, and all necessary care and attendance were constantly assured to her. A severe hemorrhage of the lungs in the spring of 1820 nearly proved fatal to her, and she experienced much agony of mind at the thought of leaving her children alone and unprovided for.

MS., May 12, 1820. "Thank God," she wrote to Lloyd in her convalescence, "I am well taken care of, for both Black and White are all attention to me, and I have every thing done that is necessary. The ladies are all kind to me, and I have a Coloured woman that waits on me, that is so kind no one can tell how kind she is, and although a Slave to Man, yet a free born soul, by the grace of God. Her name is Henny, and should I never see you again, and you should ever come where she is, remember her for your poor mother's sake."

[1] See 'Life of Timothy Pickering,' 4: 319, for a letter from Mrs. Pickering to Mrs. Garrison on this event.

In a pathetic letter to her daughter she contrasts the happiness of her early life with the sorrows which later years have brought her:

MS., May 24. 1820.

"At an early period of life I was surrounded with every comfort that was necessary, nurtured with peculiar care and tenderness in the bosom of parental affection, blessed with the friendship of an extensive acquaintance, and beloved by all my relations. I had enough to attach me to this world. Gay and thoughtless, vain and wild, I looked forward for nothing but pleasure and happiness, but alas! have not my subsequent years taught me that all was visionary? How has the rude blast of misfortunes burst over my head, and had it not been for an overruling Providence, I must have sunk under their pressure. I was taught to see that all my dreams of happiness in this life were chimerical; the efforts we make here are all of them imbecility in themselves and illusive, but religion is perennial. It fortifies the mind to support trouble, elevates the affections of the heart, and its perpetuity has no end."

Anxious to see Elizabeth settled in a good home before she herself should pass away, her mother sent for the little girl, then only twelve years old, and scarcely less reluctant to leave her Newburyport friends than Lloyd had been. She made the voyage to Baltimore without any friend accompanying her, and for the next two years was with or near her mother, assisting in the care of the latter during her more severe illnesses, and at one time "going to live in the capacity of a servant with a very worthy woman." She was a remarkably sweet, affectionate, and conscientious child, with a deep spiritual nature, and readily imbibed her mother's strong religious feelings. When, immediately on her arrival in Baltimore, she was prostrated by a severe illness from which recovery seemed impossible, she faced death with remarkable composure, comforted her distracted mother, sent cheerful messages to her brother and other friends, "prayed most sweetly, to the admiration of ministers and people that visited her," and joined her feeble voice with theirs in singing a consoling hymn.

CHAP. III. 1818–1825.

Letters passed between Lloyd and his mother and sister much less frequently than the boy wished, and when he playfully chided the latter for not writing oftener, and asked if "the splendour of the city" had not engrossed her attention, she replied, "It is not so. It is the expense that you have to pay, for we are not able to do it"; and certainly postage was a circumstance in those days, every letter costing twenty-five cents, which the apprentice-boy, who was receiving little more than his board and clothes, had to pay. Even his clothes seem to have been partly supplied by his mother, who sent him at one time a trunkful of garments which she had managed to gather and prepare for him in her intervals of convalescence, and begged him to keep them for her sake, as the last token of love she should ever be able to send him.

Meanwhile, Lloyd was devoting himself with diligence and enthusiasm to his trade, and had become so expert and thorough in all departments of the business that Mr. Allen made him foreman of the office. One of his fellow-apprentices (Joseph B. Morss, of Newburyport) wrote of him thus:

MS., Sept. 13, 1880.

"He made up the pages of the newspaper and prepared the forms for the press. He also attended to the job-work, and was noted for his good taste in this department. He was the most rapid compositor I ever knew, excepting one, and more correct than this one. With fair copy before him he would easily set a thousand ems an hour for several successive hours, and there would hardly ever be more than two or three slight errors in a column of his matter, when it was proved. He was an excellent pressman on the old Ramage and the then new Wells iron press."

In recalling his apprenticeship days in after years, Mr. Garrison said:

Speech at Dinner given by Franklin Club, Boston, Oct. 14, 1878.

"I always endeavored to do my work thoroughly, if I could, without any errors, and therefore my proofs were very clean, as the technical phrase is. I recollect with great pleasure one who was in the office for a considerable portion of my apprenticeship, who has now gone to his reward, who was, I think, a

journeyman at that time; but who, by his beautiful spirit and fine example, had a great influence upon my mind; and I feel grateful to him and shall ever cherish his memory with deep feeling. I allude to the late Rev. Tobias H. Miller, a city missionary in Portsmouth.

Letter to Frank W. Miller, Apr. 30, 1870, published in Portsmouth (N. H.) Weekly, May 31, 1879.

"My acquaintance with him began when I entered the office of the Newburyport *Herald* as an apprentice to learn the 'art and mystery' of printing; and great was my indebtedness to him in regard to my initiation and on the score of never-failing kindness. I was drawn to him magnetically from the beginning; and whether working side by side at the case or the press, unbroken friendship subsisted between us to the end. Indeed, so far as he was concerned, it would have been extremely difficult for the most irascible to have picked a quarrel with him. He had wonderful self-command, patience, cheerfulness, urbanity, and philosophic composure, far beyond his years. I never saw him out of temper for a moment under the most trying circumstances, (and a printing-office often presents such,) nor cast down by any disappointment, nor disposed to borrow trouble of the future. He was a very Benjamin Franklin for good sense and axiomatic speech, and in spirit always as fresh and pure as a newly-blown rose. In his daily walk and conversation he was a pattern of uprightness, and from his example I drew moral inspiration, and was signally aided in my endeavors after ideal perfection and practical goodness. His nature was large, generous, sympathetic, self-denying, reverent. He was as true to his highest convictions of duty as the needle to the pole. No one was ever more yielding in the matter of accommodation where no principle was involved; none more inflexible in pursuit of the right. . . .

"Among my pleasant recollections of him in the printing-office, are the following sententious expressions, which frequently came from his lips, as, for example, in case of a shockingly bad proof to be corrected at midnight, or of a pied form, or of any other trying mishap:—'Patience and perseverance!' 'Tisn't as bad as it would be if it were worse!' 'Never mind! 'Twill be all the same a thousand years hence!' How literally and admirably did he enter into the spirit of those sayings, though possessing a most sensitive temperament! They made a deep impression upon my memory, and through all the subsequent years of my life, in all cases of trial, have been of invaluable service to me."

CHAP. III. 1818–1825.

Lloyd early evinced a taste for poetry, and was fond of works of fiction and romance. He delighted in the Waverley Novels. His favorite poets at that time were Byron, Moore, Pope, Campbell, and Scott, and, over and above all these, Mrs. Hemans, whose writings he knew by heart; and when he subsequently published a paper of his own, there was scarcely an issue which did not contain one of her poems. It was natural that in such a stronghold of the Federalists as Newburyport still was (though the party had ceased to have a national existence), and with party feeling throughout the State running so high at each annual election, he should also take an interest in politics, and, imbibing the prevailing sentiment of his locality, become an ardent Federalist. He studied the writings of Fisher Ames, and was a fervent admirer of Timothy Pickering and Harrison Gray Otis. While yet in his teens he wielded his pen in defence of the two latter when they were under fire and their political fortunes under a cloud; but his first attempt at writing for the press was not in a political direction. In May, 1822, he wrote, in a disguised hand, and sent through the post-office his first communi-

May 21, 1822.

cation to the *Herald*, under the *nom de guerre* of "An Old Bachelor." It was entitled "Breach of the Marriage Promise," and professed to be the reflections of a bachelor on reading the recent verdict in a breach of promise case in Boston, by which a young man who had "kept company" with a girl for two years and then refused to marry her, was fined seven hundred and fifty dollars. While freely conceding that any man who had actually broken an express promise should "feel the effects of the law in a heavy degree," he maintained that the mere fact of a man's having "kept company with," or paid attentions to, one of the opposite sex for a year or two, was not conclusive evidence of a promise or engagement, but rather indicated that he desired to be assured of the wisdom of his choice before taking such a momentous step as matrimony involved; and the

"old bachelor" of sixteen then discoursed in this cynical fashion:

N. P. Herald, May 21, 1822.

"The truth is, however, women in this country are too much idolized and flattered; therefore they are puffed up and inflated with pride and self-conceit. They make the men to crouch, beseech, and supplicate, wait upon and do every menial service for them to gain their favor and approbation; they are, in fact, completely subservient to every whim and caprice of these changeable mortals. Women generally feel their importance, and they use it without mercy.

"For my part, notwithstanding, I am determined to lead the '*single life*' and not trouble myself about the ladies."

Lloyd was at work at the case when his master received and opened this youthful production, and he awaited anxiously the verdict as to its acceptance. It happened to strike Mr. Allen's fancy, and after reading it aloud for the edification of others in the office, he unsuspectingly handed it to its author to put in type, and it filled nearly a column of the *Herald*. Elated by this first success, the boy wrote a second communication in a similar vein, which appeared three days later; and a week after this he furnished a highly imaginative account of a shipwreck, which was so palpably the work of one innocent of the sea and of ships as to make its acceptance rather surprising; but the editor was probably equally innocent, if many of his seafaring patrons and readers were not. The signature appended to this article was abbreviated to the initials "A. O. B.," which mark most of his subsequent articles for the *Herald*. He still, and for nearly the whole of the ensuing year, concealed his authorship, although his master was so well pleased with the communications of his unknown correspondent that he wrote him through the post-office requesting him to continue them, and expressing a desire for an interview with him.

May 24, 1822.

To his mother alone did Lloyd confide his secret, and she received it with mingled pride and misgiving, as appears by the following letter, dated July 1, 1822. She

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had then been confined to her room for ten months, and, after describing her helpless condition,—unable to dress without assistance, "living on the charity of friends," and " feeling at times all the sensations of mortified pride,"—telling Lloyd how his kind attention to her and his good behavior cheered her drooping spirits, and exhorting him to learn his trade and be master of his business, she goes on to say:

* *MS.*

"I have had my mind exercised on your account, and please to let me know the particulars in your next. You write me word that you have written some pieces for the *Herald*. Anonymous writers generally draw the opinion of the publick on their writing, and frequently are lampoon'd by others. If Mr. Allen approves of it, why, you have nothing to fear, but I hope you consulted him on the publication of them. I am pleased, myself, with the idea, provided that nothing wrong should result from it. You must write me one of your pieces so that I can read [it] on one side of your letter, and I will give you my opinion whether you are an old bachelor, or whether you are A. O. B., as A may stand for Ass, and O for Oaf, and B for Blockhead. Adieu, my dear. You will think your Mother is quizzing. Your dear Mother until death."

N. P. Herald, July 16 and 19, 1822.

In July he contributed two articles respecting South American affairs, in which he expressed astonishment and indignation that the young republics of that country, after receiving the sympathies and ardent wishes of the United States for their success, during their long struggle with Spain, should now countenance such outrages as had been committed at Valparaiso and Lima on American vessels and their captains, by enforcing various extortionate demands upon them. He declared that the United States Government should authorize the commanders of its ships of war in South American ports to obtain redress for the wrongs done American citizens. " The only expedient to command respect and protect our citizens will be to finish with cannon what cannot be done in a conciliatory and equitable manner, where justice demands such proceedings." And after hoping that the South Americans would " soon learn to prize the bless-

ings of freedom and independence in a correct manner," he advised them to "take the United States as a fair and beautiful model by which to govern the affairs of their country—a model which no other nation under heaven can boast its equal, for correctness of sound republican principles and wise and judicious administration:—let them take this, we repeat, as an example, and then can we cordially and joyfully hail them as *freemen*—while Liberty's bright and glorious beams would shine with redoubled splendor over their land, and dispel every cloud of tyranny and civil discord."

It is evident from this sophomoric burst of patriotic eloquence that the boy knew and had thought no more about slavery than about war, at that time, and little suspected how far his country was from being a model republic. Nor did he gain wisdom or inspiration from those about him. Caleb Cushing had then an editorial connection with the *Herald*, and to him may safely be ascribed the authorship of two editorials which appeared in the paper within this same month. The first, in recording the recent suppression of a slave insurrection in Charleston, S. C., and expressing a fear that the United States would yet see another San Domingo, looked to the future with despair and dread, because immediate or gradual colonization seemed to the writer hopeless and impossible, and gradual emancipation improbable and impracticable. Three weeks later, the writer maintained that the holding of slaves was not subversive of republican habits, as men who see others deprived of the blessings of freedom must learn more highly to apprize its enjoyments themselves! And yet he admitted the demoralizing effects of slavery upon the slaveholders, and that "there can never be so much purity, decorum, exactness and moderation in the morals of a people among whom slaves abound."

N. P. Herald, July 12, 1822.

N. P. Herald, August 2, 1822.

This is a fair specimen of the hopeless, aimless, manner in which slavery was discussed or referred to at the North after the Missouri Compromise of 1820 had

CHAP. III. 1818–1825.

practically pledged the free States against any further reöpening of the question, and sealed their complicity in the maintenance and protection of the accursed institution. While that measure was pending, John Quincy Adams, then Secretary of State, lamented the fatality by which all the most eloquent orators were found on the pro-slavery side.

J. Quincy's Memoir of J. Q. Adams, p. 102.

"There is," he wrote, "a great mass of cool judgment and of plain sense on the side of freedom and humanity, but the ardent spirits and passions are on the side of oppression. O! if but one man could arise with a genius capable of comprehending, a heart capable of supporting, and an utterance capable of communicating those eternal truths which belong to the question,—to lay bare in all its nakedness that outrage upon the goodness of God, human slavery,—now is the time, and this is the occasion, upon which such a man would perform the duties of an angel upon earth."

The Massachusetts statesman who confided this fervent wish to his diary and then, as Cabinet minister, gave his assent to the Compromise, was clearly not the man for the occasion, and he little dreamed that the one he sighed for was even then, in his own State of Massachusetts, mastering the use of the weapon with which, a decade later, he was to startle and arouse a guilty nation. Neither did he recognize and welcome him when the tocsin of the *Liberator* convulsed the South with terror, and proclaimed the beginning of the end of slavery. As little did Caleb Cushing suspect that the apprentice-boy who put his editorials in type, and in whom, as a bright and promising lad, he took a friendly interest, was destined to prove his assertion that colonization was impossible, and gradual emancipation impracticable, and to show the only right and safe way to cure a gigantic evil. And no more did the boy himself realize for what work he was marked out.[1]

[1] "He knew not that his chosen hand,
Made strong by God, his native land
Would rescue from the shameful yoke
Of Slavery—the which he broke!"
(Coleridge, after Stolberg's "Tell's Birthplace.")

For the next two years current politics chiefly were the theme of his anonymous contributions to the press. In March and April, 1823, under the signature of "One of the People," he wrote three articles for the *Herald* under the title of "Our Next Governor," and warmly advocated the election of Harrison Gray Otis, as one who, in the numerous positions which he had already occupied, had "conferred lasting honor on Massachusetts, being one of the brightest constellations in her political horizon." His final article was one of glowing panegyric of Otis, and impassioned appeal to his "fellow-electors" to rally to the polls. "Upon you, then, fellow-electors, much is depending—the liberties of the people! And on Monday next arise in the greatness of your might, and cease not from the most strenuous exertions till you *repose in the lap of victory!*"

March 14, and April 1 and 4, 1823.

In spite of this eloquence, Otis was defeated by Eustis, the Democratic candidate, to the intense disgust of his youthful advocate, who next turned his attention to foreign politics. Under the title of "A Glance at Europe," and under his old signature of "A. O. B.," he contributed in April and May three articles, remarkably well written for a boy of seventeen, on the "mad project of France, backed by the Holy Alliance, in attempting to restore Ferdinand of Spain to his throne, . . . and subjugating the people into an ill-timed acquiescence." A single passage from the second article shows that even at that early age he had acquired the vigor of characterization and power of invective which were afterwards to be used against domestic tyranny:

Wm. Eustis.

N. P. Herald, April 22, May 2 and 16, 1823.

"The Holy Alliance, from its first formation, has met throughout Europe and America with that general burst of indignation which it justly merits. It is the grand engine of destruction by which to extirpate the rights and privileges of nations, and to dig up and destroy the seeds which Liberty has planted. It is a Royal Banditti, leagued together for the unhallowed purpose of robbing the world of its richest treasure, and placing in its stead the sceptre of tyranny. It is a combination of military despots, brought together and cemented with the atrocious in-

N. P. Herald, May 2, 1823.

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tention of shackling the fairest portions of the globe with manacles that ages cannot decay or sever. Such is this self-styled Holy Alliance,—but which has stamped an indelible stigma upon a name so sacred,—with such unrighteous views was it formed."

1822.

In the previous month of December, Mr. Allen had gone to Mobile for the winter, leaving Lloyd in charge of the office, while Mr. Cushing attended to the editorial conduct of the *Herald*, and it was the latter who now first discovered that the author of these and previous articles under the same signature was no other than Mr. Allen's senior apprentice. He instantly commended and encouraged him, lending him books, and calling attention editorially to the papers on the Holy Alliance, "in which," he said, "we recognize the hand of a correspondent who at different times has favored us with a number of esteemed and valuable contributions." It is probable that the boy's interest in European affairs was largely due to Mr. Cushing himself, who had written, at the beginning of the year, a series of articles for the *Herald*, giving a résumé of the political situation and outlook at home and abroad.

N. P. Herald, April 22, 1823.

Circumstances now arose to prevent Lloyd's writing further for the press for a considerable period. In September, 1822, his sister Elizabeth had died in Baltimore, leaving the mother bereft and desolate, and in March, 1823, the latter wrote and earnestly entreated her son to come and see her before she, too, should pass away. She had then been confined to her bed for several weeks and felt that her end was near:

MS. to W. L. G., March 24, 1823.

"I trust," she wrote, "I have no one in N. P. that would say one word against your coming under existing circumstances; besides, I want to see you on some business of mine that would ease my mind very much. Should the Lord spare me, and Mr. Allen returns from Mobile, perhaps you can come. You have a Master that claims my warmest wishes. I feel grateful to him for all his kindness to you. May the Lord repay him an hundred fold, spiritual and temporal. Likewise I tender my thanks to all your friends at N. P. for their goodness to you,

and hope you may merit the approbation of them all by your good behavior. O Lloyd, if I was to hear and have reason to think you was unsteady, it would break my heart. God forbid! You are now at an age when you are forming character for life, a dangerous age. Shun every appearance of evil for the sake of your soul as well as the body. . . . I am still keeping house and have a woman to take care of me, and, thank God! I have accumulated friends that are very kind to me. I have not money, but I do not want for anything to make me comfortable."

Mr. Allen's prolonged absence at the South made it impossible for Lloyd to go to his mother until his master's return in May, when he wrote a long letter to her, explaining why he could not at once hasten to her, and requesting her, as Mr. Allen was loth to let his valued apprentice go, even for a short time and on such an errand, to write directly to him and state the urgency of the case. This letter, written in his clear hand and punctuated with scrupulous exactness, is especially interesting for its allusions to his anonymous contributions to the *Herald:*

W. L. Garrison to his Mother.

NEWBURYPORT, May 26th, 1823. *MS.*

DEAR MOTHER: . . . Your letter was alike a source of pleasure and of pain. Of pleasure, because it was pleasing to receive a letter couched in such tender language from an affectionate mother, whose prop of comfort and consolation devolves upon her son, who, should he fail, would bring her in sorrow to the grave.— Of pain, because it brought the intelligence of your having experienced another bleeding at the lungs, which had almost laid you at death's door — but this was mitigated in some degree with the assurance that you had recovered in some measure from the effects of the same.

Since I have received your letter, my time has been swallowed up in turning *author*.— I have written in the *Herald* three long political pieces, under the caption of "*Our Next Governor*," and the signature of "*One of the People*"— rather a great signature, to be sure, for such a *small man* as myself.— But vain were the efforts of the friends and disciples of Washington, the true

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Federal Republicans of Massachusetts — Democracy has finally triumphed over correct principles, and this State may expect to see the scenes of 1811–12 revived in all their blighting influence;— may they be as short-lived as they were at that period. You will undoubtedly smile at my turning politician at the age of *eighteen* — but, "true 'tis, and *(perhaps)* pity 'tis 'tis true"— and I cannot but help smiling myself at the thought.— I have likewise published another political communication under the same signature. Besides these, I have written three other communications under the head of "*A Glance at Europe*" — analyzing the present state of political affairs between Spain and the Holy Alliance — and which called forth a very handsome notice of the same from Mr. Cushing, the Editor of the *Herald*.— But I am at last discovered to be the author, notwithstanding my utmost endeavors to let it remain a secret.— It is now but partially known, however, and has created no little sensation in town — so that I have concluded to write no more at present.

Caleb Cushing.

Thus you perceive, my dear mother, that my leisure moments have been usefully and wisely employed;— usefully, because it is beneficial in cultivating the seeds of improvement in my breast, and expanding the intellectual powers and faculties of my mind; wisely, because it has kept me from wasting time in that dull, senseless, insipid manner, which generally characterizes giddy youths. It is now about one year since I commenced writing for the *Herald* — and in that time I have written about fifteen communications.—When I peruse them over, I feel absolutely astonished at the different subjects which I have discussed, and the style in which they are written. Indeed, it is altogether a matter of surprise that I have met with such signal success, seeing I do not understand *one single rule of grammar*, and having a very inferior education.— But enough of my scribblings, in all conscience, for the present, to something that is more important and interesting. . . .

Baltimore.

Write particularly where I shall find you, should I come to B., and how I shall get to your boarding place.— I cannot but exclaim—"Oh! had I the wings of a dove, then would I soar away, and be with you." Excuse this hasty scrawl, as it is now midnight. Adieu! dear mother, and O may Heaven grant that I shall clasp you again to my throbbing breast.

W. L. GARRISON.

His mother received this letter on June 2, 1823, and promptly wrote an earnest and pathetic appeal to Mr.

Allen to allow her son to pay her a final visit; and this he could no longer refuse. To Lloyd she also wrote at the same time, giving him directions how to find her, on his arrival in Baltimore, and endeavoring to conceal her pride and interest in his literary efforts by warning him of the dangers and difficulties he was liable to encounter; but her exhortation ended with a blessing, and a request that he would bring his productions for her to read. This was probably the last letter she ever wrote to him:

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MS. to W. L. G., June 3, 1823.

"Next, your turning Author. You have no doubt read and heard the fate of such characters, that they generally starve to death in some garret or place that no one inhabits; so you may see what fortune and luck belong to you if you are of that class of people. Secondly, you think your time was wisely spent while you was writing political pieces. I cannot join with you there, for had you been searching the scriptures for truth, and praying for direction of the holy spirit to lead your mind into the path of holiness, your time would have been more wisely spent, and your advance to the heavenly world more rapid. But instead of that you have taken the Hydra by the head, and now beware of his mouth; but as it is done, I suppose you think you had better go on and seek the applause of mortals. But, my dear L., lose not the favour of God; have an eye single to his glory, and you will not lose your reward. . . . Now, my dear, I must draw to a close and say that I love you as dear as ever, especially when you consider your dear mother and are trying by your good behaviour to soothe her path to the grave. May God bless you and be with you all the days of your life, is my ardent prayer. . . . Will you be so kind as to bring on your pieces that you have written for me to see? . . .

"Adieu, my dear, for I am tired.

"Your affectionate Mother,

"FRANCES M. GARRISON."

Lloyd embarked from Boston for Baltimore on June 21, 1823. He had never been in Boston before, and it is evident from the letter which he wrote to his master from Baltimore that he did not enjoy his day's experience there:

MS. to E. W. Allen, July 7, 1823.

"You wished me to call at No. 1, Cornhill, and ask Mr. Carter for some more leads for the paper. This I intended to have done: but, after wandering about 2 or 3 hours, and enquiring of 20 different persons, (none of whom, however, would take the trouble to show me,) I was forced to give up in despair. Being totally unacquainted with Boston, and never there before, I got lost several times in my travels — so that all was perplexity. Indeed, I felt truly homesick in being one short day in Boston. — I was seasick but about 15 minutes on my passage."

The voyage was a tedious one of fourteen days, the ship encountering "very boisterous weather and considerable head winds," as the same letter describes. "The evening we sailed from Boston, a very heavy gale of wind tore our foretopsail, maintopsail, and jibs, besides rendering other considerable damage. We were thus obliged to put in at Hyana Heads, for the purpose of repairing our tattered sails, where we remained two days, the winds and the weather conspiring against us."

Hyannisport.

Of this storm, however, Lloyd knew nothing at the moment, for, wearied by his day's adventures in Boston, he went on board the vessel, and, after wondering how she could ever be worked out from among the other shipping at the wharf, stretched himself in his berth and slept so soundly that he was unconscious of everything until Hyannis was reached, the next day. There he went ashore with some of his fellow-passengers, who decided to remain on land overnight rather than go back to the ship in such rough water, and when he undertook to return alone, he failed to get alongside the vessel, and wind and tide swept him and his boat a mile or more down the shore. He narrowly escaped being swamped, but finally managed to land, and trudged back to the town. In Chesapeake Bay a terrific thunderstorm was encountered, but a landing was finally made in Baltimore on the 5th of July. His meeting with his mother was most affecting. To Mr. Allen he wrote:

1823.

MS., July 7, 1823.

"You must imagine my sensations on beholding a dearly beloved mother, after an absence of *seven* years. I found her

in tears — but, O God, so altered, so emaciated, that I should never have recognized her, had I not known that there were none else in the room. Instead of the tall, robust woman, blooming in health, whom I saw last, she is now bent up by 'fell disease,' pined away to almost a skeleton, and unable to walk. She is under the necessity of being bolstered up in bed, being incompetent to lie down, as it would immediately choke her."

The next two or three weeks, during which Lloyd was able to remain with his mother, were precious to them both, for they had many things to talk of before their final separation, — Lloyd's prospects for the future; the mystery attending his father; the recent death of his sister; and the possible fate of his wayward brother James, from whom nothing had been heard for years, and who was destined, poor waif! to be tossed and driven about the sea, suffering incredible hardships, for nearly a score of years longer, before he was finally discovered and rescued by his brother.

Not long after Lloyd had taken farewell of his mother and returned to Newburyport, a cancerous tumor which had formed on her shoulder necessitated an operation, from the effects of which she never rallied, and she steadily sank until the 3rd of September, when death ensued. Everything was done by the friends about her to make her last days comfortable, and her remains were interred in the private burial lot of a family who had been especially attached and devoted to her. Her son recorded her decease in the Newburyport *Herald* of September 9, 1823, as follows:

1823.

DIED. In Baltimore, 3rd inst., after a long and distressing illness, which she bore with Christian fortitude and resignation, Mrs. Frances Maria Garrison, relict of the late Capt. Abijah G., formerly of this town, aged 45. [*The printers of the Eastport Sentinel and St. John Star are requested to copy this death into their respective papers.*]

With three exceptions, when he contributed some trifling and unimportant verses under his old signature

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of "A. O. B.," Lloyd wrote nothing for the *Herald* during the next year. In June, 1824, however, he was moved by the publication of Timothy Pickering's 'Review of John Adams's Letters to William Cunningham,' to send two long communications to the Salem *Gazette*, under the signature of "Aristides." These were highly eulogistic of Mr. Pickering, whose pamphlet in defence of himself against the attacks of Mr. Adams had caused a wide sensation and led to an acrimonious war of words between the partisans of those eminent statesmen. Walsh's *National Gazette* of Philadelphia was the mouth-piece of the Adams party, while the Salem *Gazette* was understood to speak by authority for Mr. Pickering; and such was the interest in the discussion that raged for a time, that the letters of the Newburyport apprentice attracted much notice, and were believed to have come from a maturer hand. The controversy had an indirect bearing on the impending Presidential election, in which John Quincy Adams was a candidate, and the Pickering party aimed their darts at the son, therefore, quite as much as at the father. The youthful "Aristides," who, four years later, ardently advocated his reëlection, now joined in decrying him. His conception of the character of General Andrew Jackson was much more clear and accurate, and his next contribution to the *Gazette* was an open letter to that military chieftain, endeavoring to convince him of his utter unfitness for the office of President, and the hopelessness of his efforts to gain that position. This letter was forcible, dignified, and mature in thought and expression.

June 11 *and* 29.

July 27, 1824.

Salem Gazette, Aug. 6, 10, 20, *Sept.* 7, *Oct.* 22, 29, 1824.

His remaining contributions to the *Gazette* were a series of six articles entitled "The Crisis," which appeared at intervals between the beginning of August and end of October, and discussed the political situation. The importance of united action on the part of the Federalists, now so largely in the minority, was emphasized, and their support of William H. Crawford for the Presidency in opposition to John Quincy Adams was

strongly urged; yet while "Aristides" had much to say in depreciation of the latter, he evidently knew very little of the former, and simply supported him because he was the candidate of the Pickering faction. Quotations from Shakespeare and Junius prefixed to two or three of the letters indicate that the writer was already familiar with those masters of the language.

Aside from his great sorrow in the loss of his mother and sister, the last three years of Lloyd's apprenticeship were very happy years to him. Trusted by his master with the entire supervision of the printing-office, and with the editorial charge of the *Herald* when he was himself absent; devoting his spare hours to reading and study; encouraged by the recognition of merit in his various essays at writing for the press, and by the ready acceptance and insertion of his articles and communications: fond of social intercourse, and a universal favorite with his friends of both sexes; full of health, vigor and ambition; known and respected by all his townspeople as an exemplary and promising young man — success in life seemed easily within his grasp. An oil portrait taken about this period by Swain, a local artist, represents him with a smooth face, abundant black hair, a standing collar, and a ruffled shirt bosom. "He was an exceedingly genteel young man," writes Mr. Morss, "always neatly, and perhaps I might say elegantly dressed, and in good taste, and was quite popular with the ladies." And the Rev. E. W. Allen, a son of the *Herald* proprietor, has a vivid recollection of Lloyd's handsome face, glowing color, quick and active movements, and his ever bright and happy presence in the household. *MS.*

His most intimate friend at this time was a young man named William Goss Crocker, who was, like himself, warmly attached to the Baptist church, and who subsequently became a missionary to Liberia, where he died in 1844. He was only a few months older than Lloyd, and they spent many evenings together in a room over the bookstore and printing-office of W. & J. Gilman,

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engaged in reading and study and literary composition. Crocker had been on the shoemaker's bench for a time, but afterwards went into the office of the Gilmans as an apprentice, probably succeeding, in that capacity, a youth named Isaac Knapp, who, like Crocker, was warmly attached to Lloyd and greatly influenced by his strong magnetism. Others felt this, also, and a debating society known as the Franklin Club, before which Lloyd one year delivered a Fourth of July oration, was really founded by him.[1] The intimacy between him and Crocker waned after they separated and left Newburyport, the one to seek a journalistic career, and the other to enter a theological school;[2] but that with Knapp, as will abundantly appear, was more enduring and of the highest importance.

Though Lloyd was not, like Crocker, a communicant in the church, he was a constant attendant at its meetings, and had become, as his mother had fondly anticipated, "a complete Baptist as to the tenets." He had never been baptized, himself, but he was yet zealous for immersion as the only acceptable baptism; he believed in the clerical order and the organized church as divinely instituted, and was a strict Sabbatarian. He early became familiar with the Bible, and could repeat scores of verses by heart, but he did not realize their full meaning and power until his consecration to the cause of the slave led him to study the book anew.

Lib. 19: 178.

It was during the year 1824 that he first discovered his near-sightedness, and when he one day chanced to try the spectacles of Miss Betsey Atkinson, an old friend of his mother, and discerned things that he had never seen

[1] Mr. Charles J. Brockway, who was two years Lloyd's junior, and recalls him as "a handsome and an attractive youth, unusually dignified in his bearing for so young a man," says, in reference to this oration, that Lloyd practised his declamation in the "groves and green fields on the outskirts of his native town." "Old Maid's Hall," now a part of Oak Hill Cemetery, was one of his resorts for this purpose.

[2] An acrostic addressed to William Goss Crocker, on his departure for Liberia, and signed "G.," on page 160 of the fifth volume of the *Liberator* (1835), gives evidence of their continued friendship, however.

Wm. L. Garrison.

before, he was full of delight, for "a new world seemed opened" to his vision, and from that time he wore glasses. CHAP. III. 1818–1825.

About this same period he had a boyish desire to go to Greece and join the forces of the revolutionists against Turkish tyranny, and he also thought of seeking a military education at West Point. He was enthusiastic over Lafayette's visit to Newburyport, at the end of August, 1824, and was among the thousands who awaited his arrival late at night, in a drenching rain. He used to narrate how Lafayette, who was deeply moved by the sight, begged the people, with tears in his eyes, no longer to expose themselves so for his sake, but to disperse and come and shake him by the hand the next morning, and Lloyd was one of the multitude who availed themselves of that privilege. *Aug.* 31.

His most considerable contribution to the *Herald* during the last year of his apprenticeship was a three-column article on "American Writers," in reply to an attack by John Neal in *Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine;* but most of the writers in whose behalf he sharpened his quill are now forgotten and unknown. *N. P. Herald, May* 17, 1825.

On the 10th of December, 1825, he completed his apprenticeship of seven years and two months in the *Herald* office, and under the (as it subsequently appeared, mistaken) impression that the year of his birth was 1804, and that he had now attained his majority, he signalized the event by a fervid poem of eight stanzas, entitled "Twenty-One!" with this concluding invocation:

Spirit of Independence! where art thou?— *Ibid., Dec.* 16, 1825.
I see thy glorious form — and eagle eye,
Beaming beneath thy mild and open brow —
Thy step of majesty, and proud look high:
Thee I invoke! — O to this bosom fly;
Nor wealth shall awe my soul, nor might, nor power;
And should thy whelps assail,— lank poverty!
Or threatening clouds of dark oppression lower,—
Yet these combined — defied! shall never make thee[1] cower!

[1] The sense seems here to call for "me" instead of "thee."

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He remained a few weeks longer in the *Herald* office, as a journeyman, and his last contribution to that paper bore, like his first, his bachelor initials, and was devoted to a similar theme, being an "Essay on Marriage," which he discussed with the same affectation of cynicism as at first, declaring that "of all the conceits that ever entered into the brains of a wise man, that of marriage is the most ridiculous." And with this light and trivial conclusion to his boyish essays, he graduated from the office of the *Herald*, and went forth to establish a paper of his own, and to see what place in the world he could now show himself able to fill.

N. P. Herald, January 3, 1826.

CHAPTER IV.

EDITORIAL EXPERIMENTS.— 1826–1828.

ALTHOUGH his own political sympathies and affiliations were with the Federalists and their successors, the Federal Republicans, it was Mr. Allen's effort so to conduct the *Herald* as to secure the good-will and patronage of all parties in the community, and the paper was classed as "independent," which signified in those days neutrality and a willingness to admit communications from both parties to its columns. So far was this from satisfying the Democrats of Newburyport and vicinity, however, that they tried, in 1824, to establish a newspaper of their own, under the title of the *Northern Chronicler*. The venture was unsuccessful, and the paper was sold, in June, 1825, to Isaac Knapp, 3rd, who changed its name to the *Essex Courant* and published it as a "neutral" paper until the following spring, the last issue being dated March 16, 1826. The next week the paper underwent another change and appeared, on March 22, under the title of the *Free Press*, and with the name of Wm. L. Garrison as publisher in place of his friend Mr. Knapp, whose retirement on account of ill-health was announced in the final number of the *Courant*. Thus, within three months from the termination of his long apprenticeship in the *Herald* office, Garrison found himself the editor and publisher of a newspaper in his native town, and entered upon his new career full of confidence in his own abilities, and of hope that success would reward his effort to establish a bold and inde-

CHAP. IV. 1826–1828.

pendent journal. The venture was not made wholly on his own responsibility, Mr. Allen proving his faith in his favorite apprentice by advancing the money requisite for the purchase of the paper and its equipment; but this was done quietly and without the knowledge of others than the parties concerned. Mr. Garrison, who left Mr. Allen's home when his apprenticeship ended, and returned to Mrs. Farnham's, always gratefully remembered the kind friendship and encouragement of his old master, and declared that "a better father, a better master, a worthier citizen, or a man of more integrity, benevolence, and steadfastness of character" did not, to his belief, exist.

Journal of the Times, Mar. 13, 1829.

The *Free Press* was a four-page sheet, measuring $11\frac{3}{8}$ x $17\frac{1}{2}$ inches to the printed page, and with five columns on a page; the subscription price was $2.00 a year.[1] The very first number showed a marked improvement in typographical taste and arrangement over its predecessor the *Courant*, and indicated that the new editor had clearly-defined ideas as to the appropriate matter and make-up of a good newspaper. The first page was usually devoted to selected miscellany; the second to the proceedings of Congress and the State Legislature, foreign and domestic news, and the editorial department; while the third and fourth pages contained sundry items and paragraphs, the ship news, poetry column, advertisements, etc. The motto displayed under the title of the paper—"Our Country, Our Whole Country, and Nothing but Our Country"—was somewhat different from that which the editor adopted for the *Liberator*, five years later. But he was now full of patriotism in its narrower sense, and the leading article in the initial number of the *Free Press*, occupying nearly two columns of the first page, was an impassioned argument and demand for the settlement by Congress of the "Massachusetts Claim," namely, for indemnification on account of the

[1] The office of the paper, at first at No. 24 State St., was subsequently removed to No. 2 South Row, Market Square.

sums advanced by that State for the defence of her own coast during the war of 1812. The claims of other (especially Southern) States had been promptly allowed and paid, while Massachusetts was compelled to plead and sue for hers year after year. The indignant young editor pursued the subject through several numbers of his paper, giving much space to the official correspondence and to the debates in Congress concerning the matter. *Plus apud nos vera ratio valeat quam vulgi opinio* was the quotation from Cicero which he prefixed to his articles, and the same declaration was embodied in his Salutatory to his patrons, which is here given in full:

Free Press, Mar. 22, 1826.

"It would seem uncourteous in the publisher, at this time, not to make a few remarks upon the course which he has marked out for himself. Youthful in years and experience, he has not the vanity to claim what belongs to riper age, or to presume that he is fitly qualified for the present task. But if an earnest desire to improve both the matter and the appearance of the paper; if a determination to pursue his favorite avocation with vigor and zeal; can claim a share of public indulgence and support, he trusts that his efforts will not be altogether vain.

"As to the political course of the *Free Press*, it shall be, in the widest extent of the term, *independent*. The publisher does not mean, by this, to rank one amongst those who are of everybody's and of nobody's opinion; who forge their own fetters and cannot move beyond the length of their chains;— nor one, of whom the old French proverb says, '*Il ne sait sur quel pied danser.*' [He knows not on which leg to dance.] Its principles shall be open, magnanimous, and free. It shall be subservient to no party or body of men: and neither the craven fear of loss, nor the threats of the disappointed, nor the influence of power, shall ever awe one single opinion into silence. Honest and fair discussion it will court; and its columns will be open to all temperate and intelligent communications, emanating from whatever political source. In fine, he will say with Cicero: 'Reason shall prevail with him more than popular opinion.' They who like this avowal may extend their encouragement; and if any feel dissatisfied with it, they must act accordingly. The publisher cannot condescend to solicit their support."

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The keynote of his whole editorial career, which he struck thus clearly and unfalteringly at the very outset, was followed by a frank confession of the slender patronage which the paper was then receiving, and a hint that even the long-established and eminently respectable *Herald* had no very generous support:

Free Press, Mar. 22, 1826.

"We are free to acknowledge," the next paragraph read, "that our subscription-list is by no means bulky; and although infinitely better than Falstaff's ragged followers, yet unbecomingly stinted, considering the magnitude of the town. Perhaps in the whole United States an instance cannot be found, where, in a population of 7000, two papers are so feebly supported as in Newburyport. [Our brother of the *Herald* will perceive that we speak *under the rose* — *i. e.*, ☞ TWO words for ourselves, and ONE for him.] We will not pretend to unravel the cause, but if every little flourishing village can kindly cherish TWO newspapers, why may not a large commercial town afford the same encouragement?"

In the second number, the editor announced that his remarks on the Massachusetts Claim the preceding week had brought him orders from ten indignant subscribers for the discontinuance of their papers, and he assured them that he erased their names from the list with the same pleasure which he felt in inserting more than an equal number in their place. They were doubtless Democrats (or "Republicans," as they were then called) who had taken offence at his criticisms on Governors Eustis and Lincoln for their unsatisfactory conduct of the State's case against the National Government; and more followed their example a week or two later. "Nevertheless, we repeat," said the editor, "our happiness at the loss of *such* subscribers is not a whit abated. We *beg* no man's patronage, and shall ever erase with the same cheerfulness that we insert the name of any individual. . . . Personal or political offence we shall studiously try to avoid — truth, *never*."

Wm. Eustis, Levi Lincoln.

The year 1826 was noteworthy as completing the first fifty years of the nation's independence; and the remarkable coincidence of the death of the two ex-Presidents

and signers of the Declaration, Adams and Jefferson, on the anniversary day, made a profound impression upon the country. The *Free Press*, like other papers, devoted much space to particulars of the event, biographical sketches, anecdotes and reminiscences of the deceased statesmen, and copious extracts from the eulogies pronounced by Webster, Cushing, and Peleg Sprague; but the editor, while paying tribute to the abilities, virtues, and public services of the two men, refrained from indiscriminate eulogy, and even took his late master to task for virtually canonizing, in the columns of the *Herald*, the man (Jefferson) whom he had formerly abhorred and denounced as the "Great Lama of Infidelity," to which charge of inconsistency Mr. Allen felt obliged to make a long reply in self-defence. Commenting on the labored panegyrics — some of them "disgusting, irreverent, and puerile, and *all* of them inflated and reprehensible," the *Free Press* said:

"God has not gifted us with eloquence,— *we* therefore cannot eulogize: we have neither flattery, nor falsehood, nor hypocrisy, to bedaub the grave of either of these men. We love honesty too well to sacrifice it lightly, and must candidly confess that merely old age does not with us, as with many others, alter the deeds of manhood, or gild the errors of prejudice. From Mr. Jefferson's political sentiments we have ever differed; but his proud talents could not but command our admiration. Mr. Adams, perhaps, was the greater statesman — Mr. Jefferson, the better philosopher. The former had more caution — the latter more stability. The former was fickle to his friends — the latter firm and unchanging in his attachment. The former ruined his party by his weakness — the latter built up his own by his colossal strength. . . . Both doubtless were friends to their country — both erred — and both helped to advance the national character. . . . Let us be sparing of our panegyrics, recollecting that indiscriminate praise of the dead is often more injurious than the coarsest obloquy."

The struggle for independence then going on in Greece excited wide interest and sympathy in the United States, and the reports from Dr. Howe and other Americans who

Sam. G. Howe.

CHAP. IV. 1826–1828.

had gone to Greece either as spectators or participants in the conflict were eagerly printed. The *Free Press* copied from the *New Hampshire Gazette* a series of seventeen articles entitled "Views of Greece," by a Mr. Estwick Evans, who gave, it must be confessed, a rather dull and prosy account of his experiences in that country, with reflections on some of the Americans who had gone thither to proffer their aid, and who were popularly but erroneously supposed to be rendering valiant service in the cause of the struggling Greeks. These naturally elicited rejoinders in their defence, and sharp attacks on Mr. Evans, by the friends of the absent patriots, and in the ensuing discussion the *Free Press* sustained Evans, though differing from him on questions of home politics.

All of Mr. Garrison's editorials in the *Free Press* were set up by him at the case, without having first been written out on paper; and the ability to think with clearness and precision which he thus acquired was of great value to him then and in subsequent years. Indeed, a large part of the manual work on the paper was done by him, a boy being his only assistant. He discussed a variety of matters editorially, but they were chiefly of a political character, and his attention had not yet been directed to questions of reform. He copied, without editorial comment or reprobation, in his second number, that portion of Edward Everett's speech in Congress wherein the Massachusetts clergyman declared, that there was no cause in which he would sooner buckle a knapsack to his back, and put a musket to his shoulder, than the suppression of a servile insurrection at the South, and quoted the New Testament ("Slaves, obey your Masters!") in defence and justification of slavery. A few weeks later, however, he commended to his readers a poem on "Africa," just published and for sale at the local bookstores, and quoted a few passages from it in which the inconsistency and wickedness of tolerating slavery in the American republic were denounced in impassioned phrase. "We have perused [it] with heartfelt

Free Press, *Mar.* 29, 1826.

Ibid., *May* 18, 1826.

satisfaction," the editor said, "and would recommend it to all those who wish to cherish female genius, and whose best feelings are enlisted in the cause of the poor oppressed sons of Africa. It is the production of a young lady of fine talents, whose circumstances are far from being affluent, but whose pen should never be idle while it continues to glow with sentiments like the following." It is interesting to observe that this first indication of Mr. Garrison's giving any thought to the slavery question was elicited by the writing of a woman, and a single extract will show how well calculated it was to make an impression on his mind and conscience: CHAP. IV. 1826–1828.

". . . . . Is it a dream?
Or do I hear a voice of dreadful import,
The wild and mingling groans of writhing millions,
Calling for vengeance on my guilty land?
"Oh that my head were waters, and mine eyes
A fount of tears! — Columbia! in *thy* bosom
Can slavery dwell? — Then is thy fame a lie!
Can Oppression lift his hideous, gorgon head
Beneath the eye of FREEDOM? — Oh my country!
This deep anathema — this direst evil,
'Like a foul blot on thy dishonored brow,'
Mars all thy beauty; and thy far-famed glory
Is but a gilded toy, for fools to play with!
For in the mock'ry of thy boasted freedom
Thou smil'st, with deadly joy, on human woe!
Thy soul is nourished with tears and blood, Columbia!
O let the deepest blush of honest shame
Crimson thy cheek! for vile Oppression walks
Within thy borders! — rears his brazen front
'Neath thy unchiding eye!"

The next editorial reference to the subject is found at the conclusion of an article on the approaching "Fourth of July," in which, after reviewing the wonderful progress, material and intellectual, of the nation, during its first fifty years, and rehearsing the causes for gratitude and thanksgiving, Mr. Garrison adds:

"Thus much for the favorable side of the picture. But are there no dark shades to be seen? Is there nothing to fear for our *Free Press*, *June* 29, 1826.

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future safety? While, on the one hand, imaginary evils may be called up, on the other, we cannot be too Argus-eyed to detect real ones. Upon this point we conceive that our 4th of July Orators generally fail. Their orations should be composed, not merely of rhapsodies upon the deeds of our fathers — of a tame repetition of the wrongs which they suffered, of ceaseless apostrophes to liberty, and fierce denunciations of tyranny — but they should also abound with wholesome political axioms and reflections — the rock should be pointed out upon which other nations have split — the pruning-knife should lop off every excrescence of vanity — and our follies and virtues should be skilfully held up in equal light. There is one theme which should be dwelt upon, till our whole country is free from the curse — it is SLAVERY."

These slight allusions to the theme which afterwards engrossed his life are all that can be detected in the editorial columns of the *Free Press* during Mr. Garrison's conduct of it. The most important episode of his editorial career in Newburyport remains to be described.

With the exception of the first number, in which Percival's poem on "New England" was given the place of honor, each issue of the *Free Press* contained one or more of Mrs. Hemans's poems; and without these it is doubtful if the editor would have attempted to give a column of poetry every week. Very few original poems were sent to him that were worth printing, but in the twelfth number of his paper there appeared some verses entitled "The Exile's Departure," of which the first will suffice to show the measure and quality:

Free Press, June 8, 1826.

"Fond scenes, which delighted my youthful existence,
With feelings of sorrow I bid ye adieu —
A lasting adieu! for now, dim in the distance,
The shores of Hibernia recede from my view.
Farewell to the cliffs, tempest-beaten and grey,
Which guard the lov'd shores of my own native land;
Farewell to the village and sail-shadow'd bay,
The forest-crown'd hill and the water-wash'd strand."

They were signed "W., Haverhill, June 1, 1826," and a note on the preceding page indicated that the editor had received them with unusual satisfaction:

"If 'W.,' at Haverhill, will continue to favor us with pieces, beautiful as the one inserted in our poetical department of to-day, we shall esteem it a favor."

The manner in which this came to him, and his immediate search for the author, are best described in Mr. Garrison's own words:

MS., Lecture on Whittier.

"Going upstairs to my office, one day, I observed a letter lying near the door, to my address; which, on opening, I found to contain an original piece of poetry for my paper, the *Free Press*. The ink was very pale, the handwriting very small; and, having at that time a horror of newspaper 'original poetry,'—which has rather increased than diminished with the lapse of time,—my first impulse was to tear it in pieces, without reading it; the chances of rejection, after its perusal, being as ninety-nine to one; . . . but, summoning resolution to read it, I was equally surprised and gratified to find it above mediocrity, and so gave it a place in my journal. . . . As I was anxious to find out the writer, my post-rider one day divulged the secret — stating that he had dropped the letter in the manner described, and that it was written by a Quaker lad, named Whittier, who was daily at work on the shoemaker's bench, with hammer and lapstone, at East Haverhill. Jumping into a vehicle, I lost no time in driving to see the youthful rustic bard, who came into the room with shrinking diffidence, almost unable to speak, and blushing like a maiden. Giving him some words of encouragement, I addressed myself more particularly to his parents, and urged them with great earnestness to grant him every possible facility for the development of his remarkable genius."

April 11, 1828.

We continue the narrative from an editorial article in the *National Philanthropist*, still in Mr. Garrison's own words:

"Almost as soon as he could write, he [Whittier] gave evidence of the precocity and strength of his poetical genius, and when unable to procure paper and ink, a piece of chalk or charcoal was substituted. He indulged his propensity for rhyming with so much secrecy, (as his father informed us,) that it was only by removing some rubbish in the garret, where he had concealed his manuscripts, that the discovery was made. This bent of his mind was discouraged by his parents: they were in indigent circumstances, and unable to give him a suit-

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able education, and they did not wish to inspire him with hopes which might never be fulfilled. . . . We endeavored to speak cheeringly of the prospects of their son; we dwelt upon the impolicy of warring against nature, of striving to quench the first kindlings of a flame which might burn like a star in our literary horizon — and we spoke too of fame — 'Sir,' replied his father, with an emotion which went home to our bosom like an electric shock, 'poetry will not give him *bread*.' What could we say? The fate of Chatterton, Otway, and the whole catalogue of those who had perished by neglect, rushed upon our memory, and — we were silent."

The mischief was done, however, and the youthful poet (whose eldest sister had sent "The Exile's Departure" to the *Free Press* office without his knowledge), having now seen his own verses in print, and received warm encouragement from the editor, contributed thereafter to almost every number of the paper so long as Mr. Garrison retained control of it. Two weeks after the publication of Whittier's first poem, a second, in blank verse, entitled "The Deity," appeared, with an editorial paragraph declaring that his poetry bore the stamp of true poetic genius, which, if carefully cultivated, would rank him among the bards of his country. Other pieces followed, on such themes as "The Vale of the Merrimack," "The Death of Alexander," "The Voice of Time," "The Burial of the Princess Charlotte of Wales," "To the Memory of William Penn," "The Shipwreck," "Paulowna," "Memory," "Benevolence," etc., but they are so little above mediocrity that it is not easy to see wherein Mr. Garrison so instantly discovered the stamp of genius and the presage of future distinction as a poet; and Mr. Whittier has never deemed them worth including in his collected poems.

Underwood's Life of Whittier, p. 396.

The copy of the *Free Press* containing his first poem was flung to the boy Whittier by the carrier or post-rider, one day, while he was helping his uncle Moses repair a stone wall by the roadside; and, stopping for a moment to open and glance at it, he was so dazed and bewildered by seeing his lines in print, that he stared at

them without the ability to read, until his uncle had finally to recall him to his senses and his work. Again and again, however, he would steal a glance at the paper to assure himself that he had not been mistaken. Subsequently, when Mr. Garrison (accompanied by a friend) sought out his new contributor, the boy was again at work in the field, barefooted, and clad only in shirt, pantaloons, and straw hat; and on being summoned to the house by his sister, he slipped in at the back door in order to put on his shoes and coat before presenting himself shyly and awkwardly to the visitors, whose errand was as yet unknown to him. Before Mr. Garrison had spoken more than a few encouraging words to him, the father appeared on the scene, anxious to learn the motive of this unusual call. "Is this Friend Whittier?" was the inquiry. "Yes," he responded. "We want to see you about your son." "Why, what has the boy been doing?" he asked anxiously, and was visibly relieved to learn that the visit was one of friendly interest, merely.

To the young Quaker lad, then in his nineteenth year, it was a most important event, determining his career, for the encouragement he now received from Mr. Garrison, aided by the latter's impressive appeal to his parents, gave him his first resolution to get a good education. By sewing slippers at the shoemaker's bench, he earned enough to pay for his tuition at the Haverhill Academy the following spring. The next winter he taught school, and was thus enabled to pay for another six months' instruction at the Academy. His subsequent introduction to an editorial career continuing several years, and giving him valuable experience if not much pecuniary profit, was also brought about by Mr. Garrison, as will be hereafter related, and thus began a life-long and unbroken friendship.

The *Free Press* of September 14, 1826, completed the sixth month of the paper's existence, and the editor, in mentioning the fact, stated that the encouragement received had equalled his expectations. "He was well

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aware," he added, referring to the inception of the paper, "of the difficulty of satisfactorily conducting a weekly journal — of infusing into its columns a lively and continued interest — and of presenting a full and accurate view of passing events; but he was not discouraged. Independent of political feelings, he has the vanity to believe that his selections have generally given satisfaction, and that the paper has proved an equivalent for its price." In another column, however, he advertised that, "influenced by considerations of importance only to himself, and wishing to alter his present line of business," he offered his establishment, with its attending privileges, at a reasonable price, if purchase be made immediately; and the following week he announced the sale and transfer of the paper to Mr. John H. Harris. This gentleman, who was encouraged to come from another town and embark in the enterprise, hoped, by reversing the politics of the paper once more, to recover the support of the Republican subscribers whom Mr. Garrison had lost. An immediate change of front took place, and instead of the Hon. John Varnum, whom Mr. Garrison had urged, in his last number, for election to Congress from that district, the *Free Press* now ardently advocated the claims of Caleb Cushing, his opponent. But this attempt to galvanize and keep the paper alive utterly failed, and at the end of three months its publication ceased. Mr. Garrison's valedictory, on surrendering the paper, was as follows:

Free Press, Sept. 21, 1826.

"The establishment of a *free press* in Newburyport — one open to all parties and bound down to none — was an event which could not fail to offend and to surprise. This is a time-serving age; and he who attempts to walk uprightly or speak honestly, cannot rationally calculate upon speedy wealth or preferment. Men had rather be flattered than reproved — compliments are palatable, but plain, homely truths cannot be digested. The Editor who lashes public follies and vices, who strips deception of its borrowed garb, and aims his shafts at corruption, may be accused of arrogance and unchastened zeal — of hatred, and malice, and envy — of an unforgiving, un-

charitable, intemperate spirit — but he will hardly be praised for his labors. If the tone of the *Free Press* has sometimes given offence by its frankness, that frankness has also secured it many friends: if the lash has been occasionally misapplied, it has more frequently scourged the intended victims: if many have discontinued, more have filled their places. The present transfer has been made, not because any high expectations have not been realized, but for other inducements.

"As the Massachusetts Claim was the first object of the subscriber's attention, so also shall it be the last. The swift approach of the next session of Congress brings this claim, in all its aggravated neglect, to memory, and demands a solemn consideration. The insults which have been so repeatedly heaped upon this State, are enough to stir the spirit of every man who scorns to be a slave. It is not the paltry sum of $800,000, nor that the Commonwealth is reduced to beggary, that causes this emotion: but it is the long, deliberate, intentional injustice exercised towards a State whose services are based on the same foundation as those of sister States. The claims of Georgia, Maryland, Virginia, etc., have been promptly liquidated, while poor Massachusetts, in spite of her confession, recantation, and pardon,—in spite of her sacrifices and toils,—has her just dues withheld, and gets nothing! When the rights of a State are disregarded, it is time for the people to lay aside political distinctions, and unitedly to demand redress. This is a question of RIGHT — and it must be heard. If another session of Congress prove indifferent to this matter, a note of remonstrance may hereafter be made that 'will reach every log-house beyond the mountains.' There is a point beyond which forbearance cannot pass, and submission would be criminal.

"WM. L. GARRISON."

The retirement of Mr. Garrison from the *Free Press* elicited an expression of regret from the Boston *Courier* (then edited by Joseph T. Buckingham) that he had been compelled to relinquish a paper which he had conducted with so much "talent, judgment and good sense;" a compliment much appreciated by the recipient, who found it rather trying to his pride to descend from a position which had given him some degree of dignity and influence, and to resume work as journeyman printer. He remained only three months longer in Newburyport;

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long enough, however, to become enrolled as a member of the local Artillery Company,[1] and to take part in the political campaign of that fall, the chief feature of which was the exciting contest between Mr. Varnum and Mr. Cushing. In addition to writing articles in the *Herald* and in Salem and Haverhill papers, he ventured to speak in a public meeting of Mr. Cushing's adherents in Newburyport, delivering a scathing rebuke of their candidate which excited great wrath. His opposition to the man whom he had once ardently admired, and to whose friendly encouragement he owned himself indebted, was based partly on the ground that the latter was seeking to defeat the regularly nominated Federal candidate, but more particularly on a certain questionable proceeding which he was accused of having resorted to, for the purpose of exalting himself over his competitor, and which led to his own overwhelming defeat.

J. Varnum, C. Cushing.

Mr. Garrison's first visit to Boston, when on his way to Baltimore, has been described in the preceding chapter. His second journey to that city was made during the summer of 1826, while he was conducting the *Free Press*, and was even more unsatisfactory than the first. Unable to afford the expense of the stage fares both ways, he and his friend Isaac Knapp, with two other companions, started on foot, one intensely hot afternoon, and reached Salem (twenty-four miles distant) that night. A pair of tight boots made the walk a most painful one to Garrison, and so fatiguing was it to the others that he and Knapp were left to continue the journey alone, the next day, their friends preferring to take the stage. The pedestrians spent a whole day in walking the remaining fourteen miles to Boston, and the tight boots caused such badly blistered feet that, after a night of torture at the inn where they stayed, a retreat to Newburyport by stage the next day, without

[1] In the records of the Company the year of his enrolment is given as 1827; an error due, doubtless, to the fact that the original books were lost a year or two later, and the old rolls subsequently made up from the memory of the remaining members.

any attempt at sight-seeing, was resolved upon. Garrison's feet were lame and sore for months in consequence of this adventure.

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In the following December, having settled the affairs of the *Free Press* so far as his connection with it extended, Mr. Garrison left Newburyport and went to Boston to seek employment. Without means, and almost without an acquaintance in the city, he took refuge at first with a printer named Bennett, who had some time previously printed a translation of Cicero's Orations in Mr. Allen's office, and who was now printing the *Massachusetts Weekly Journal*, of which David Lee Child[1] was the editor. Bennett kept a boarding-house in Scott Court, leading from Union Street, and kindly allowed his young friend to remain with him until he could obtain work and the means to pay his board,—no easy matter at first, for business was dull and many were out of employment. Mr. Garrison went from office to office, day after day, and week after week, seeking a situation; but nearly a month passed before he succeeded in obtaining a foothold in the office of Lilley & Waite. During the year 1827 he worked in several offices, among them a stereotype foundery on Salem Street, Deacon Samuel Greele's (or Baker & Greele's) type foundery on Congress Street, John H. Eastburn's book and job office, also on Congress Street, and the office of the *Massachusetts Weekly Journal*, above mentioned.

Thomas H. Bennett.

Though compelled to work hard for a livelihood, his interest in politics was unabated, and when a caucus of the Federal party was convened in July, at the Exchange Coffee House, to nominate a Representative to Congress to succeed Mr. Webster, who had just been promoted to the Senate, he attended it. The "slate" had already been

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[1] A graduate of Harvard College, in the class of 1817; an able lawyer and an active politician, when induced to undertake the publication of the *Journal* as a Whig paper. After the failure of that enterprise, he did not long continue in practice at the bar. He was a forcible and prolific writer, and a man of undaunted courage. Mr. Child was married in 1828 to Miss Lydia Maria Francis. (See 'Letters of L. Maria Child,' p. viii. Boston, 1883.)

CHAP. IV. 1826–1828. arranged by the leaders for the nomination of Benjamin Gorham, a highly respectable lawyer; but Mr. Garrison, who had lost none of his admiration for Harrison Gray Otis, and none of his chagrin and vexation over the *Wm. Eustis.* latter's defeat by Governor Eustis, four years before, felt that the time had now come for the vindication of the great Federal leader, and that he should be chosen to the seat vacated by Mr. Webster. He accordingly wrote a carefully studied speech advocating his nomination, which he attempted to commit to memory, and then going to the caucus he seized an early opportunity to mount a bench and speak, as if extemporaneously. His memory or his confidence soon failed him, and he broke down; but the encouraging applause of his hearers evinced the interest and sympathy which his first words had excited, and, pulling his manuscript from his hat, he proceeded to read his speech to its conclusion. A strong sentiment in favor of Mr. Otis was at once developed, only one speaker undertaking to oppose him, from dissatisfaction with Mr. Otis's position on the question of the Tariff, or, as it was then styled, the "American System." The leaders felt that they could not ignore the manifest disposition to nominate him, and the caucus was accordingly adjourned for three days to allow time for consultation and an interview with Mr. Otis, who absolutely declined the overture, and the original programme was then harmoniously carried out.

A brief newspaper controversy ensued between Mr. Garrison and his opponent (who signed himself "S.") in *July 12, 1827.* the columns of the *Courier*, the former taking the initiative in a sharp rebuke of the latter for introducing "local interests and sectional prejudices" to "a political assembly of high-minded, intelligent Federalists," by threatening to withhold his vote from the nominee of the caucus if he should not reflect his views on the Tariff. In this communication, which bore the thinly disguised signature of "G——n," Mr. Garrison undertook to explain his own views on the vexed question which was begin-

ning to divide parties and create lasting dissensions. While captivated by the protection theory and the plausible arguments in favor of the "American System," he sympathized also with the fears of the commercial classes that a high tariff would seriously cripple their interests, and so he rather vaguely expressed himself as strongly "in favor of commerce and against an exorbitant tariff"—an "equilibrium" which he admitted the difficulty of maintaining. "The great desideratum, therefore," he concluded, "is to find that medium in national policy which shall whiten every ocean with our canvas, and erect a manufactory by every favorable stream."

In a brief rejoinder to this letter, his antagonist "S." showed that he had not yet recovered from the shock caused him by the audacious interference of the young man at the caucus:

Boston Courier, July 13, 1827.

"Under the head of 'Representative Election,' I observed a communication in your paper of yesterday, to which I will make a few brief and final remarks, and then leave it to Mr. G——n's own conscience to say whether he can or cannot speak or write himself into notice, as I conceive this to be the young gentleman's object.

"After the organization of a primary meeting of Federalists, on the evening of the 9th inst., Mr. G——n first arose and addressed the electors with much verbosity, until his ideas became exhausted, when he had recourse to his hat, which appeared to be well filled with copious notes, from which he drew liberally, to make (for aught I know) his maiden speech. An inquiry went round the room to know who the speaker was; with some difficulty I found out his name; but he shortly after discovered himself, by saying he had resided in this metropolis six months — *six whole months*. He proceeded on, and with *extreme modesty* took the liberty to designate a candidate for member of Congress, to take the place of Mr. Webster. It is very true that the gentleman he named stands high in the estimation of the public, and were not his opinions on the tariff not made up, I should be very happy to see him in the councils of our nation. I objected to him on that ground alone: was it so extraordinary that I should candidly object, as that he (Mr. G——n) should, with consummate assurance, take upon himself to make the first nomination to the respectable electors

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then present, contrary to all usage and custom at primary caucuses? It has ever been the invariable rule at such meetings, never to make a nomination till a vote has been passed to that effect, and the nomination called for. If the young gentleman of six months' standing had possessed more information on the subject, he would have known that politics had less weight with a great number of gentlemen who assembled, than the tariff and anti-tariff question, and that there were present gentlemen on both sides, pledged to their own measures. I can assure the gentleman that his enmity or favor, his good or bad opinion of me, is not a matter of the smallest consequence; and permit me to observe further, that it is revolting to my ideas of propriety, to see a stranger, a man who never paid a tax in our city, and perhaps nowhere else, to possess the impudence to take the lead and nominate a candidate for the electors of Boston.

"S."

The *Courier* of the following day contained a prompt answer to this communication, from which the following extracts are worth subjoining, both for the conscious power betrayed in the first paragraph, and for the expressions of admiration for Harrison Gray Otis:

Boston Courier, July 14, 1827.

"I sympathize with the gentleman in the difficulty which he found to learn my cognomination. It is true that my acquaintance in this city is limited — I have sought for none. Let me assure him, however, that if my life be spared, my name shall one day be known to the world,—at least to such extent that common inquiry shall be unnecessary. This, I know, will be deemed excessive vanity — but time shall prove it prophetic.

"It gives me pain, sir, to accuse your correspondent of wilful misrepresentation; but his assertion is too broad to pass unrefuted. I did not 'take upon myself to make the first nomination to the respectable electors' of Boston. Again and again I disclaimed any intention of biassing their predilections. The eulogy upon Mr. Otis may have been gratuitous, and out of place; this is not for me to determine, though I am half inclined to coincide with the gentleman; but to the latest hour of my life, I shall rejoice that I was permitted publicly to express my sentiments in favor of a man who has my strongest affections, in unison with those of the whole Federal party. So far from believing, however, (for obvious reasons,) that this distinguished

individual would be put in nomination, I went to the meeting with an expectation of no such result. *Yet, sir, this belief did injustice to the wishes of a large majority of the electors present* — THEY WANTED MR. OTIS,— no other man could have been nominated. Disguise his feelings as he may, it was the strong evidence of this fact — it was the emphatic voice of a whole assembly, *and not my feeble echo*,— that alarmed the selfishness and roused the hostility of your querulous correspondent. . . .

"The little, paltry sneers at my youth, by your correspondent, have long since become pointless. It is the privileged abuse of old age — the hackneyed allegation of a thousand centuries — the damning *crime* to which all men have been subjected. I leave it to metaphysicians to determine the precise moment when wisdom and experience leap into existence,— when, for the first time, the mind distinguishes truth from error, selfishness from patriotism, and passion from reason. It is sufficient for me that I am understood. . . . .

"If, sir, the gentleman will call on me in person, I will satisfy him that I have 'paid taxes' elsewhere, if not for a few months' residence in this city. I admire his industry in searching the books of the Treasurer — it speaks well for his patriotism; and, to relieve him from further inquiries, I promise to become a legal voter with all commendable haste.

"The hours which should be devoted to labor, Mr. Editor, allow me little time to indulge in newspaper essays. Poverty and misfortune are hard masters, and cannot be bribed by the magic of words. However, I am willing to sacrifice one meal, at least, in order that justice may be done to the 'tariff and anti-tariff question,' which your correspondent has submitted to my consideration. It shall be done some time previous to the election. I do not pretend to much information on this subject; but, to my perception, there appears but one great interest to be involved, one straightforward liberal policy to be pursued, one cause to be maintained, one generous desire to be gratified.

"G——N."

Cf. ante, p. 23.

The promised article on the tariff followed a few days later, and was a defence of the policy which was expected to make the republic independent of Great Britain and other nations, and able, by the development of its resources and industries, to supply all its own wants.

Boston Courier, July 23, 1827.

Although at first appalled by the size and apparent intricacy of the city, and confused by its turmoil, Mr.

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Garrison became much attached to Boston, and greatly enjoyed the advantages and opportunities which city life afforded him. While remaining firm in the Baptist faith, he yet delighted to listen to the preaching of Lyman Beecher, in Hanover-Street Church, to William Ellery Channing, in Federal Street, and to John Pierpont, in Hollis Street; and though he grieved that the two last-named divines were so unsound in their theological views, and wandered so far from the true faith, he had unbounded admiration for their intellectual ability, and profound respect for their personal character. Occasionally, too, he would go to Dr. Malcolm's church, for the sake of seeing the lovely face of Miss Emily Marshall, whose fame as the belle of Boston at that day was national, and whose goodness of heart and simple, unaffected ways were universally admitted and praised. Many young men were led to worship at Dr. Malcolm's by the same attraction, and it was a matter of daily occurrence for them to promenade up and down Franklin Street, where her parents lived, in the hope of getting a glimpse of her, even at her window.[1]

The public holidays also presented new scenes of interest and enjoyment to the young printer, and when, a few years later, he was incarcerated in Baltimore jail, he employed some of his leisure hours in recounting in verse his recollections of "training days" on Boston

[1] "There are a few old people still living who will justify me in saying that centuries are likely to come and go before society will again gaze, spell-bound, upon a woman so richly endowed with beauty as was Miss Emily Marshall. I well know the peril which lies in superlatives,—they were made for the use of very young persons; but in speaking of this gracious lady, even the cooling influences of more than half a century do not enable me to avoid them. She was simply perfect in face and figure, and perfectly charming in manners. . . . And this perfect personation of loveliness was beloved by women no less than she was admired by men. . . . She stood before us a reversion to that faultless type of structure which artists have imagined in the past, and that ideal loveliness of feminine disposition which poets have placed in the mythical golden age" (Josiah Quincy, of the Class of 1821, Harvard College, in 'Figures of the Past,' pp. 334–337). Miss Marshall married a son of Harrison Gray Otis (Muzzey's 'Reminiscences and Memorials,' pp. 39–41).

Common. His love for the city itself is betrayed in the last of the three verses quoted below: *Lib.* 1:92.

"I always like a Boston carnival—
And nothing better than 'election week';
It comes to all a happy annual—
('Tis not too late, in June, its scenes to seek;)
Schools are vacated—crowded is the mall
With roguish boys, who Latin learn and Greek;
Senate and House are there—per diem pay
Three dollars. Who on *such* terms would not play?

"Light infantry parade, and that artillery
Whose cognomen is 'HONORABLE AND ANCIENT';
The ladies form a beautiful auxiliary,
Fairer than summer flowers, and quite as transient;
And so they'd flock in crowds around a pillory—
Most strange to tell! without a voice dissentient:
These creatures have a boundless curiosity,
And are as noted for their fine verbosity.

. . . . . .

"I went to see the show in '27—
To be precise, about four years ago;
(I think if our first parents had been driven
From Paradise to Boston, their deep woe
Had lost its keenness—no place under heaven,
For worth or loveliness, had pleased them so;
Particularly if they had resided
In that fine house for David Sears[1] provided.)"

After staying awhile with Bennett, Mr. Garrison changed his abode and went to board with the Rev. William Collier, a Baptist city missionary, who lived at No. 30 Federal Street (on the east side), near Milk. To Mr. Collier belongs the credit of having established the first paper in the world devoted mainly to the temperance cause, and advocating total abstinence from the use of intoxicating liquors. On the 4th of March, 1826, the same month in which Mr. Garrison began his editorial career on the *Free Press*, the first number of the

[1] The granite "swell-front" on Beacon Street, now (1885) occupied by the Somerset Club.

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National Philanthropist, "devoted to the suppression of intemperance and its kindred vices, and to the promotion of industry, education, and morality," was issued by Mr. Collier. Its motto was a new and startling one, —"Moderate Drinking is the Downhill Road to Intemperance and Drunkenness,"—and it had, at the outset, the indorsement of the "Massachusetts Society for the Suppression of Intemperance," the first State temperance society formed in America. The temperance movement, however, was then in its infancy, and the paper, like all reformatory journals, had a meagre support. Its printer, Nathaniel H. White, also boarded at Mr. Collier's, and shared Mr. Garrison's room, and after a time the latter went into the office of the *Philanthropist* to set type. The paper (a four-page sheet, with four columns to the page) was then published at No. 11, Merchants' Hall, on the northeast corner of Congress and Water Streets. The post-office occupied the lower story of the building.

On the 4th of January, 1828, the editorship of the paper was intrusted to Mr. Garrison, but his name did not appear in connection with it until three months later, when Mr. Collier sold the paper to White, who formally announced the change and placed the names of himself and Garrison at the head of the paper, as proprietor and editor respectively. The number of columns was increased from sixteen to twenty in January, and the size of the page was still further enlarged in April, while an immediate improvement in the make-up and appearance of the sheet was perceptible from the day when the new editor assumed control. Still more marked were the new vigor infused into the paper, the bold and aggressive tone of its editorials, and the practical methods suggested and urged for the furtherance of the temperance cause. Its friends were reminded that they ought to acquaint the public, through the *Philanthropist*, with the meetings held and the work done in their localities, and an earnest appeal was made for their coöperation in

promptly reporting such in its columns. Voters were urged to scrutinize the moral character of candidates for office, and the necessity for concerted action on the part of temperance men in politics was emphasized. The custom of "company-treating," as the furnishing of liquor to the militia on training days was called, was then universal, and scenes of drunkenness and debauchery were naturally the result. The *Philanthropist* vigorously assailed it, and the editor wrote an "Address to the Privates of Militia and Independent Companies," to be read aloud to such as were willing to consider the subject. Until that year, licensed vendors of intoxicating drinks were permitted to sell them freely at booths and tables on Boston Common, on public holidays; and the order of the Mayor and Aldermen prohibiting it appeared in the *Philanthropist*, as did also a portion of an admirable and courageous address by the Rev. John Pierpont on the evils of the militia system, and the uselessness and inefficiency of military musters. Mr. Garrison listened with delight to this address, delivered before the Ancient and Honorable Artillery Company, which had incautiously invited Mr. Pierpont to preach the annual sermon for that year.

The universal use of intoxicating liquors on almost every occasion where men assembled together, sixty years ago, can be faintly indicated now by the statement that, aside from the constantly proffered social glass, a house was hardly ever erected, or a ship built, without rum being furnished to the neighbors who came to help raise the frame or lay the keel; and it was even served to the men who worked on the roads in country towns. So established was this custom, that every departure from it, in consequence of an awakened and reformed public sentiment, was deemed worthy of special note and rejoicing by the *Philanthropist*, which urged employers to dismiss intemperate men from their service and take only those whose sobriety could be relied upon. The editor also pointed out the criminality of professed

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Christians who participated in the liquor traffic, though he was hardly prepared at first to indorse a suggestion that total abstinence be made "a covenant engagement by the churches." Almost every number recorded the formation of some new temperance society, and in the fourth month of his editorship Mr. Garrison gave, in a prospectus of the third volume, a résumé of the progress made and the work accomplished since the establishment of the paper:

Nat. Philanthropist, April 25, 1828.

"Two years have elapsed since the *Philanthropist* was established for the purpose of checking a vice which had become predominant over every other in our country — horrible in its nature, alarming in its extent, and threatening the stability of our best institutions. Prior to that period, nothing comparatively was heard on the subject of intemperance — it was seldom a theme for the essayist — the newspapers scarcely acknowledged its existence, excepting occasionally in connection with some catastrophes or crimes — the Christian and patriot, while they perceived its ravages, formed no plans for its overthrow — and it did not occur to any that a paper, devoted mainly to its suppression, might be made a direct and successful engine in the great work of reform. Private expostulation and individual confession were indeed sometimes made; but no systematic efforts were adopted to give precision to the views or a bias to the sentiments of the people.

"When this paper was first proposed, it met with a repulsion which would have utterly discouraged a less zealous and persevering man than our predecessor.—The moralist looked on doubtfully — the whole community esteemed the enterprise desperate. Mountains of prejudice, overtopping the Alps, were to be beaten down to a level — strong interests, connected by a thousand links, severed — new habits formed — every house, every family, and almost every individual, in a greater or less degree, reclaimed. Division and contumely were busy in crushing this sublime project in its birth — coldness and apathy encompassed it on every side — but our predecessor nevertheless went boldly forward with a giant's strength and more than a giant's heart — conscious of difficulties and perils, though not disheartened — armed with the weapons of truth — full of meekness, yet certain of a splendid victory — and relying on the promises of God for the issue. By extraordinary efforts, and under appalling disadvantages,

the first number was presented to the public; and since that time it has gradually expanded in size, and increased in circulation, till doubt, and prejudice, and ridicule, have been swept away.

"Nor is this all. The change which has taken place in public sentiment is indeed remarkable — almost without a parallel in the history of moral exertions — incorporated as intemperance *was*, and still *is*, into our very existence as a people. . . . A regenerating spirit is everywhere seen; a strong impulse to action has been given, which, beginning in the breasts of a few individuals, and then affecting villages, and cities, and finally whole States, has rolled onward triumphantly through the remotest sections of the republic. As union and example are the levers adapted to remove this gigantic vice, Temperance Societies have been rapidly multiplied, many on the principle of entire abstinence, and others making it a duty to abstain from encouraging the distillation and consumption of spirituous liquors. Expressions of the deep abhorrence and sympathy which are felt in regard to the awful prevalence of drunkenness are constantly emanating from legislative bodies down to various religious conventions, medical associations, grand juries, &c., &c.— But nothing has more clearly evinced the strength of this excitement than the general interest taken in this subject by the conductors of the press. From Maine to the Mississippi, and as far as printing has penetrated — even among the Cherokee Indians — but one sentiment seems to pervade the public papers — viz.: the necessity of strenuous exertion for the suppression of intemperance. A diversity of opinion may exist as to the best mode of operation, but all agree in the extent and virulence of the disease. This is a mere synopsis of the result of two years' exertion — and what hopes does it not raise, what pledge not give, of the ultimate triumph of good principles?"

Notwithstanding this record of successful effort, the paper had a hard struggle for existence and was never self-supporting. The repeated enlargements and improvements were made in the hope of securing a larger constituency; the editor received very small remuneration; and to escape one burdensome expense, correspondents were warned that their communications would not be taken from the post-office unless the postage thereon

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was prepaid. Temperance was by no means the only subject to which the *Philanthropist* gave consideration, but such questions as lotteries, imprisonment for debt, peace, and the "desecration of the Sabbath" by the transportation of mails and of passengers on that day, were constantly discussed in its columns. The last theme especially engaged the attention of the editor, whose orthodox training led him to regard "Sabbath mails" with severe reprobation. Infidelity also came in for his frequent denunciation, and he commented approvingly on the communication of a correspondent who thought that "the surest method to suppress intemperance and its kindred vices" was to "suppress infidelity and irreligion." When a gathering of professed Infidels took place in New York, language almost failed to express his amazement and horror:

Nat. Philanthropist, April 18, 1828.

"It is impossible," he said, "to estimate the depravity and wickedness of those who, at the present day, reject the gospel of Jesus Christ, when the proofs of its divine origin have been accumulating for eighteen centuries till the mass of evidence exceeds computation — when its blessed influence is penetrating the lands where thick darkness dwells, conquering the prejudices, and customs, and opinions of the people — and when it has acquired a grandeur of aspect, a breadth of expansion, a vividness of glory, and an increase of moral strength, which stamps upon it the impress of Divinity in such legible characters that to doubt is impiety — to reject, the madness of folly."

A few weeks later, however, he was compelled, in referring to the Peace question, to admit that a profession of Christianity did not make men perfect or consistent, and to lament as astonishing and unaccountable the indifference so generally manifested by Christians to the subject of war. "They have been guilty," he declared, "of a neglect which no discouragement, no excuse, no inadequacy can justify." Why is it, he asked, that "by far the larger portion of the professed followers of the Lamb have maintained a careless, passive neutrality? . . . . There are, in fact, few

Ibid., June 13, 1828.

reasoning Christians; the majority of them are swayed more by the usages of the world than by any definite perception of what constitutes duty—so far, we mean, as relates to the subjugation of vices which are incorporated, as it were, into the existence of society; else why is it that intemperance, and slavery, and war, have not ere this in a measure been driven from our land? Is there not Christian influence enough here, if properly concentrated, to accomplish these things? Skepticism itself cannot be at a loss to answer this question."

It was of course important that the *Philanthropist*, as a journal of temperance and reform, should keep aloof from party politics, and Mr. Garrison endeavored to bear this constantly in mind; but that it cost him, with his ardent interest in political questions, some effort to do so, was apparent from an occasional paragraph or editorial defending Henry Clay against attacks made upon him, or urging voters to support Governor Lincoln for re-election, or commending the new "American System"; and one correspondent even took him to task for publishing an extract from Mr. Webster's speech on internal improvements. The *Philanthropist*, like the *Free Press*, reported the State and Congressional legislation, and gave a summary of foreign and domestic news. For a time, also, the suicides, fires, crimes, and disasters attributable to intemperance were effectively grouped each week.

In the fifth month of his editorship Mr. Garrison published a series of three editorials on "Female Influence," in which he expressed his surprise that more effort had not been made to enlist the active support and coöperation of women in promoting the temperance cause. The power of their influence and example was pointed out, the extent to which they and their children suffered as the innocent victims of the terrible scourge of intemperance was eloquently pictured, and their duty to do everything in their power to banish the intoxicating cup from their tables and homes enforced. Finally, the formation

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of women's temperance societies was urged; and Mr. Garrison, confessing his ignorance whether any were then in existence, promised to send the *Philanthropist* regularly and gratuitously to each society of not less than twelve members that had already been or might thereafter be formed. This offer developed the fact that such societies already existed in three Massachusetts towns, and led to the formation of others, the suggestion meeting with a speedy response. The incident is worth noting as showing the young reformer's early appreciation of the value of women's aid in any moral enterprise, and his quick instinct in enlisting them in the support of whatever cause he espoused.

In April, 1828, he invited subscriptions to a volume of poems by Whittier, which it was proposed to publish at Haverhill in order to raise money for the education of the Quaker lad, but the project was subsequently abandoned. The poet was now writing under the name of "Adrian," and his productions appeared in the Haverhill *Gazette*, with the editor of which he boarded while attending the winter term of the Academy. Speaking of his verses and of the youth of the writer, Mr. Garrison said:

Nat. Phil., April 11, 1828.

"There is nothing feeble or puerile, however, in his numbers; he does not deal in ornamont, or betray what Junius calls the 'melancholy madness of poetry'; but his verse combines purity of sentiment with finish of execution. Notwithstanding the numberless difficulties which surround his path, the ardor of his disposition remains undiminished; and considering the slender advantages he has enjoyed, his case is indeed remarkable and full of interest."

In the second number of the *Philanthropist* edited by him Mr. Garrison commented on the passage, by the House of Assembly of South Carolina, of a bill to prohibit the instruction of people of color in reading and writing:

Ibid., *Jan.* 11, 1828.

"There is," he declared, "something unspeakably pitiable and alarming in the state of that society where it is deemed

necessary, for self-preservation, to seal up the mind and debase the intellect of man to brutal incapacity. We shall not now consider the policy of this resolve, but it illustrates the terrors of slavery in a manner as eloquent and affecting as imagination can conceive. . . . Truly, the alternatives of oppression are terrible. But this state of things cannot always last, nor ignorance alone shield us from destruction."

The awakening interest in the subject of slavery here manifested was soon to be strengthened and confirmed. Two months later there came to Boston a young man, not yet forty, who had already devoted thirteen years to preaching the gospel of liberty, and had solemnly dedicated his life to the cause of the slave, and whose great and lasting glory it will be that he was the first American so to do. He was a Quaker, and his name was Benjamin Lundy. A native of New Jersey, where he was born (at Handwich, Sussex County) on the 4th of January, 1789, he went, at the age of nineteen, to reside in Wheeling, Virginia, and there learned the saddler's trade, serving an apprenticeship, and subsequently working for several months as a journeyman.

Mar., 1828.

Wheeling was then a great thoroughfare for the wretches who were engaged in transporting slaves from Virginia to the Southern markets, and during his four years' residence there Lundy was a constant witness of the horrors and cruelties of the traffic, as the "coffles" of chained victims were driven through the streets. "My heart," he said, "was deeply grieved at the gross abomination; I heard the wail of the captive; I felt his pang of distress; and the iron entered my soul."

Life of Lundy, p. 15.

Afterwards marrying and settling at St. Clairsville, Ohio, a few miles west of Wheeling, Lundy prosecuted his trade with much success, and soon accumulated a snug property. He organized an anti-slavery association, called the "Union Humane Society," which, beginning with only five or six members, rapidly grew to nearly five hundred. He also wrote an appeal to the philanthropists of the United States, urging the forma-

Ibid., p. 16.

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tion, wherever possible, of anti-slavery societies with a uniform title and constitution, which should coöperate with one another through correspondence and a general convention. Gradually the subject took such possession of him that he resolved to dispose of his business and join Charles Osborn, a Friend who had established at Mount Pleasant, in the same State, a journal entitled the *Philanthropist*, to which Lundy sent anti-slavery articles, at first selected, and afterwards written by himself. To consummate this arrangement, he made two trips to St. Louis with his stock-in-trade, and was compelled to dispose of it there at a ruinous sacrifice, owing to the great depression in business throughout the country. This disturbed him less than the plot, then in process of accomplishment, to force Missouri into the Union as a slave State; and into the discussion of that question, which was agitating the whole country, he threw himself with ardor, writing articles on the evils of slavery for the Missouri and Illinois papers. When, after an absence of nearly two years, and a pecuniary loss of thousands of dollars, he returned home on foot, in the winter season (a distance, by the route he had to travel, of seven hundred miles), he found that Osborn had disposed of his paper.

Autumn of 1819.

1820-21.

Meanwhile (in 1820) a small octavo monthly newspaper called the *Emancipator* had been established at Jonesborough, Tennessee, by Elihu Embree, also a Friend, to whom must be accorded the honor of publishing the first periodical in America of which the one avowed object was opposition to slavery. When Lundy heard of it he deemed it unnecessary to attempt anything of the kind himself; but, on his way home from St. Louis, news of Embree's death reached him, and he then resolved to establish a new journal at Mount Pleasant. In July, 1821, the first number of the *Genius of Universal Emancipation* was issued. It was begun without a dollar of capital, and with only six subscribers, and for a time Lundy walked a distance of twenty miles, each month,

Life of Lundy, p. 20.

Benjamin Lundy

to Steubenville, to get the paper printed, and returned with the edition on his back.

1822.

Early in the following year the *Genius* was removed to Greenville, Tennessee, through the urgency of Elihu Embree's friends, and printed on the press of the late *Emancipator*. The untiring editor travelled half of the eight hundred miles thither on foot, his family following him a few months later. He remained there till 1824, learning the printer's trade, so as to do his own work, and publishing the only anti-slavery journal in the country.[1]

It was a small monthly of sixteen pages, shabbily printed, but it was full of vigor and earnestness, and it gradually obtained a considerable circulation. A trip to Philadelphia (distant six hundred miles) in the winter of 1823-4, for the purpose of attending the biennial meeting of the "American Convention for the Abolition of Slavery,"[2] was made by him on horseback, and at his own expense.

[1] He also published, at the same time, a weekly newspaper, the Greenville *Economist and Statesman*, and an agricultural monthly.

[2] The first Convention of the Abolition Societies of the United States was held in Philadelphia, in January, 1794, under the immediate auspices of the "Pennsylvania Society for Promoting the Abolition of Slavery, the Relief of Free Negroes unlawfully held in Bondage, and Improving the Condition of the African Race," and the New York "Society for Promoting the Manumission of Slaves," the two parent anti-slavery societies formed in the United States. The former, which was founded in April, 1775, five days before the Lexington and Concord fights, counted among its presidents Benjamin Franklin and Dr. Benjamin Rush, both signers of the Declaration of Independence; and the first president of the New York Society (organized in 1785) was John Jay, subsequently Chief-Justice of the United States Supreme Court. Other State societies were formed in Delaware (1788), Maryland (1789), Rhode Island and Connecticut (1790), Virginia (1791), New Jersey (1792), all of which, with some local societies in Pennsylvania, Maryland, and Delaware, were represented in the Convention of 1794. Annual sessions of the "American Convention" were held, with more or less regularity, for several years; afterwards it met biennially till 1825, then annually till 1829, when it suspended operations for nine years, holding its final meeting in 1838. The State societies devoted their efforts to gradual emancipation in their own States, the education and moral improvement of the free people of color, and their protection and rescue from kidnapping and reënslavement. The Pennsylvania Society was especially active and vigilant in this last work, but early in the present

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It led to his deciding to remove the *Genius* to the Atlantic seaboard, and this was done in October, 1824, when he established himself at Baltimore, after making the journey from Tennessee on foot, with knapsack on back. His course took him through southwestern Virginia into North Carolina; and at Deep Creek, in the latter State, he delivered his first public address on the subject of slavery, in a grove near the Friends' Meeting House, and inspired the formation of an anti-slavery society. Before he left the State he had addressed fifteen or twenty meetings at different places, and formed a dozen or more societies, one of them at Raleigh, the capital. These were chiefly among the Friends, but one embraced some of the members of a militia company who had assembled for a muster, and its captain became the president of the society, while a Friend was chosen secretary. Entering Virginia, and traversing the middle section of the State, Lundy continued the good work without molestation, his Quaker brethren giving him their ready sympathy, while the community at large took no alarm.

Nor did the establishment of the *Genius* at Baltimore cause any excitement, for, in his initial article, the editor declared "the end and aim" of the paper to be "the gradual, though total, abolition of slavery in the United States," and he devoted the larger portion of several numbers to the advocacy and furtherance of a scheme for colonizing the emancipated slaves in Hayti, using some of the very arguments employed by the American Colonization Society, which stood in high favor throughout

century, and especially after the Missouri Compromise of 1820, a paralysis fell on the anti-slavery sentiment of the country, and the societies gradually dwindled until most of them disappeared; the new societies formed during the decade from 1830 to 1840, on the basis of immediate and unconditional emancipation, absorbing the ablest and most energetic surviving members of the old organizations. See 'An Historical Memoir of the Pennsylvania Society for Promoting the Abolition of Slavery,' etc., by Edward Needles (Philadelphia, 1848), and 'Anti-Slavery Opinions before the year 1800,' by William F. Poole (Cincinnati, 1873).

the South.[1] In the interests of this scheme he visited Hayti in 1825, and returned after several months to find his beloved wife dead, after giving birth to twins, his home desolate, and his surviving children scattered. These he collected and placed in the care of friends, and then renewed his vow to devote his energies to the cause of the slaves until the nation was aroused in their behalf. Resuming his task, he enlarged the *Genius*, and converted it into a weekly paper. William Swain, "a very capable, intelligent, and philanthropic young man," one of his North Carolina converts, became his assistant, and to him Lundy could intrust the paper while he made occasional journeys to hold meetings, obtain subscribers, and stimulate the formation of anti-slavery societies. It was not until 1828, however (a year after he had been brutally assaulted and almost killed in the streets of Baltimore by Austin Woolfolk, a notorious slave-trader), that he made his way northward on one of these missions, beginning at Philadelphia, and holding there the first meeting ever held in this country for encouraging the use of free-labor products. In New York he became slightly acquainted with Arthur Tappan, a merchant already distinguished for his munificent philanthropy, and in Providence he met William Goodell, who was then publishing a paper called the *Investigator*. "I endeavored to arouse him," records Lundy, "but he was at that time slow of speech on my subject"—a slowness for which he afterwards amply atoned.[2]

Life of Lundy, p. 25.

Ibid., pp. 206–209.

Ibid., p. 25.

Ibid., p. 25.

Ibid., p. 25.

[1] And yet, only a few months previous, Lundy had expressed some distrust of the Colonization Society because Clay, Randolph, and other prominent slaveholders were active in its councils.

[2] William Goodell (born in Coventry, N. Y., Oct. 25, 1792, died in Janesville, Wisconsin, Feb. 14, 1878) was a lineal descendant of Robert Goodell, one of the earliest settlers of Danvers, Massachusetts (1634). Disappointed in his hope of a collegiate education, he early entered business life at Providence, R. I., and subsequently, at the age of 24, made a long voyage to the East Indies, China, and Europe, as supercargo. After his return he was merchant and book-keeper successively at Providence, Alexandria, Va., and New York, until, in 1827, he established the *Investigator* at Providence, "devoted to moral and political discussion, and reformation in general, including temperance and anti-slavery." He had

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Arrived in Boston, Lundy went to Mr. Collier's boarding-house, where he became acquainted with Mr. Garrison, and found in him a ready and enthusiastic convert, who was willing to give not merely words of sympathy and approval, but energetic and active support. Garrison had seen the *Genius*, and so known of Lundy, whom he had imagined "a Hercules in shape and size"; and his disappointment was great, at first, when he beheld a diminutive and slender person,—the last man, by his appearance, that he would have selected as a reformer.[1]

Life of Lundy, p. 25.

Journal of the Times, Dec. 12, 1828.

"Instead of being able to withstand the tide of public opinion," he wrote, a few months later, in describing Lundy, "it would at first seem doubtful whether he could sustain a temporary conflict with the winds of heaven. And yet he has explored nineteen of the twenty-four States—from the Green Mountains of Vermont to the banks of the Mississippi—multiplied anti-slavery societies in every quarter, put every petition in motion relative to the extinction of slavery in the District of Columbia, everywhere awakened the slumbering sympathies of the people, and begun a work, the completion of which will be the salvation of his country. His heart is of a gigantic size. Every inch of him is alive with power. He combines the meekness of Howard with the boldness of Luther. No reformer was ever more devoted, zealous, persevering, or sanguine. He has fought single-handed against a host, without missing a blow, or faltering a moment; but his forces are rapidly gathering, and he will yet free our land.

"It should be mentioned, too, that he has sacrificed several thousand dollars in this holy cause, accumulated by unceasing

denounced the Missouri Compromise at the time of its adoption, and was earnestly opposed to slavery, but at the period of Lundy's visit the temperance question was the more absorbing one with him. His subsequent labors in the anti-slavery cause will be frequently alluded to in these pages. He was the author of several works, the most important of which were 'Views of American Constitutional Law' (1844), 'The Democracy of Christianity' (1851), 'Slavery and Anti-Slavery' (1852), and 'The American Slave Code' (1853). He was an able writer and close reasoner, though diffuse in style. In his religious views he was rigidly Calvinistic. (See 'Memorial of William Goodell,' Chicago, 1879.)

[1] Clarkson, when asked, in his old age, if Wilberforce was not diminutive in person, replied, with kindling eye, "Yes, but think of the magnitude of his theme! the majesty of his cause!" (*Lib.*, 10:193.)

industry. Yet he makes no public appeals, but goes forward in the quietude and resoluteness of his spirit, husbanding his little resources from town to town, and from State to State. 'I would not,' he said to us some months since, 'I would not exchange circumstances with any person on earth, if I must thereby relinquish the cause in which I am enlisted.' . . . Within a few months he has travelled about twenty-four hundred miles, of which upwards of sixteen hundred were performed *on foot!*—during which time he has held nearly fifty public meetings.[1] Rivers and mountains vanish in his path; midnight finds him wending his solitary way over an unfrequented road; the sun is anticipated in his rising. Never was moral sublimity of character better illustrated."

Lundy lost no time, after his arrival in Boston, in convening as many clergymen of different sects as he could persuade to come and listen to him at Mr. Collier's house, but the names of the eight who are said to have attended the meeting (March 17, 1828), and given their cordial approval, in writing, of his plans and paper, are not recorded. "William L. Garrison, who sat in the room, also expressed his approbation of my doctrines," wrote Lundy. The clerical gentlemen, however, were unwilling to initiate any active movement, or to take part in the formation of an anti-slavery committee or society such as Lundy urged them to organize; and all that he could obtain from them was their signatures to a paper recommending the *Genius* to the patronage of the public. In his obituary tribute to Lundy, eleven years later, Mr. Garrison gave his recollections of this meeting, and of the failure of Lundy's arguments and appeals to move his hearers:

Life of Lundy, p. 25; *Nat. Philanthropist*, March 21, 1828.

"He might as well have urged the stones in the streets to cry out in behalf of the perishing captives. O the moral cow-

Lib. 9:151.

[1] "He was not a good public speaker. His voice was too feeble, his utterance too rapid, to interest or inform an audience; yet he never spoke wholly in vain. In private life, his habits were social and communicative, but his infirmity of deafness rendered it difficult to engage with him in protracted conversation. How, with that infirmity upon him, he could think of travelling all over the country, exploring Canada and Texas, and making voyages to Hayti, in the prosecution of his godlike work, is indeed matter of astonishment. But it shows, in bold relief, what the spirit of philanthropy can dare and conquer" (W. L. G. in *Lib.*, Sept. 20, 1839).

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ardice, the chilling apathy, the criminal unbelief, the cruel skepticism, that were revealed on that memorable occasion! My soul was on fire then, as it is now, in view of such a development. Every soul in the room was heartily opposed to slavery, but—it would terribly alarm and enrage the South to know that an anti-slavery society existed in Boston! But — it would do harm rather than good, openly to agitate the subject! But — we had nothing to do with the question, and the less we meddled with it, the better! But — *perhaps* a *select* committee might be formed, to be called by some name that would neither give offense, nor excite suspicion as to its real design! One or two only were for bold and decisive action; but, as they had neither station nor influence, and did not rank among the wise and prudent, their opinions did not weigh very heavily, and the project was abandoned. Poor Lundy! that meeting was a damper to his feelings; but he was not a man to be utterly cast down, come what might. No one, at the outset, had bid him 'God-speed' in his merciful endeavors to deliver his enslaved countrymen; and he was inflexible to persevere even unto the end, though unassisted by any of those whose countenance he had a right to expect."

Mar. 21, 1828.

The *Philanthropist* of that week bore ample evidence of the quickening influence of Lundy's visit upon its editor, who heartily commended the *Genius of Universal Emancipation* and its conductor to the citizens of Boston, and paid a warm tribute to Lundy and to the work which he had already accomplished. A long editorial in the same number, on the "Progress of Public Opinion against Intemperance, Slavery and War," was clearly due to the inspiration of Lundy's visit (so far, at least, as the portion relating to slavery was concerned); and as it contains the first indication of Mr. Garrison's growing purpose to devote his life to philanthropy and reform, it possesses an especial interest, and may be said to mark the turning-point in his career. Add to this that he was then but twenty-two years of age, and that he wrote after the disheartening meeting at Mr. Collier's, and one cannot but be struck by the vigor, courage, and prophetic confidence of the writer. In this article the number of "anti-intemperance societies" then existing was estimated

as rather less than one hundred, and of anti-slavery societies as upwards of one hundred and thirty,—most of them in slave States and of Lundy's formation, among the Quakers. Allusion was made to the colonization of one thousand colored people in Liberia, and the emigration of seven or eight thousand more to Hayti within four years, and to the fact that influential citizens in the District of Columbia, and in many other places, were then signing petitions to Congress for the abolition of slavery in the District. "If this important principle be recognized by that body," said the editor, "it will be a bright omen of the future emancipation of the whole country." The formation of peace societies was also noted with satisfaction by him.

"The brightest traits in the American character," he declared, "will derive their lustre, not from the laurels picked from the field of blood, not from the magnitude of our navy and the success of our arms, but from our exertions to banish war from the earth, to stay the ravages of intemperance among all that is beautiful and fair, to unfetter those who have been enthralled by chains which we have forged, and to spread the light of knowledge and religious liberty wherever darkness and superstition reign. Upon this foundation we may build a temple which time cannot crumble, and whose fame shall fill the earth. Obstacles may rise up in our path like mountains, but they will disappear before the unconquerable spirit of reform like the shadows of night in the morning blaze. . . . We ought to exult that the 'signs of the times' are so auspicious. Let the desponding take courage — the fainting gather strength — the listless be inspirited; for though the victory be not won, we shall not lose it if we persevere. The struggle is full of sublimity — the conquest embraces the world."

Lundy was sufficiently encouraged by this visit to the North to undertake another pilgrimage thither soon after his return to Baltimore, and, beginning on the first of May, 1828, he devoted six months to visiting New England and New York State. He met with varying success, and that his patience was sorely tested at times is evident from the declaration in his journal (on reach-

Life of Lundy, p. 28.

ing Albany), that "philanthropists are the slowest creatures breathing. They think forty times before they act." It was not until the end of July that he again reached Boston, after holding meetings in Newburyport, Andover, Salem, and Lynn. Meanwhile Mr. Garrison had resigned the editorship of the *Philanthropist*, and the number for July 4 contained his brief valedictory. The same day found him in Newburyport once more, where he read the Declaration of Independence at a celebration of the national anniversary, held under the auspices of the Artillery Company, and also contributed a spirited ode for the occasion:

Nat. Philanthropist, July 11, 1828.

Ode for the Celebration of the Fourth of July, at Newburyport, Mass., 1828.

Once more, in the face of the wondering world,
We come to re-echo our proud declaration,
That the standard of freedom our fathers unfurled
Shall ever in triumph wave over our nation;
That tyranny's chain
Ne'er shall bind us again,
But our rights we'll assert, and as boldly maintain:
'Twere as easy to quench the full blaze of the sun
As shackle a people *whose hearts are but one!*

Though the heat of collision may sometimes inflame,
And a threat of disunion be held *in terrorem;*
Though the South may revile, and the East loud declaim,
The North and the West talk of conflicts before 'em;
Yet the FOURTH OF JULY
Will forever supply
A seven-fold cord to our national tie:—
The plots of division, though artfully done,
Will fail on a people *whose hearts are but one!*

Our march must keep pace with the *march of the mind*,
Progressing in grandeur for ever and ever;
Our deeds and example are laws to mankind,
And *Onward to Glory!*[1] shall be our endeavor:

[1] The motto of the Artillery Company.

A voice shall go forth
O'er the empires of earth,
Like a trumpet, redeeming the world at a birth!
For the reign of free thoughts and free acts has begun,
And joy to that people *whose hearts are but one!*

A prayer and a tear for the suffering brave,—
For Greece in this day of her terrible anguish!
May the Turkish oppressor be hurled in the grave,
And Freedom for aid cease in sorrow to languish!
May the arm of our God
Interpose with its rod,
And punish the shedders of innocent blood;
Then peace, hope, and love, like a river shall run,
And dwell with a people *whose hearts are but one!*

And now, while our cannon ring out to the skies
Their eloquent peals in the accents of thunder,
In clouds let the incense of gratitude rise
To Him who alone burst our shackles asunder;
Let our loftiest lays
Be filled with his praise,—
The fire of devotion burst forth in a blaze:
For oh! it becomes, when our trials are done,
A people *whose hands, hearts, and feelings are one!*

Lundy held his first public meeting in Boston on the evening of August 7, 1828, in the vestry of the Federal-Street Baptist Church, and a report of the meeting, with a synopsis of his address, was given by Mr. Garrison in a letter to the *Courier*, under the familiar initials "A. O. B." From this we learn that Lundy described to his hearers the work already accomplished in the formation of anti-slavery societies, and pointed out the impossibility of ever abolishing slavery through the agency of the Colonization Society, since the increase of the slave population in a single year was greater than the diminution which that society could effect in half a century. While the Society was warmly commended, emphasis was laid on the fact that the anti-slavery societies did not propose to buy slaves for the sake of

Aug. 11; *Nat. Philanthropist, Aug.* 15.

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emancipating and transporting them to other countries, and so to open a new market to slave-dealers, but to generate a moral agitation which should never rest until the shackles of the oppressed were broken "by the will, not by the wealth, of the people." Finally, the speaker urged the circulation of petitions to Congress for the abolition of slavery in the District of Columbia.

A. O. B. in Boston Courier, Aug. 12, 1828; Lib. 4: 43.

The meeting was brought to an abrupt and unexpected termination by the pastor of the church (Rev. Howard Malcolm), who arose at the conclusion of Lundy's remarks and passionately denounced the agitation of the question of slavery in New England, declaring that it was too delicate to be meddled with by the people of the Northern States; that they had nothing whatever to do with it; that slavery was coming to an end, perhaps quite as fast as was desirable,—namely, by one slave State selling its slaves to another further South, and thus *gradually* relieving itself; and after discoursing in this vein, he summarily dismissed the meeting without affording any opportunity for reply. His conduct excited much indignation, and it was only by holding a subsequent meeting that an anti-slavery committee was formed, consisting of twenty members, of whom Mr. Garrison was one. With characteristic ardor he at once proposed to circulate petitions for the abolition of slavery in the District of Columbia in every town in the Commonwealth, but before he could personally set them in motion, he was called to another field of action; and although his fellow-members of the committee were "high-minded, spirited and philanthropic men," they do not seem to have pushed the matter with much vigor after the stimulus of his personal presence and effort was withdrawn. A single petition from Boston, cautiously and almost apologetically worded, appears to have been the sole result of their labors. Garrison communicated the progress made before he left Boston to Lundy, who wrote in reply:

Jour. of the Times, Oct. 10, 1828.

"I am now strengthened in the hope, that I shall not only find a valuable coadjutor in the person of my friend Garrison, but that the '*ice is broken*' in the hitherto frozen — no, no, not *frozen* — COOL regions of the North. (Ask pardon for the metaphor — but, really, you have all been 'cool,' on the subject of slavery, too long.) I should have been pleased to learn that you had fairly and formally organized a society; but you have the substance, and I heartily rejoice. Your 'committee' will form a nucleus, around which the elements of a society will congregate; and in process of time you will, if you *remain active* — MARK THAT — imperceptibly, as it were, fall into as regular a plan of organization as can be desired. When you have the substance, it is useless to contend for, or even too earnestly desire, the shadow. But, I repeat — for it is important that it be indelibly impressed on the memory — that everything depends on activity and steady perseverance. And you will also find, that the burthen will mostly fall on the shoulders of a few. A few will have the labor to perform, and the honor to share. . . . *Jour. of the Times, Oct. 10, 1828.*

"I hope you will persevere in your work, steadily, but not make too large calculations on what may be accomplished in a particularly stated time. You have now girded on a holy warfare. Lay not down your weapons until honorable terms are obtained. *The God of hosts is on your side.* Steadiness and faithfulness will, most assuredly, overcome every obstacle."

During the month of August, 1828, Mr. Garrison had had a controversy with John Neal of Portland, then editing a newspaper called the *Yankee*, in that city. He had frequently, in the *Philanthropist*, ridiculed Neal's egotistical and bombastic style of writing, and an assertion of Neal's that his retirement from that journal was compulsory, because of his attacks on himself, aroused all the hot blood in the young man's veins, and caused him to send a wrathful epistle of denial, which was printed in the *Yankee*. After refuting the assertion, he demanded a retraction,—"that the public mind may be disabused of the untruth, that I was ejected from office. It is important to me that this correction be made. My reputation, trifling as it is, is worth something; if I *August 13, 1828.*

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lose it, I lose the means whereby I obtain my daily bread."

Nat. Philanthropist, Aug. 22, 1828.

The proprietor of the *Philanthropist* promptly corroborated his statement that his retirement from it was wholly voluntary, and expressed surprise that he should have deemed "the unfounded and dastardly charge" worth noticing, when made by such a man as Neal. The latter's comments on his letter, however, so exasperated Mr. Garrison that he wrote a second, of which this is the concluding paragraph:

Portland Yankee, August 20, 1828; Neal's Wandering Recollections of a Busy Life, p. 401; cf. ante, p. 76.

"You declare that you never heard of my name before — that we are entire strangers to each other. But you knew, it appears, my age and origin long ago. (*Vide* the *Yankee* of Feby. 27 and March 12.) I have only to repeat without vanity, what I declared publicly to another opponent — a political one — (and I think he will never forget me,) that, if my life be spared, my name shall one day be known so extensively as to render private enquiry unnecessary; and known, too, in a praiseworthy manner. I speak in the spirit of prophecy, not of vainglory, — with a strong pulse, a flashing eye, and a glow of the heart. *The task may be yours to write my biography.*"

CHAPTER V.

BENNINGTON AND THE JOURNAL OF THE TIMES. 1828–29.

THE exciting Presidential campaign of 1828 had already begun, when Mr. Garrison received an invitation from a committee of prominent citizens of Bennington, Vermont, who visited Boston for the purpose of seeing him, to edit a paper which they proposed to establish in that town in advocacy of the reëlection of John Quincy Adams over Andrew Jackson; the *Gazette*, the existing local paper, having practically gone over to the Jackson party. As Vermont was strongly for Adams, and as Bennington, though in an extreme corner of the State, was politically a very important town, the need of an Administration paper there was felt to be imperative. Mr. Garrison, while no very warm admirer of Mr. Adams personally, had still a well-founded dread of the election of Jackson and its consequent effect upon American politics, and he readily consented to a six months' engagement on condition that he should have the liberty of advocating in the columns of the paper not only the reëlection of Adams, but Anti-Slavery, Temperance, Peace, and Moral Reform as well. "It was a very singular kind of political paper," he said, "but they gave me *carte blanche*, and I agreed to undertake the enterprise." Arrangements were made with Mr. Henry S. Hull, an acquaintance of his, to print it, and on Friday, the 3d of October, 1828, the first number of the *Journal of the Times* was issued, a well-printed sheet of four pages, with

Proceedings Am. A. S. Soc'y, Third Decade, p. 121.

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six columns to the page.[1] The editor recurred to his favorite quotation from Cicero; and "Reason shall prevail with us more than Popular Opinion" was placed as the permanent motto of the paper, below the heading. The contents were attractively arranged, the first page being devoted to selections under the general heads "Moral," "Education," "Temperance," "Slavery," "Political," etc. Foreign and domestic news occupied the second page; editorials, communications, and a general summary of news the third, and poetry, miscellany, and advertisements the fourth. Contrary to the usual habit of giving editorials larger type and better display than other matter, Mr. Garrison set his articles in smaller type than the average, and still found himself cramped for space. His first bow to the Vermont public was made in the following Salutatory, in which the prime motive for establishing the paper seems to have been the last in the editor's thoughts.

TO THE PUBLIC.

Jour. of the Times, Oct. 3, 1828.

We this day present the first number of the *Journal of the Times*, for public approval and patronage. It is proper, therefore, at the commencement of our enterprise, that we should explain the motives by which we are actuated, the objects which we shall pursue, and the principles upon which we base our faith.

This shall be done briefly — for one article in our creed is, that practice is better than profession, and the fulfilment of a promise worth more than the contract itself; — hence we have issued no prospectus, nor solicited a single subscription, nor made any provision for an extensive support. Our paper shall be sustained by its merits, or it shall perish, even though the sympathy of friendship should open its coffers for our relief; and therefore we choose, in looking to the people of this county for encouragement, to place this sheet in their hands before we ask them to subscribe. Our terms and our pretensions are before them.

[1] The printed page measured 13 x 18½ inches, and the subscription price was two dollars a year.

In the first place, the *Journal* shall be INDEPENDENT, in the broadest and stoutest signification of the term; it shall be trammelled by no interest, biassed by no sect, awed by no power. Of all diminutive objects that creep on the face of the earth, that bask in God's sunshine, or inhale the rich atmosphere of life — of all despicable and degraded beings, a time-serving, shuffling, truckling editor has no parallel; and he who has not courage enough to hunt down popular vices, to combat popular prejudices, to encounter the madness of party, to tell the truth and maintain the truth, cost what it may, to attack villainy in its higher walks, and strip presumption of its vulgar garb, to meet the frowns of the enemy with the smiles of a friend, and the hazard of independence with the hope of reward, should be crushed at a blow if he dared to tamper with the interests, or speculate upon the whims of the public. Look at our motto — watch us narrowly in our future course — and if we depart one tittle from the lofty sentiment which we have adopted as our guide, leave us to a speedy annihilation.

Secondly. We have three objects in view, which we shall pursue through life, whether in this place or elsewhere — namely, the suppression of intemperance and its associate vices, the gradual emancipation of every slave in the republic, and the perpetuity of national peace. In discussing these topics, what is wanting in vigor shall be made up in zeal.

Thirdly. Education will be another prominent object of our attention; not that kind, however, which is found in our colleges alone — not the tinsel, the frippery, and the incumbrance of classical learning, so called — but a popular, practical education, which will make science familiar to the mechanic, and the arts of easy attainment, and which will best promote public virtue by the extension of general knowledge.

Fourthly. The encouragement of national industry will form another of our purposes. We are friends, even to enthusiasm, to what is significantly styled the "American System." We wish to see a manufactory by the side of every suitable stream, and, if possible, the entire amount of cotton that may be grown in the country made into good, substantial fabrics for home consumption and exportation. Every day's experience teaches this whole people that their interests are best promoted by the erection of *national houses of industry;* that Providence has made them necessarily dependent on no other country for the comforts of life; and that the great secret of national aggran-

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dizement consists in improving their natural advantages, and exploring their own resources.

Finally. We have started the *Journal* with the conviction that, to be well and permanently supported, it need only *merit* support. We are satisfied, moreover, that the public voice is nearly unanimous in favor of this establishment. This county has probably a population of *twenty thousand*,—nineteen-twentieths of whom are friendly to the reëlection of JOHN QUINCY ADAMS; but their confidence has been abused, their views misrepresented, their feelings insulted; they have had no organ through which to express their desires, or hold communications with other sections of the country; they have been upbraided with apostasy, with treachery, with insincerity; and they have in their meekness borne till endurance has passed its bounds, and the pen of the slanderer become intolerable.

We come, then, in the name, and to supply the wants, of the people. Be ours the task, not to rake open the smouldering embers of party, but to extinguish them; not to nourish animosities, but to encourage the growth of liberal principles; not to fight with the shadows of things which are dead, but with existing evils of national magnitude; not to give sound for sense, or *roaring* for argument; not to inflame, but to heal; not to swagger and brag about our exclusive patriotism, but to enlarge the number of patriots; not to divide the community, but to unite all hearts.

WM. LLOYD GARRISON, *Editor.*
HENRY S. HULL, *Proprietor.*

In another column, on the editorial page, an indignant denial was given to a report, said to have been industriously circulated in Bennington and the neighboring villages, that the *Journal* was to be influenced by a sect and controlled by a party. "The blockheads who have had the desperate temerity to propagate this falsehood," declared the editor, "have yet to learn our character. We should like to see the man, or body of men, the single sect or particular party, that would *dare* to chalk out our limits, or dictate our words, or hold us accountable for the soundness of our faith, or the spirit of our doctrines. The bare insinuation of such an attempt, where we are known, would be met with derision. *We* conduct a hireling press!—we shall see."

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Four weeks later, under the head of "Advice to Advisers," he made this further announcement:

Jour. of the Times, Oct. 31, 1828.

"The Editor of the *Journal* will receive advice gratuitously upon subjects relating to law, physic, and divinity — upon the best mode of fattening swine, and raising good crops of potatoes and turnips; but he begs leave most respectfully to decline any instruction as to the manner in which this paper should be conducted. If he were to gratify the different tastes, and adopt the different views of those few censors who presume to think that they best understand the duties of an editor, it is not probable that the public would be better satisfied with the result; and it is certain that every scrutator must have his separate sheet, embodying his separate notions. It is desirable that the motto of this paper should receive more attention, as it has not been hastily adopted, and will not be abandoned."

He could not repress, at the outset, an expression of his regret that for the first six weeks the exigencies of the Presidential campaign would require him to devote so much space to politics, to the exclusion of other themes that were becoming dear to his heart; and it took the form of an apology, as if his readers must also regret the necessity:

Ibid., Oct. 3, 1828.

"We have dipped rather deeply into politics, this week," he wrote, "and must continue to do so a few weeks longer. The crisis which determines an event of greater magnitude and solemnity than has agitated this country since the formation of the Constitution, is rapidly approximating to a close; and it is proper that the people should read, reflect and inquire, before they give their FINAL GREAT DECISION. When the election is over, our literary and moral departments will exhibit a fulness and excellence commensurate to their importance."

His promise with reference to the political course of the paper was faithfully kept, and the gentlemen who had invited him to come and vindicate Bennington and the State from the imputation of Jacksonism had no reason to complain of the heartiness with which he advocated the claims of Mr. Adams, or the vigor with which he denounced General Jackson and his followers. Jackson's high-handed and arbitrary acts in Louisiana

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and Florida, his brutal murder of Indian prisoners in the latter Territory, his warlike tastes, his duelling propensities, and especially his sinfulness as a slaveholder and slave-trader, were all dwelt upon, and the demoralization sure to follow upon his accession to the Presidency and his introduction of the spoils system in our politics was predicted. Warning was also given of his certain hostility to any plan for the prohibition of slavery in the District of Columbia, rendering unavailing for four or eight years any efforts in that direction, and his defeat was urged, if only for that consideration. Mr. Adams's reëlection was always assumed and predicted, and his able and successful administration warmly eulogized; but that the result was, after all, deemed doubtful, is evident from a brief editorial paragraph, entitled "Some Cause for Thankfulness," which appeared a few days before the election:

Jour. of the Times, Oct. 31, 1828.

"Whatever may be the result of the present tremendous conflict, we shall thank God on our bended knees that we have been permitted to denounce, as unworthy of the suffrages of a moral and religious people, a man whose hands are crimsoned with innocent blood, whose lips are full of profanity, who looks on 'blood and carnage with philosophic composure' — a slaveholder, and, what is more iniquitous, a buyer and seller of human flesh — a military despot, who has broken the laws of his country — and one whose only recommendations are that he has fought many duels — filled many offices, and failed in all — achieved the battle of New Orleans, at the expense of constitutional rights — and that he possesses the fighting propensities and courage of a tiger. We care not how numerous may be his supporters: to be in the minority against him would be better than to receive the commendations of a large and deluded majority."

After the election returns had indicated the overwhelming success of the Democrats and the election of Jackson, Mr. Garrison reviewed the result and its probable consequences, in three dignified articles, under the title of "The Politician"; the key to his treatment of the matter being given in the extract from Junius prefixed

Ibid., Nov. 28, Dec. 5 and 19, 1828.

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to them. "I believe there is no man, however indifferent about the interests of this country, who will not readily confess that the situation to which we are now reduced, whether it has arisen from the violence of faction, or from an aberration of government, justifies the most melancholy apprehensions, and calls for the exertion of whatever wisdom or vigor is left among us." Some lines in blank verse, "To the American People," signed "A. O. B.," expressed in more impassioned phrase the editor's grief at the national disgrace. Beginning,

Jour. of the Times, Dec. 19, 1828.

> "Where is your wisdom fled — or sense of shame —
> Or boasted virtue, strong in every siege?
> Doth valor teach the head or mend the heart?
> Is ignorance to legislate and rule,
> And crime but lead the way to high renown?

he concluded with,

> "My country! oh my country! I could weep,
> In agony of soul, hot, bloody tears
> To wipe away the blemish on your name,
> Fix'd foully by one FATAL PRECEDENT."

The slavery question engaged his attention from the outset, and the flame kindled by Lundy now burned without cessation, and with ever-increasing intensity. In the very first number of the *Journal*, Mr. Garrison proposed the formation of anti-slavery societies in Vermont, and spoke of the "importance of petitioning Congress this session, in conjunction with our Southern brethren, for the abolition of slavery in the District of Columbia." A few weeks later he recommended "the immediate formation of an anti-slavery society in every considerable town in the twelve free States, for the purpose (among other things) of providing means for the transportation of such liberated slaves and free colored people as are desirous of emigrating to a more genial clime"; arguing that "if the Southern slaveholders will consent to part with their 'property' without recompense, every other section of the Union is bound, by the principles of equity and interest, to sacrifice some money for the removal of the

Ibid., Dec. 5, 1828.

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curse." The scales of Colonization had not yet fallen from his eyes, but he went no further in support of the scheme than to make the above recommendation. His practical work, to petition Congress for the abolition of slavery in the nation's capital, was at once vigorously undertaken. In his second number he referred to the petition presented to Congress at its last session, signed by more than a thousand residents of the District (including all the District Judges), praying for abolition "at such time and in such manner as Congress might deem expedient," and suggested that a meeting of the citizens of Bennington should be immediately convened, to consider the subject. Acknowledging the receipt of a communication on slavery, he said: "It is time that a voice of remonstrance went forth from the North, that should peal in the ears of every slaveholder like a roar of thunder. . . . For ourselves, we are resolved to agitate this subject to the utmost; nothing but death shall prevent us from denouncing a crime which has no parallel in human depravity; we shall take high ground. *The alarm must be perpetual.*"

Jour. of the Times, Oct. 10, 1828.

Four weeks later (November 7), and four days before the Presidential election, he succeeded in convening a meeting of citizens at the Academy, at which the following petition, written by himself, was read and adopted, and copies were ordered to be sent to the several towns in the State for signature, and to the newspapers for insertion. The Chairman of the meeting was Daniel Church, Esq., and the Secretary, James Ballard, the Principal of the Seminary, between whom and Mr. Garrison a warm friendship had sprung up.

Ibid., Nov. 14, 1828.

To the Honorable the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America, in Congress assembled:—

The petition of the subscribers, inhabitants of the State of Vermont, humbly suggests to your honorable bodies the propriety of adopting some measures for the abolition of slavery in the District of Columbia.

Your petitioners deem it unnecessary to attempt to maintain, by elaborate arguments, that the existence of slavery is highly detrimental to the happiness, peace and prosperity of that nation in whose bosom and under whose auspices it is nourished; and especially, that it is inconsistent with the spirit of our government and laws. All this is readily admitted by every patriot and Christian. But the time has come when the sincerity of our professions should be evinced not by words merely.

The toleration of slavery in the District of Columbia, it is conceived, can be justified on no tenable grounds. On the contrary, so long as it continues, just so long will it be a reproach to our national character. This District is the property of the nation; its internal government, therefore, is a matter that concerns every individual. We are ashamed, when we know that the manacled slave is driven to market by the doors of our Capitol, and sold like a beast in the very place where are assembled the representatives of a free and Christian people.

On this subject, it is conceived, there can be no collision of sentiment. The proposed abolition will interfere with no State rights. Beyond this District, Congress has no power to legislate — so far, at least, as slavery is concerned; but it can, by one act, efface this foul stain from our national reputation. It is gratifying to believe, that a large majority of the inhabitants residing in the District, and also of our more Southern brethren, are earnest for the abolition.

Your petitioners ask of your honorable bodies to liberate the slave as soon as his interest and welfare shall demand it. Your own wisdom and humanity will best suggest the manner in which his bonds may be safely broken.

Your petitioners deem it preposterous, that, while there is one half of the States in which slavery does not exist, and while a large majority of our white population are desirous of seeing it extirpated, this evil is suffered to canker in the vitals of the republic. We humbly pray your honorable bodies, therefore, not to let the present session of Congress pass, without giving this subject a serious and deliberate consideration.

And, as in duty bound, we will ever pray.

As all postmasters at that time enjoyed the franking privilege, and mail-matter could be sent to or by them free of postage, it involved no pecuniary burden

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beyond the cost of paper to supply every postmaster in the State with a copy of this petition, with the request that he would obtain as many signatures in his town as convenient, or request the minister of the parish to do so, and return the same to the Editor of the *Journal of the Times* by or before the middle of December. That Mr. Garrison did not wait for the Bennington citizens to meet and endorse the petition before he sent it to the postmasters seems probable from the date appended to this request — October 20, 1828,— more than a fortnight before the meeting at the Academy. The postmasters in most of the towns responded nobly, and although some of the larger places, like Burlington, Montpelier, and Brattleboro, sent no returns, Mr. Garrison had the satisfaction of transmitting to the Representative of his district in Congress a petition bearing 2352 names as the voice of Vermont in favor of freedom,— probably the most numerously-signed petition on the subject offered during that session. It was promptly presented on the day of its receipt (January 26, 1829), and referred to the Committee on the District of Columbia.

Jour. of the Times, Jan. 23, 1829.

Ibid., Feb. 6, 1829.

While hopeful that Congress would give the subject favorable consideration (and the passage by the Pennsylvania House of Representatives, by a nearly unanimous vote, of a resolution requesting their Senators and Representatives in Congress to vote for abolition indicated Northern sympathy with the measure), Mr. Garrison foresaw the wrathful denunciations which the proposition would receive from the Southern members.

Ibid., Nov. 21, 1828.

"It requires no spirit of prophecy," he said, "to predict that it will create great opposition. An attempt will be made to frighten Northern 'dough-faces,' as in the case of the Missouri question. There will be an abundance of furious declamation, menace and taunt. Are we therefore to approach the subject timidly — with half a heart — as if we were treading on forbidden ground? No, indeed — but earnestly, fearlessly, as becomes men who are determined to clear their country and themselves from the guilt of oppressing God's free and lawful creatures."

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The debate in Congress occurred on the 6th of January, 1829, when the Hon. Charles Miner, of Pennsylvania, introduced in the House of Representatives a preamble setting forth the iniquities and horrors of the slave-trade as carried on in the District, and the power and duty of Congress to legislate concerning it; and proposed resolutions that the Committee on the District be instructed to inquire into the subject, to provide such amendments to existing laws as should seem to them just, and furthermore to consider the expediency of providing by law for the gradual abolition of slavery itself therein. Mr. Miner supported his motion in an eloquent speech, and both resolutions were subsequently adopted by heavy majorities,—that on the slave-trade receiving two-thirds of the votes cast; and the other, concerning gradual emancipation, 114 votes against 66 in opposition. The friends of emancipation derived great encouragement from this, and felt mortified that any Northern members should have voted against the resolutions. Mr. Garrison was prompt to denounce and pillory the three New England representatives who were recreant to their duty, namely, Mr. Ripley of Maine and Mr. Harvey of New Hampshire, who voted against the consideration of the question, and Mr. Mallary of Vermont, who alone among the New England members opposed by his vote the resolution in favor of gradual emancipation in the District. The caustic comments of the Bennington editor on their action so stung Messrs. Ripley and Mallary that they addressed personal letters to him in explanation and defence of it; but he declined to accept their excuses as valid, and branded Ripley and Harvey as Northern "dough-faces." Other New England newspapers echoed his indignant protest.

James W. Ripley. *Jonathan Harvey.* *Rollin C. Mallary.*

Jour. of the Times, Feb. 20, Mar. 6, 1829.

The report of the Committee to whom the resolutions were referred was presented on the 29th of January, and betrayed at once the determination of the South to allow no interference whatsoever with slavery in the Dis-

Ibid., Mar. 6, 1829.

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trict. All agitation of the subject was deprecated as mischievous and tending to insubordination and restlessness on the part of the slaves, "who would otherwise remain *comparatively* happy and contented"; emancipation in the District would disturb the stability of affairs not only in the adjoining slave States, but throughout the South; the inhabitants of the District ought not to be deprived of the rights of property which had been theirs under the laws of Virginia and Maryland. Moreover, the traffic in slaves constantly going on in the District was actually beneficial, in that the transportation of slaves to the South was one way of gradually diminishing the evil complained of; "and although violence might sometimes be done to their feelings in the separation of families, yet it should be some consolation to those whose feelings were interested in their behalf, to know that their condition was more frequently bettered, and their minds [made] happier by the exchange"! "It is precisely such a paper," declared Mr. Garrison in his review of it, "as one might naturally suppose would be presented to a club of slaveholders assembled together to quiet their consciences by arguing that the existence of the evil would be less hazardous and demoralizing than its removal"; and he pronounced it "the most refined cruelty, the worst apology for the most relentless tyranny." It was a crushing blow to all further effort at that session. One month later, Andrew Jackson and the Democratic party came into power, and Congress passed no further resolutions in favor of freedom in the District until the secession of the South made it possible for a Northern Congress to remove the blot of slavery from the nation's capital.

Jour. of the Times, Mar. 20, 1829.

Slave-hunting on Northern soil was so common an occurrence in 1828 that the frequent recapture and return to bondage of the poor fugitives excited scarcely any notice, and even such tragedies as the attempted suicide, at Rochester, N. Y., of one who preferred death to slavery, and the execution, in southern Pennsylvania, of

Ibid., Oct. 31, *Dec.* 12, 1828.

another for having killed the wretch who had captured and was carrying him back to the South, were mentioned in the briefest manner and without comment. The North submitted without protest to the obligations imposed upon it by the slave-catching clause of the Constitution and the Fugitive Slave Act of 1793. In alluding to the anti-Masonic excitement then agitating the country, in consequence of the disappearance of Morgan, Mr. Garrison exclaimed: "All this fearful commotion has arisen from the abduction of *one man*. More than two millions of unhappy beings are groaning out their lives in bondage, and scarcely a pulse quickens, or a heart leaps, or a tongue pleads in their behalf. 'Tis a trifling affair, which concerns nobody. Oh for the spirit that now rages, to break every fetter of oppression!"

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Jour. of the Times, Feb. 6, 1829.

There was not a dull or unattractive number of the *Journal of the Times*, and a perusal of its file inclines one to believe the assertion of Horace Greeley that it was "about the ablest and most interesting newspaper ever issued in Vermont." One column was always devoted to the subject of Temperance, and in his second number Mr. Garrison urged the claims to support of the *National Philanthropist*, which had now reverted to Mr. Collier's hands, and was in danger of sinking. His interest in the local temperance society was also manifested. The subject of war and the exertions of William Ladd [1] in behalf of peace were frequently alluded to in the *Journal*, as they had been in the *Philanthropist* and *Free Press;* Mr. Ladd having visited and spoken in Newburyport while Mr. Garrison was editing the latter paper, and found in him a ready listener. Much space

American Conflict, 1: 115.

[1] William Ladd, a native of Exeter, N. H. (1778), graduate of Harvard College (1797), and for a number of years a sea-captain, devoted himself during the last eighteen years of his life (1823-1841) to the advocacy of the Peace cause, and was largely instrumental in establishing the American Peace Society in 1828. See his Memoir by John Hemmenway, Boston, 1872, and Mrs. Child's 'Letters from New York,' 1st series, p. 212. Mr. Garrison addressed a sonnet to this "great advocate" (*Lib.* 1: 39), but more intimate acquaintance led to the judgment, "He is a good-natured man, but somewhat superficial" (MS., spring of 1833, to Henry E. Benson).

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was devoted also to the movement with which, as has been already stated, he heartily sympathized, against carrying the mails on the Sabbath. His orthodoxy betrayed itself in this and in other ways, and an incidental reference to the "novel, illogical, subtle, and inconclusive arguments" of a discourse of Rev. John Pierpont's, to which he had listened some months before, elicited a letter from that gentleman, who felt that injustice had been done him. Mr. Garrison not only printed the letter, but gave copious extracts from the discourse, with comments, at the same time declaring that he enthusiastically admired everything in Mr. Pierpont but his theology. "As a beautiful, finished, and elegant writer, I know not his superior in the twenty-four States; and his taste in poetry and literature is before any other man's." Mr. Pierpont having thanked him for his manliness in sending him a copy of the *Journal* containing the strictures in question, the editor replied: "I have never said aught in print against any individual without transmitting to him a copy of my remarks — and I never shall."

Ante, p. 84.

Jour. of the Times, Oct. 31, 1828.

That he went regularly to church each Sunday is to be inferred from this paragraph in the *Journal:*

Ibid., Dec. 5, 1828.

"We have suffered for two or three Sabbaths excessively from the cold — and so have many others. Two stoves, and no fire, led us to conclude that the Irishman's plan had been adopted, who, on learning one stove saved half the wood, said he would buy two and save the whole. Provision, we are glad to learn, has been made for warming the meeting-house, and people may now attend worship without suffering from the cold."

Mr. Garrison's muse was active during these fall and winter months, and no less than fifteen pieces of verse by "A. O. B." — sonnets, blank verse, etc. — appeared in the poetry column between October and March, besides a longer poem on his birthday (supposed to be his twenty-fourth, but really his twenty-third), which followed an editorial on the same theme. One of the sonnets was inscribed to his spectacles, and celebrated

their praise, and most of the other pieces were amatory, descriptive, sentimental, or patriotic. Mrs. Hemans continued to be a never-failing source of poetic supply, but only four poems by Whittier appeared, the poet being now engaged in editing the *American Manufacturer* at Boston, a paper which had been recently established by Mr. Collier in the interest of manufactures and the "American System." He had accepted the position by the advice of Mr. Garrison, and though he received scarcely any other compensation than his board at "Parson Collier's," he did not regret the experience, as it opened the way to other and more congenial editorial engagements. "Our friend Whittier," wrote Mr. Garrison, in introducing a poem of his, "seems determined to elicit our best panegyrics, and not ours only, but also those of the public. His genius and situation no more correspond with each other than heaven and earth. But let him not despair. Fortune will come, ere long, 'with both hands full.'" Another young editor who was noticed and commended in the *Journal* was George D. Prentice, then conducting the *New England Weekly Review* at Hartford, in which he was, a year later, to be succeeded by Whittier; but while praising his vigor and independence, Mr. Garrison also criticized the tendency to coarseness which even then betrayed itself in his writings.

Jour. of the Times, Dec. 5, 1828.

The winter which he spent in Bennington was a very happy one to Mr. Garrison. He was relieved, from the outset, of all pecuniary responsibility and anxiety, the gentlemen who had invited him there assuming the financial risks of the enterprise, while they gave him absolute discretion and independence in the editorial management of the *Journal*. The literary merit of the paper, and the fearless and aggressive tone of its leading articles, attracted instant attention, and it was speedily recognized by the editorial fraternity as one of the ablest and best of the country newspapers. Beginning without a subscriber, it counted six hundred on its list at the end

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of the first week, which indicated the dissatisfaction felt towards the recreant *Gazette*. The latter paper sought to ridicule the "Boston man" who had been imported to start an opposition paper, and made the most of the prejudice which some of the Vermonters felt towards the city upstart who had presumed to come and enlighten them as to their duties, and who was thought to be over-nice in matters of dress;[1] but the editor of the *Journal* rarely deigned to notice the attacks on his paper, and never those on himself. He quickly won friends whose admiration and love he never lost, and who attached themselves to him with the loyal devotion which characterized those who followed his leadership in after years. Chief among these, as already mentioned, was James Ballard, the Principal of the "Bennington English and Classical Seminary for Young Gentlemen and Ladies," an institution which was the pride of the town, and which attracted pupils from a considerable distance. He was "a man born to impress and inspire," and a most successful teacher, combining firmness with gentleness, physical with moral courage, enthusiasm and energy with a tender, affectionate, and deeply religious nature. The two men were irresistibly attracted to one another, and spent much time together, discussing projects for the advancement of the race; and when Mr. Ballard had a controversy with the Academy Committee, which led to his retiring and setting up a rival establishment, the *Journal* warmly sustained his cause.[2]

Ellis's Life of E. H. Chapin, pp. 26-30.

Mr. Garrison's home in Bennington was at the boarding-house of Deacon Erwin Safford, which was patronized

[1] "I remember Mr. Garrison at the time he was in Bennington. He was then in the beauty and strength of early manhood. He dressed in a black dress coat, black trousers, white vest, and walked as erect as an Indian" (James A. Briggs, in N. Y. *Evening Post*, August 5, 1879).

[2] Mr. Ballard was one of the first subscribers to the *Liberator*, a Vice-President of the Vermont Anti-Slavery Society, and one of the Secretaries of the New England Anti-Slavery Convention held in Boston May 24, 1836. He subsequently became a Congregational minister, and died in Grand Rapids, Michigan, Jan. 7, 1881.

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chiefly by pupils of the Seminary from abroad, and was near his office, on the stage road to Troy. The printing-office of the *Journal* faced the village green, and its front windows looked eastward, across the valley in which lies the village of East Bennington, to the great wall of the Green Mountains, while the rear windows commanded a view of the beautiful Mount Anthony. Ever a passionate lover of nature, Mr. Garrison's enthusiasm over the scenery around Bennington could scarcely find expression in words. His spirits were exuberant, and he seemed each week to be more in love with his adopted State, and to regard his removal to Vermont as a wise and fortunate step. "For moral worth, virtue and diligence," he exclaimed, "we would not exchange it for any State *out* of New England"; and he praised the Vermont people as possessed of "large, sound, roundabout sense," and declared that "a more hardy, independent, frank, generous race do not exist." To a correspondent who had expressed fears about the climate, he declaimed in a manner which would have done credit to a native:

Jour. of the Times, Nov. 14, 1828.

"Our Vermont climate against the world for a better! . . . O, there's nothing comparable to our clear blue sky, arching the high and eternal ramparts of nature which tower up on every side: — talk as you may of the dreamy, unsubstantial atmosphere of Italy, and the more vigorous one of Switzerland. — And, moreover, such stars! so large, and gorgeous, and soul-overpowering — painting the heavens with such glorious and never-fading colors! We have been so long habituated to look up through the congregated smokes of a city, and to see such dirty and discolored clouds, with here and there a fainting star just visible over the top of some tall spire or elongated chimney, that here we inhabit another clime, and behold another creation. The competition of a few moments with one of our mountain gales, as it comes sweeping down to the plain, rough and kind as the heart of a Yankee, will put every drop of blood in motion, and strengthen every limb."

Ibid., Nov. 28, 1828.

And he apostrophized the Green Mountains in the following sonnet:

Jour. of the Times, Feb. 13, 1829.

Stupendous monuments of God's right hand!
Lifting your summits upwards to the skies,
And holding converse with their mysteries,—
There dress'd in living garniture ye stand,
The pride and wonder of our native land.
My soul is welling to my very eyes —
My every pulse leaps with a strange surprise,
As now your huge dimensions I command.
O! ye do shame the proudest works of Art,—
Tower, temple, pyramid and chiselled pile;
For these are but the pigmy feats of Toil,
The playthings of Decay — But ye impart
Lessons of infinite wisdom to the heart,
And stand in nature's strength, which Time cannot despoil.

So inspiring was the free mountain air that all worthy and noble objects seemed easy and possible of accomplishment, and when, at the beginning of 1829, Mr. Garrison indulged in a retrospect of the past year, and looked forward to the work of the new one, the election of Jackson was the only shadow upon the picture, and all else was bright and cheering to his vision.

Meanwhile, Benjamin Lundy at Baltimore was anxiously watching the course of his young disciple, whose heart he had seemed to touch, and whose soul he had kindled, beyond that of any other man whom he had encountered in all his pilgrimages, north, south, east, or west. There is a pathetic picture of his past disappointments and his present anxious hope in the greeting which he gave the *Journal of the Times* in the *Genius:*

G. U. E., Dec. 13, 1828.

"The editor of this paper has shewn a laudable disposition to advocate the claims of the poor distressed African upon our sympathy and justice; and if he continue to do so, his talents will render him a most valuable coadjutor in this holy undertaking. Greatly, indeed, shall we rejoice, if even *one, faithful,* like 'Abdiel,' can be 'among the faithless found,' who, after having *professed* loudly, have generally abandoned their post, and left the unfortunate negro to his fate. There are many who are ready to acknowledge — O yes, they will *acknowledge* (good honest souls!) with due frankness and alacrity — that *something should be done* for the abolition of slavery. They will,

also, pen a paragraph — perhaps an article, or so — and then — *the subject is* EXHAUSTED ! ! They cannot, for the lives of them, discover how the condition of the colored race can be meliorated by *their* exertions — (neither can any one else, unless *they make themselves acquainted with the subject*, and muster up virtue and courage to act, *as other reformers have done)* — and they retire from the field of labor, many of them, ere one drop of sweat has earned the trifling reward of a cent. We will not, however, pursue this part of the subject, lest our friend Garrison may think that we are about to insinuate a vote of censure against *him*, in anticipation! In truth, *we do hope* that he will remain *true to the cause.* Though he may not adopt the language which the immortal Cowper puts in the mouth of his perfect patriot, viz.:

> 'In Freedom's field advancing his firm foot,
> He plants it on the line that Justice draws,
> And will prevail, or perish in her cause';

Table-Talk, lines 16-18, freely altered.

still, we trust he will always be found on the side of humanity, and actively engaged in the holy contest of virtue against vice — philanthropy against cruelty — liberty against oppression. We also hope and trust that, unlike many others, he will be enabled to see that argument and useful exertion, on the subject of African Emancipation, can never be exhausted until the system of slavery itself be totally annihilated. As well might a lukewarm reformer have queried the Apostle Paul, in his days, relative to the *exhausting of his argument*, as for a short-sighted philanthropist to propound a similar question respecting the abolition of slavery now."

"We make the foregoing extract," rejoined Mr. Garrison, in copying it in the *Journal*, "for the purpose of assuring the editor that our zeal in the cause of emancipation suffers no diminution. Before God and our country, we give our pledge that the liberation of the enslaved Africans shall always be uppermost in our pursuits. The people of New England are interested in this matter, and they must be aroused from their lethargy as by a trumpet-call. They shall not quietly slumber while we have the management of a press, or strength to hold a pen."

Jour. of the Times, Jan 16, 1829.

Lundy was soon convinced by the frequency and fervor of Mr. Garrison's articles on slavery, and by his

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energy in circulating the petitions to Congress, that his baptism in the faith was complete, and he resolved to invite him to come to Baltimore and assist him in the publication of the *Genius*. So, taking his staff in hand, he walked all the way from Baltimore to Bennington, to lay his plans before Mr. Garrison.[1] He proposed that the *Genius* should be enlarged and changed from a monthly to a weekly paper, and that the younger partner should be the resident editor, and conduct the paper while he (Lundy) travelled through the country to obtain subscribers for it. The appeal was successful, and Garrison, accepting the call with all the solemnity with which Lundy urged it upon him, agreed to leave Bennington at the expiration of his engagement and prepare himself for the new enterprise.

Morse's Life of J. Q. Adams, pp. 217-220.

Among his last editorials in the *Journal* were two vigorous articles in review of the correspondence which had just taken place between President Adams and certain prominent Federalists of Boston, relative to the imputed disposition of their party leaders to favor the separation of New England from the rest of the Union during the years 1808–1814; the correspondence being copied in full in the *Journal*. The articles are noteworthy only as showing that his interest in the old feuds of the Federal party had by no means died out, for he now warmly sustained the cause of the Boston gentlemen against the more or less well-founded accusations of the retiring President.

The number for March 27, 1829, completed the sixth month of the *Journal*, and the editor's "Valediction" appeared in it without previous note or intimation of any kind as to his intended retirement. We give it in full:

[1] The precise date of Lundy's visit to Bennington cannot be determined, nor is it of consequence; but that given in Lundy's Life (November, 1828) is clearly wrong, and the volume is generally untrustworthy as to dates. So far as can be judged from Lundy's letters in the *Journal of the Times*, and from other evidence, the visit was probably made early in 1829. The publication of the *Genius* was suspended, with the issue of January 3, 1829, for eight months.

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"Hereafter the editorial charge of this paper will devolve on another person. I am invited to occupy a broader field, and to engage in a higher enterprise: that field embraces the whole country—that enterprise is in behalf of the slave population.

"To my apprehension, the subject of slavery involves interests of greater moment to our welfare as a republic, and demands a more prudent and minute investigation, than any other which has come before the American people since the Revolutionary struggle—than all others which now occupy their attention. No body of men, on the face of the earth, deserve their charities, and prayers, and united assistance, so much as the slaves of this country; and yet they are almost entirely neglected. It is true, many a cheek burns with shame in view of our national inconsistency, and many a heart bleeds for the miserable African; it is true, examples of disinterested benevolence and individual sacrifices are numerous, particularly in the Southern States; but no systematic, vigorous and successful measures have been made to overthrow this fabric of oppression. I trust in God that I may be the humble instrument of breaking at least one chain, and restoring one captive to liberty: it will amply repay a life of severe toil.

"It has been my aim to make the *Journal of the Times* actively philanthropic and uniformly virtuous; neither to lessen its dignity by vain trifling and coarse witticism, nor to impair its interest by a needless austerity of tone and blind inaptitude of matter; but rather to judiciously blend innocent amusement with excellent instruction. I have endeavored to maintain a motto which is superior to the prevailing errors and mischievous maxims of the age. REASON HAS PREVAILED WITH ME MORE THAN POPULAR OPINION. In portraying the criminality and disastrous tendency of War—in exposing the complicated evils of Intemperance, and advocating the principle of entire abstinence—in denying the justice and lawfulness of Slavery—in defending the Sabbath from a violation *by law*—the weight of public sentiment has been against me. This nation is not eminently pacific in its principles—the recent triumph of the sword over the pen gives clear demonstration of this fact. It is not sober in its habits—and proofs are multiplied all over the land, in every city, town and village, in every accidental gathering of large bodies of men together, and in almost every family. It is not willing to abandon its traffic in human flesh—or the foul blemish upon its reputation would no longer remain,—an immense shadow covering the

Gen. Jackson's election.

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sunlight of our fame. It is not virtuous in its practices — or the Sabbath would be respected by its officers and representatives.

"I look upon the station of an editor as a proud and responsible one. It should never be filled by a political adventurer or a loose moralist. It is not beneath the dignity of the highest and most gifted man among us. For many years, indeed, its reputation has been sullied by the conduct, character, and principles of many who have aspired to fill it; but a new race of editors, with better qualifications and nobler views, are entering the ranks. The rapid growth of public intelligence demands a corresponding improvement of the press. An idle or lethargic conductor of a newspaper is a dead weight upon community. Men of industry are wanted, who will sustain every moral enterprise, and diffuse a healthful influence far and wide, and fearlessly maintain the truth.

"The first number of this paper was issued without a subscriber or the previous circulation of any prospectus. It has now completed six months of its existence. Its patronage is very respectable, and accessions to the subscription list are made weekly. Whatever may have been its faults or merits, no pains will hereafter be spared to make it worthy of a wide circulation. I recommend its industrious and enterprising proprietor to the substantial encouragement of a generous people.[1]

"My task is done. In all my efforts, I have sought the approbation of the wise and good. Whether it has been won or lost, my conscience is satisfied.

"WM. LLOYD GARRISON."

The last act of the retiring editor was to commend to his readers the speech made by Henry Clay at a dinner given him in Washington on the termination of his service as Secretary of State, in which he had reflected severely on the incoming President. "Henry Clay," he declared, "at this moment stands on a higher eminence than he ever before occupied. His attitude is sublime — his front undaunted — his spirit unsubdued. It is impossible to read his noble speech without mingled emotions of pride, indignation, reverence, and delight." And he thereupon proceeded to nominate him as a candidate

[1] The *Journal of the Times* survived Mr. Garrison's departure only three months, No. 38 being the last one issued.

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for the next Presidential term, saying, "We believe nothing but death can prevent his election."

The *Gazette* was of course exultant over the departure of the rival editor, and the labors of "My Lloyd Garrison" were reviewed in a satirical communication signed "A Yankee."[1] "Lest unworthy motives should be attributed to us," said the writer, "we think proper to declare beforehand our high admiration of his talents, and entire confidence in his integrity and patriotism." And then followed this bit of description:

Vt. Gazette, Mar. 31, 1829.

"My Lloyd is a young man, and an immigrant from the 'Bay State.' A pair of silver-mounted spectacles ride elegantly across his nose, and his figure and appearance are not unlike that of a dandy. He is, withal, a great egotist, and, when talking of himself, displays the pert loquacity of a blue-jay. . . . In regard to the affairs of the world, My Lloyd labors under a strange delusion, insomuch that he has taken upon himself to abolish slavery in the District of Columbia, reform the judiciary and militia of the State, and last, though not least, to impart the graces of a Boston dandy to the unpolished natives of our happy State."

These parting gibes elicited no more attention from their subject than had others which appeared earlier, accusing him of coming to breed strife in Bennington, and styling him "Lloyd Garrulous"; and as soon as he could close up his affairs he started for Boston.[2]

Arrived there (in April, 1829), he again went to Mr. Collier's boarding-house to remain awhile, Lundy having meanwhile gone to Hayti with twelve emancipated slaves from Maryland, who had been entrusted to him for transportation to and settlement in that country.

[1] It was written by John S. Robinson, who became Governor of Vermont in 1853,—the only Democratic Governor the State ever had.

[2] The route in those days was by stage to Brattleboro', thence down the Connecticut valley to Greenfield, and thence by way of Worcester to Boston; and the journey on this occasion was an unusually severe and difficult one, owing to the deep drifts which still remained from a tremendous snow-storm that had covered all New England and the Middle States several feet deep the previous month. The stage ride to Brattleboro' occupied the first day, and the horses broke through the snow and fell so many times that they became terrified and exhausted.

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The *Philanthropist* was now edited, and ably edited, by William Goodell (who had removed from Providence to Boston in order to merge his *Investigator* with it), and was printed by James Brown Yerrinton.[1] Mr. Goodell had become thoroughly aroused on the slavery question, and he and Mr. Garrison took many a walk together on Boston Common, discussing anti-slavery projects. They also called upon a number of prominent ministers to secure their coöperation in the cause, and were sanguine in their expectations of important assistance from them.[2]

In June, Mr. Garrison accepted an invitation from the Congregational societies of the city to deliver a Fourth of July address at Park-Street Church, in the interests of the Colonization Society, and announced as his theme, "Dangers to the Nation." Ten days before the Fourth a malicious attempt to annoy and embarrass him was made, which he described in the following letter to a friend in Newburyport:

W. L. Garrison to Jacob Horton.[3]

BOSTON, Saturday, June 27, 1829.

MS., now (1885) in possession of Thos. Mack, Boston.

MY DEAR JACOB: I am very reluctantly obliged to solicit a favor of you, which, if granted, shall be cancelled in a few weeks.

On Wednesday, the clerk of a militia company, (a poor, worthless scamp,) presented a bill of $4, for failure of appearance on May muster, and at the choice of officers. The fact is, I had been in the city but a fortnight, from my Vermont residence, when the notification came; and, as I expected to leave in a very short time, I neglected to get a certificate of my incapacity to train on account of short-sightedness. Moreover,

[1] Afterwards (1841–1865) the printer of the *Liberator*.

[2] See Fourth Annual Report Mass. A. S. Society, 1836, p. 57, and Goodell's 'Slavery and Anti-Slavery,' p. 401. The *Philanthropist and Investigator* was temporarily suspended at the end of August, 1829, for want of funds. Two months later its publication was resumed, the *Genius of Temperance* having been united with it, and in July of the following year it was removed to New York; but after a time Mr. Goodell was compelled to relinquish the publication, owing to inadequate support.

[3] Mr. Horton had married Mr. Garrison's old friend and playmate, Harriet Farnham.

though I have been repeatedly warned since I first came to the city in 1826, yet never, until now, have I been called upon to pay a fine, or to give any reasons for my non-appearance; and I therefore concluded that I should again be let alone.

I told the fellow the circumstances of the case — that I had never trained — that my sight had always excused me — and that, in fine, I should not pay his bill. He wished me a "good morning," and in the course of the day sent a writ by the hands of a constable, charging me to appear at the Police Court on the 4th of July, and shew cause why I refused to pay the fine! Of course, there is no alternative but to "shell out," or to fee a lawyer to get me clear, which would be no saving in expense.

The writ and fine will be $5 or $6. I have not a farthing by me, and I shall need a trifle for the 4th. Can you make it convenient to loan me $8, for two or three weeks? I am pained to make this request, but my present dilemma is unpleasant.[1]

My address, for the Fourth, is almost completed; and, on the whole, I am tolerably well satisfied with the composition. The delivery will occupy me, probably, a little over an hour — too long, to be sure, for the patience of the audience, but not for the subject. I cannot condense it. Its complexion is sombre, and its animadversions severe. I think it will offend some, though not reasonably. The assembly bids fair to be overwhelming. My very knees knock together at the thought of speaking before so large a concourse. What, then, will be my feelings in the pulpit?

The public expectation, I find, is great. I am certain it will be disappointed; but I shall do my best. You shall know the result.

Rev. Mr. Pierpont honored me with a visit a few days since. He is an accomplished man, and his friendship worth cultivating. He has promised to give [me] an original ode for that day; and says he shall take a seat in some corner of Park-

[1] Mr. Garrison also gave an account of this experience in the *Genius of Universal Emancipation* of Sept. 16, 1829 (p. 14), with the following declaration of principles: "I am not professedly a Quaker; but I heartily, entirely and practically embrace the doctrine of non-resistance, and am conscientiously opposed to all military exhibitions. I now solemnly declare that I will never obey any order to bear arms, but rather cheerfully suffer imprisonment and persecution. What is the design of militia musters? *To make men skilful murderers.* I cannot consent to become a pupil in this sanguinary school."

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street Church to hear the address — a thing that he has not done for many years.

I expect to get a journeyman's berth immediately after the 4th; but, if I do not, I shall take the stage for Newburyport, and *dig on* at the case for Mr. Allen. I am somewhat in a hobble, in a pecuniary point of view, and must work like a tiger. My fingers have not lost their nimbleness, and my pride I have sent on a pilgrimage to Mecca.

By answering this on Tuesday, by the driver, you will confer another obligation on

Yours, with much affection,

WM. LLOYD GARRISON.

☞ Direct to me at No. 30, Federal-st., Boston.

It is to be presumed that the desired loan was promptly made, for at four o'clock on the afternoon of July 4, Mr. Garrison rose to address an audience which filled Park-Street Church and included Whittier, Goodell, and John Pierpont, whose spirited hymn ("With thy pure dews and rains") was ready for the occasion. It was sung now under the direction of Lowell Mason; and was heard afterwards at many an anti-slavery meeting during the thirty years' conflict, besides being included in some church hymnals, in which the following stinging verses must have made it especially serviceable and effective:

No. 798 in Adams and Chapin's Hymns for Christian Devotion.

"Hearest thou, O God, those chains,
Clanking on Freedom's plains,
By Christians wrought!
Them who those chains have worn,
Christians from home have torn,
Christians have hither borne,
Christians have bought!

"Cast down, great God, the fanes
That, to unhallowed gains,
Round us have risen —
Temples whose priesthood pore
Moses and Jesus o'er,
Then bolt the black man's door,
The poor man's prison!"

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Mr. Garrison's Address, which must have occupied considerably more than an hour in delivery, was subsequently printed in the *National Philanthropist and Investigator* of July 22 and 29, and has thus been preserved to show the fulness and maturity of the orator's powers in this, his twenty-fourth year, and his thorough moral and intellectual equipment for the warfare upon which he now deliberately entered. Its importance in this view must justify the considerable extracts from it which are here given, beginning with his opening sentences:

Nat. Philanthropist and Investigator, July 22, 1829; Selections from the Writings of W. L. G., pp. 44-61.

"It is natural that the return of a day which established the liberties of a brave people should be hailed by them with more than ordinary joy; and it is their duty as Christians and patriots to celebrate it with signal tokens of thanksgiving.

"Fifty-three years ago, the Fourth of July was a proud day for our country. It clearly and accurately defined the rights of man; it made no vulgar alterations in the established usages of society; it presented a revelation adapted to the common sense of mankind; it vindicated the omnipotence of public opinion over the machinery of kingly government; it shook, as with the voice of a great earthquake, thrones which were seemingly propped up with Atlantean pillars; it gave an impulse to the heart of the world, which yet thrills to its extremities."

The orator then proceeded to speak of the degeneracy of the national jubilee, from an occasion distinguished for rationality of feeling and purity of purpose to a day marked by reckless and profligate behavior, vain boasting, and the foolish assumption that no dangers could ever assail or threaten the republic. To him the prevalence of infidelity, the compulsory desecration of the "holy Sabbath," the ravages of intemperance, the profligacy of the press, the corruptness of party politics, were all sources of danger and causes for alarm; and he briefly considered them before he took up slavery, the main theme of his discourse. His words relating to political corruption are neither trite nor inapt now:

"I speak not as a partisan or an opponent of any man or measures, when I say, that our politics are rotten to the core.

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We boast of our freedom, who go shackled to the polls, year after year, by tens, and hundreds, and thousands! *We* talk of free agency, who are the veriest machines — the merest automata — in the hands of unprincipled jugglers! *We* prate of integrity, and virtue, and independence, who sell our birthright for office, and who, nine times in ten, do not get Esau's bargain — no, not even a mess of pottage! Is it republicanism to say, that the majority can do no wrong? Then I am not a republican. Is it aristocracy to say, that the people sometimes shamefully abuse their high trust? Then I am an aristocrat. It is not the appreciation, but the abuse of liberty, to withdraw altogether from the polls, or to visit them merely as a matter of form, without carefully investigating the merits of candidates. The republic does not bear a charmed life: our prescriptions administered through the medium of the ballot-box — the mouth of the political body — may kill or cure, according to the nature of the disease and our wisdom in applying the remedy. It is possible that a people may bear the title of freemen who execute the work of slaves. To the dullest observers of the signs of the times, it must be apparent that we are rapidly approximating to this condition. . . .

"But there is another evil, which, if we had to contend against nothing else, should make us quake for the issue. It is a gangrene preying upon our vitals — an earthquake rumbling under our feet — a mine accumulating materials for a national catastrophe. It should make this a day of fasting and prayer, not of boisterous merriment and idle pageantry — a day of great lamentation, not of congratulatory joy. It should spike every cannon, and haul down every banner. Our garb should be sackcloth — our heads bowed in the dust — our supplications, for the pardon and assistance of Heaven.

"Last week this city was made breathless by a trial of considerable magnitude. The court chamber was inundated for hours, day after day, with a dense and living tide which swept along like the rush of a mountain torrent. Tiers of human bodies were piled up to the walls, with almost miraculous condensation and ingenuity. It seemed as if men abhorred a vacuum equally with Nature: they would suspend themselves, as it were, by a nail, and stand upon air with the aid of a peg. Although it was a barren, ineloquent subject, and the crowd immense, there was no perceptible want of interest — no evidence of impatience. The cause was important, involving the reputation of a distinguished citizen. There was a struggle for

mastery between two giants — a test of strength in tossing mountains of law. The excitement was natural.[1]

"I stand up here in a more solemn court, to assist in a far greater cause; not to impeach the character of one man, but of a whole people; not to recover the sum of a hundred thousand dollars, but to obtain the liberation of two millions of wretched, degraded beings, who are pining in hopeless bondage — over whose sufferings scarcely an eye weeps, or a heart melts, or a tongue pleads either to God or man. I regret that a better advocate had not been found, to enchain your attention and to warm your blood. Whatever fallacy, however, may appear in the argument, there is no flaw in the indictment; what the speaker lacks, the cause will supply.

"Sirs, I am not come to tell you that slavery is a curse, debasing in its effect, cruel in its operation, fatal in its continuance. The day and the occasion require no such revelation. I do not claim the discovery as my own, that 'all men are born equal,' and that among their inalienable rights are 'life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness.' Were I addressing any other than a free and Christian assembly, the enforcement of this truth might be pertinent. Neither do I intend to analyze the horrors of slavery for your inspection, nor to freeze your blood with authentic recitals of savage cruelty. Nor will time allow me to explore even a furlong of that immense wilderness of suffering which remains unsubdued in our land. I take it for granted that the existence of these evils is acknowledged, if not rightly understood. My object is to define and enforce our duty, as Christians and Philanthropists.

"On a subject so exhaustless, it will be impossible, in the moiety of an address, to unfold all the facts which are necessary to its full development. In view of it, my heart swells up like a living fountain, which time cannot exhaust, for it is perpetual. Let this be considered as the preface of a noble work, which your inventive sympathies must elaborate and complete.

"I assume as distinct and defensible propositions,

"I. That the slaves of this country, whether we consider their moral, intellectual or social condition, are preëminently entitled to the prayers, and sympathies, and charities, of the

[1] The case was that of Farnum, Executor of Tuttle Hubbard, *vs.* Brooks, and was heard in the Mass. Supreme Court. The "two giants" in opposition were William Wirt, ex-Attorney-General of the United States, and Daniel Webster. Wirt's eloquence made a great impression. (Boston *Traveller*, June 23, 30, 1829; *Columbian Centinel*, June 27.)

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American people; and their claims for redress are as strong as those of any Americans could be in a similar condition.

"II. That, as the free States — by which I mean non-slaveholding States — are constitutionally involved in the guilt of slavery, by adhering to a national compact that sanctions it; and in the danger, by liability to be called upon for aid in case of insurrection; they have the right to remonstrate against its continuance, and it is their duty to assist in its overthrow.

"III. That no justificative plea for the perpetuity of slavery can be found in the condition of its victims; and no barrier against our righteous interference, in the laws which authorize the buying, selling and possessing of slaves, nor in the hazard of a collision with slaveholders.

"IV. That education and freedom will elevate our colored population to a rank with the white — making them useful, intelligent and peaceable citizens.

"In the first place, it will be readily admitted, that it is the duty of every nation primarily to administer relief to its own necessities, to cure its own maladies, to instruct its own children, and to watch over its own interests. He is 'worse than an infidel' who neglects his own household, and squanders his earnings upon strangers; and the policy of that nation is unwise which seeks to proselyte other portions of the globe at the expense of its safety and happiness. Let me not be misunderstood. My benevolence is neither contracted nor selfish. I pity that man whose heart is not larger than a whole continent. I despise the littleness of that patriotism which blusters only for its own rights, and, stretched to its utmost dimensions, scarcely covers its native territory; which adopts as its creed the right to act independently, even to the verge of licentiousness, without restraint, and to tyrannize wherever it can with impunity. This sort of patriotism is common. I suspect the reality, and deny the productiveness, of that piety which confines its operations to a particular spot — if that spot be less than the whole earth; nor scoops out, in every direction, new channels for the waters of life. Christian charity, while it 'begins at home,' goes abroad in search of misery. It is as copious as the sun in heaven. It does not, like the Nile, make a partial inundation, and then withdraw; but it perpetually overflows, and fertilizes every barren spot. It is restricted only by the exact number of God's suffering creatures. But I mean to say, that, while we are aiding and instructing foreigners, we ought not to forget our own degraded countrymen; that neither

duty nor honesty requires us to defraud ourselves that we may enrich others.

"The condition of the slaves, in a religious point of view, is deplorable, entitling them to a higher consideration, on our part, than any other race; higher than the Turks or Chinese, for they have the privileges of instruction; higher than the Pagans, for they are not dwellers in a gospel land; higher than our red men of the forest, for we do not bind them with gyves, nor treat them as chattels.

"And here let me ask, What has Christianity done, by direct effort, for our slave population? Comparatively nothing. She has explored the isles of the ocean for objects of commiseration; but, amazing stupidity! she can gaze without emotion on a multitude of miserable beings at home, large enough to constitute a nation of freemen, whom tyranny has heathenized by law. In her public services they are seldom remembered, and in her private donations they are forgotten. From one end of the country to the other, her charitable societies form golden links of benevolence, and scatter their contributions like raindrops over a parched heath; but they bring no sustenance to the perishing slave. The blood of souls is upon her garments, yet she heeds not the stain. The clankings of the prisoner's chains strike upon her ear, but they cannot penetrate her heart.

"I have said that the claims of the slaves for redress are as strong as those of any Americans could be, in a similar condition. Does any man deny the position? The proof, then, is found in the fact, that a very large proportion of our colored population were born on our soil, and are therefore entitled to all the privileges of American citizens. This is their country by birth, not by adoption. Their children possess the same inherent and unalienable rights as ours, and it is a crime of the blackest dye to load them with fetters.

"Every Fourth of July, our Declaration of Independence is produced, with a sublime indignation, to set forth the tyranny of the mother country, and to challenge the admiration of the world. But what a pitiful detail of grievances does this document present, in comparison with the wrongs which our slaves endure! In the one case, it is hardly the plucking of a hair from the head; in the other, it is the crushing of a live body on the wheel — the stings of the wasp contrasted with the tortures of the Inquisition. Before God, I must say, that such a glaring contradiction as exists between our creed and practice the annals of six thousand years cannot parallel. In view of it, I

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am ashamed of my country. I am sick of our unmeaning declamation in praise of liberty and equality; of our hypocritical cant about the unalienable rights of man. I could not, for my right hand, stand up before a European assembly, and exult that I am an American citizen, and denounce the usurpations of a kingly government as wicked and unjust; or, should I make the attempt, the recollection of my country's barbarity and despotism would blister my lips, and cover my cheeks with burning blushes of shame.

"Will this be termed a rhetorical flourish? Will any man coldly accuse me of intemperate zeal? I will borrow, then, a ray of humanity from one of the brightest stars in our American galaxy, whose light will gather new effulgence to the end of time. 'This, sirs, is a cause that would be dishonored and betrayed if I contented myself with appealing only to the understanding. It is too cold, and its processes are too slow for the occasion. I desire to thank God that, since he has given me an intellect so fallible, he has impressed upon me an instinct that is sure. On a question of shame and honor — liberty and oppression — reasoning is sometimes useless, and worse. I feel the decision in my pulse: if it throws no light upon the brain, it kindles a fire at the heart.' . . .

Nat. Philan. and Investigator, July 29, 1829.

"I come to my second proposition: — the right of the free States to remonstrate against the continuance, and to assist in the overthrow of slavery.

"This, I am aware, is a delicate subject, surrounded with many formidable difficulties. But if delay only adds to its intricacy, wherefore shun an immediate investigation? I know that we, of the North, affectedly believe that we have no local interest in the removal of this great evil; that the slave States can take care of themselves, and that any proffered assistance, on our part, would be rejected as impertinent, dictatorial or meddlesome; and that we have no right to lift up even a note of remonstrance. But I believe that these opinions are crude, preposterous, dishonorable, unjust. Sirs, this is a business in which, as members of one great family, we have a common interest; but we take no responsibility, either individually or collectively. Our hearts are cold — our blood stagnates in our veins. We act, in relation to the slaves, as if they were something lower than the brutes that perish.

"On this question, I ask no support from the injunction of Holy Writ, which says: — 'therefore all things whatsoever ye would that men should do to you, do ye even so to them: for this is the law and the prophets.' I throw aside the common

dictates of humanity. I assert the right of the free States to demand a gradual abolition of slavery, because, by its continuance, they participate in the guilt thereof, and are threatened with ultimate destruction; because they are bound to watch over the interests of the whole country, without reference to territorial divisions; because their white population is nearly double that of the slave States, and the voice of this overwhelming majority should be potential; because they are now deprived of their just influence in the councils of the nation; because it is absurd and anti-republican to suffer property to be represented as men, and *vice versa*.[1] Because it gives the South an unjust ascendancy over other portions of territory, and a power which may be perverted on every occasion. . . .

"Now I say that, on the broad system of equal rights, this monstrous inequality should no longer be tolerated. If it cannot be speedily put down — not by force, but by fair persuasion; if we are always to remain shackled by unjust Constitutional provisions, when the emergency that imposed them has long since passed away; if we must share in the guilt and danger of destroying the bodies and souls of men, *as the price of our Union;* if the slave States will haughtily spurn our assistance, and refuse to consult the general welfare; then the fault is not ours if a separation eventually take place. . . .

"It may be objected, that the laws of the slave States form insurmountable barriers to any interference on our part.

"Answer. I grant that we have not the right, and I trust not the disposition, to use coercive measures. But do these laws hinder our prayers, or obstruct the flow of our sympathies? Cannot our charities alleviate the condition of the slave, and perhaps break his fetters? Can we not operate upon public sentiment, (the lever that can move the moral world,) by way of remonstrance, advice, or entreaty? Is Christianity so powerful that she can tame the red men of our forests, and abolish the Burman caste, and overthrow the gods of Paganism, and liberate lands over which the darkness of Superstition has lain for ages; and yet so weak, in her own dwelling-place, that she can make no impression upon her civil code? Can she contend successfully with cannibals, and yet be conquered by her own children?

"Suppose that, by a miracle, the slaves should suddenly become white. Would you shut your eyes upon their sufferings, and calmly talk of Constitutional limitations? No; your

[1] By the three-fifths representation clause of the Federal Constitution, Art. I., Sec. ii., 3.

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voice would peal in the ears of the taskmasters like deep thunder; you would carry the Constitution by force, if it could not be taken by treaty; patriotic assemblies would congregate at the corners of every street; the old Cradle of Liberty would rock to a deeper tone than ever echoed therein at British aggression; the pulpit would acquire new and unusual eloquence from our holy religion. The argument, that these white slaves are degraded, would not then obtain. You would say, it is enough that they are white, and in bondage, and they ought immediately to be set free. You would multiply your schools of instruction, and your temples of worship, and rely on them for security. . . .

"But the plea is prevalent, that any interference by the free States, however benevolent or cautious it might be, would only irritate and inflame the jealousies of the South, and retard the cause of emancipation. If any man believes that slavery can be abolished without a struggle with the worst passions of human nature, quietly, harmoniously, he cherishes a delusion. It can never be done, unless the age of miracles return. No; we must expect a collision, full of sharp asperities and bitterness. We shall have to contend with the insolence, and pride, and selfishness, of many a heartless being. But these can be easily conquered by meekness, and perseverance, and prayer.

"Sirs, the prejudices of the North are stronger than those of the South;—they bristle, like so many bayonets, around the slaves;—they forge and rivet the chains of the nation. Conquer them, and the victory is won. The enemies of emancipation take courage from our criminal timidity. They have justly stigmatized us, even on the floor of Congress, with the most contemptuous epithets. We are (they say) their 'white slaves,'[1] afraid of our own shadows, who have been driven back to the wall again and again; who stand trembling under their whips; who turn pale, retreat, and surrender, at a talismanic threat to dissolve the Union. . . .

"It is often despondingly said, that the evil of slavery is beyond our control. Dreadful conclusion, that puts the seal of death upon our country's existence! If we cannot conquer the monster in his infancy, while his cartilages are tender and his limbs powerless, how shall we escape his wrath when he goes

[1] In Henry Adams's 'Life of John Randolph' we read (p. 281): "On another occasion, he [Randolph] is reported as saying of the people of the North, 'We do not govern them by our black slaves, but by their own white slaves.'"

forth a gigantic cannibal, seeking whom he may devour? If we cannot safely unloose two millions of slaves now, how shall we bind upwards of TWENTY MILLIONS at the close of the present century? But there is no cause for despair. We have seen how readily, and with what ease, that horrid gorgon, Intemperance, has been checked in his ravages. Let us take courage. Moral influence, when in vigorous exercise, is irresistible. It has an immortal essence. It can no more be trod out of existence by the iron foot of time, or by the ponderous march of iniquity, than matter can be annihilated. It may disappear for a time; but it lives in some shape or other, in some place or other, and will rise with renovated strength. Let us, then, be up and doing. In the simple and stirring language of the stout-hearted Lundy, 'all the friends of the cause must go to work, keep to work, hold on, and never give up.'

"If it be still objected, that it would be dangerous to liberate the present race of blacks;

"I answer — the emancipation of all the slaves of this generation is most assuredly out of the question. The fabric, which now towers above the Alps, must be taken away brick by brick, and foot by foot, till it is reduced so low that it may be overturned without burying the nation in its ruins. Years may elapse before the completion of the achievement; generations of blacks may go down to the grave, manacled and lacerated, without a hope for their children; the philanthropists who are now pleading in behalf of the oppressed, may not live to witness the dawn which will precede the glorious day of universal emancipation; but the work will go on — laborers in the cause will multiply — new resources will be discovered — the victory will be obtained, worth the desperate struggle of a thousand years. Or, if defeat follow, woe to the safety of this people! The nation will be shaken as if by a mighty earthquake. A cry of horror, a cry of revenge, will go up to heaven in the darkness of midnight, and re-echo from every cloud. Blood will flow like water — the blood of guilty men, and of innocent women and children. Then will be heard lamentations and weeping, such as will blot out the remembrance of the horrors of St. Domingo. The terrible judgments of an incensed God will complete the catastrophe of republican America.

"And since so much is to be done for our country; since so many prejudices are to be dispelled, obstacles vanquished, interests secured, blessings obtained; since the cause of emanci-

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pation must progress heavily, and meet with much unhallowed opposition,—why delay the work? There must be a beginning, and now is a propitious time — perhaps the last opportunity that will be granted us by a long-suffering God. No temporizing, lukewarm measures will avail aught. We must put our shoulders to the wheel, and heave with our united strength. Let us not look coldly on and see our Southern brethren[1] contending single-handed against an all-powerful foe — faint, weary, borne down to the earth. We are all alike guilty. Slavery is strictly a national sin. New-England money has been expended in buying human flesh; New-England ships have been freighted with sable victims; New-England men have assisted in forging the fetters of those who groan in bondage.

"I call upon the ambassadors of Christ everywhere to make known this proclamation: 'Thus saith the Lord God of the Africans, Let this people go, that they may serve me.' I ask them to 'proclaim liberty to the captives, and the opening of the prison to them that are bound'— to light up a flame of philanthropy that shall burn till all Africa be redeemed from the night of moral death, and the song of deliverance be heard throughout her borders.

"I call upon the churches of the living God to lead in this great enterprise.[2] If the soul be immortal, priceless, save it from remediless woe. Let them combine their energies, and systematize their plans, for the rescue of suffering humanity. Let them pour out their supplications to heaven in behalf of the slave. Prayer is omnipotent: its breath can melt adamantine rocks — its touch can break the stoutest chains. Let anti-slavery charity-boxes stand uppermost among those for missionary, tract and educational purposes. On this subject, Christians have been asleep; let them shake off their slumbers, and arm for the holy contest.

"I call upon our New-England women to form charitable associations to relieve the degraded of their sex. As yet, an

[1] An allusion to the few anti-slavery societies among the Friends in some of the Southern States.

[2] So Daniel Webster, in his Plymouth oration, Dec. 22, 1820, of the African slave-trade and of New-England complicity with it: "I invoke the ministers of our religion, that they proclaim its denunciation of these crimes, and add its solemn sanctions to the authority of human laws. If the pulpit be silent whenever or wherever there may be a sinner bloody with this guilt within the hearing of its voice, the pulpit is false to its trust" (Works, 1:46).

appeal to their sympathies was never made in vain. They outstrip us in every benevolent race. Females are doing much for the cause at the South; let their example be imitated, and their exertions surpassed, at the North.

"I call upon our citizens to assist in establishing auxiliary colonization societies in every State, county and town. I implore their direct and liberal patronage to the parent society.

"I call upon the great body of newspaper editors to keep this subject constantly before their readers; to sound the trumpet of alarm, and to plead eloquently for the rights of man. They must give the tone to public sentiment. One press may ignite twenty; a city may warm a State; a State may impart a generous heat to a whole country.

"I call upon the American people to enfranchise a spot over which they hold complete sovereignty; to cleanse that worse than Augean stable, the District of Columbia, from its foul impurities. I ask them to sustain Congress in any future efforts to colonize the colored population of the States. I conjure them to select those as Representatives who are not too ignorant to know, too blind to see, nor too timid to perform their duty.

"I will say, finally, that I despair of the republic while slavery exists therein. If I look up to God for success, no smile of mercy or forgiveness dispels the gloom of futurity; if to our own resources, they are daily diminishing; if to all history, our destruction is not only possible, but almost certain. Why should we slumber at this momentous crisis? If our hearts were dead to every throb of humanity; if it were lawful to oppress, where power is ample; still, if we had any regard for our safety and happiness, we should strive to crush the Vampire which is feeding upon our life-blood. All the selfishness of our nature cries aloud for a better security. Our own vices are too strong for us, and keep us in perpetual alarm; how, in addition to these, shall we be able to contend successfully with millions of armed and desperate men, as we must eventually, if slavery do not cease?"

At the conclusion of Mr. Garrison's address Mr. Plumly, an agent of the American Colonization Society, briefly urged its claims to support, and a collection in aid of it was taken up; but, beyond what is quoted above, the orator of the day said nothing in favor of the Society, except to commend the infant colony of Liberia.

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The Boston *American Traveller* of three days later contained a notice of the discourse, in which the orator was described as "of quite a youthful appearance, and habited in a suit of black, with his neck bare, and a broad linen collar spread over that of his coat. His prefatory remarks were rendered inaudible by the feebleness of his utterance; but, as he advanced, his voice was raised, his confidence was regained, and his earnestness became perceptible." The *Traveller's* abstract of his remarks was so meagre and imperfect, that Mr. Garrison felt it necessary to correct and extend it in a letter to the *Courier*, and this evoked a scurrilous and abusive attack from an anonymous correspondent of the *Traveller*, who accused him of slandering his country and libelling the Declaration of Independence. The editorial columns joined in the abuse, of which, however, Mr. Garrison took no further notice, and within a few days he left the city, probably going to Newburyport for a brief visit, before his departure for Baltimore to join Lundy.

CHAPTER VI.

"THE GENIUS OF UNIVERSAL EMANCIPATION." 1829-30.

AMERICAN slavery, according to John Wesley, was "the vilest that ever saw the sun." In an eloquent passage of his Park-Street address, Mr. Garrison had briefly pictured the awful features of the system, and had recounted the list of wrongs and outrages which the slaves, if they were to imitate the example of the Revolutionary fathers and rise in revolt, might present to the world as their justification, after the manner of the Declaration of Independence. The invasion of African soil, the kidnapping of the natives, the indescribable horrors of the middle passage, the brutal treatment of the slaves, the abrogation of the marriage institution, the cruel separation of families, the miseries of the domestic slave-trade, and the absolute power over the life, property and person of his slaves accorded and insured to the master by the laws of the slave States, were all touched upon; but it was not to these alone that Garrison was keenly alive. We have already seen, in his address at Park Street, that he fully appreciated the political advantage given to the South by the clause of the Constitution which permitted her to add three-fifths of her slave population to the number of her free inhabitants, in fixing the basis of representation in the lower house of Congress. He showed that the free States, with a free population more numerous by nearly one hundred per cent. than that of the slave States, had only 121 representa-

Matlack's Anti-Slavery Struggle, p. 42.

Stroud's Laws relating to Slavery (1827). *Goodell's American Slave Code* (1853).

Ante, p. 133.

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tives in Congress, while the slave States had 90 (*i. e.*, about 25 more than they were fairly entitled to); and a similar advantage was of course gained in the Electoral College, insuring, with the votes easily obtained from three or four Northern States, the election of Presidents subservient to the Slave Power. Recognizing the force of these Constitutional provisions while they remained unrepealed, he declared a dissolution of the Union, if that should prove the only way of escape from such sinful obligations, infinitely preferable to continued complicity.

Nat. Philan. and Investigator, July 29, 1829.

"I acknowledge that immediate and complete emancipation is not desirable," he went on to say. "No rational man cherishes so wild a vision." But when he came to reflect upon the matter, he saw that his feet were on the sand, and not on the solid rock, so long as he granted slavery the right to exist for a single moment; that if human beings could be justly held in bondage one hour, they could be for days and weeks and years, and so on, indefinitely, from generation to generation; and that the only way to deal with the system was to lay the axe at the root of the tree and demand IMMEDIATE AND UNCONDITIONAL EMANCIPATION. This conviction forced itself upon his mind during the five or six weeks which elapsed between the delivery of his address and his departure for Baltimore, and when, after a fifteen days' voyage by sea, he reached the latter city, some time in August, 1829, and presented himself to Lundy, he lost no time in acquainting his partner with the change in his views, and the necessity he should be under, if he joined him, of preaching the gospel accordingly. "Well," said Lundy, who was not prepared to accept the new doctrine himself, "thee may put thy initials to thy articles, and I will put my initials to mine, and each will bear his own burden." "Very good," responded Garrison, "that will answer, and I shall be able to free my soul." And thus the partners, little known, with few friends, and without money, began their joint warfare upon American slavery.

W. L. G. at Franklin Club Dinner, Oct. 14, 1878.

The first number of the *Genius of Universal Emancipation* under these new auspices was dated Wednesday, September 2, 1829, and was the 227th issued since its foundation by Lundy eight years before.[1] It now appeared after an interval of eight months (during which Lundy had made his trip to Hayti with the twelve emancipated slaves), in a much enlarged and improved sheet of eight pages, the printed page of four columns measuring about 9x13 inches. A vignette of the American eagle surmounted the title of the paper, and the motto below the title was the immortal assertion from the Declaration of Independence (the "glittering generality" which the Abolitionists were to make — as Emerson, in his retort to Rufus Choate's sneer, declared it — a "blazing ubiquity"), "We hold these truths to be self-evident: that all men are created equal, and endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness." At the head of the first column stood Curran's eloquent idealization of the spirit of liberty, from which the paper derived its name, with editorial applications interpolated.[2]

Ante, p. 123.

For the first and only time during his editorial career Mr. Garrison was not obliged to labor at the case, or to

[1] From 1821 to 1825, inclusive, Lundy published the paper monthly, and occasionally fortnightly, as means permitted. The weekly issue began in September, 1825.

[2] "I speak in the spirit of the British [*American?*] law, which makes liberty commensurate with, and inseparable from, the British [*American?*] soil — which proclaims, even to the stranger and the sojourner, the moment he sets his foot upon British [*American?*] earth, that the ground on which he treads is holy, and consecrated by the Genius of *Universal Emancipation*. No matter in what language his doom may have been pronounced; — no matter what complexion, incompatible with freedom, an Indian or an African sun may have burnt upon him; — no matter in what disastrous battle his liberty may have been cloven down; — no matter with what solemnities he may have been devoted upon the altar of slavery: the first moment he touches the sacred soil of Britain [*America?*], the altar and the god sink together in the dust; his soul walks abroad in her own majesty; his body swells beyond the measure of his chains, that burst from around him, and he stands redeemed, regenerated, and disenthralled, by the irresistible *Genius of Universal Emancipation*."

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perform any part of the manual labor of the office, as the *Genius* was printed by contract,[1] and it was agreed that he should be the resident and managing editor, while Lundy took the field and went forth to canvass for subscribers; the list of patrons being far too meagre to support the large and handsome sheet which they had essayed to issue. In the two salutatory addresses which they wrote, each under his own signature, Lundy confined himself to a simple announcement of the arrangement, while Garrison gave a brief exposition of his views on slavery and colonization:

TO THE PUBLIC.

Ten months ago, as editor of the Bennington *Journal of the Times*, I publickly declared that, on whatever spot I might afterward be located, the energies of my life should be directed to the overthrow of three of the greatest evils which curse our race — namely: SLAVERY, INTEMPERANCE, and WAR. My resolution is unchanged.

In devoting my services to the extinction of slavery, I do not mean to lose sight of the other specified abominations; but they must necessarily receive less of my attention and aid. . . .

It may be proper, at this time, as assistant editor of this paper, to state my views relative to the removal of slavery from our land. This exposition must be made briefly.

First, in regard to the plan of the American Colonization Society. No man contemplates with more intense interest and unmingled satisfaction the colony at Liberia than the subscriber. I have elsewhere termed it the lungs and heart of Africa, full of generous respiration and warm blood. But the work of colonization is exceedingly dilatory and uncertain. It can never entirely relieve the country. It may pluck a few leaves from the Bohon Upas, but can neither extract its roots nor destroy its withering properties. Viewed as an auxiliary, it deserves encouragement; but as a remedy, it is altogether inadequate. I wish to see its funds as exhaustless as the number of applicants for removal, and the fruits of its enterprise yet more abundant.

I fear, however, that a majority of the people place too much reliance upon the ability of this Society. Many are lulling

[1] By Lucas & Deaver. The publication office was at 19 South Calvert Street. The subscription price of the *Genius* was $3.00 a year.

themselves into a belief that the monster has received his mortal wound, and they scarcely feel any interest to be in at the death. The crafty advocates of slavery rejoice at this delusion, for they can now repose in comparative security. For my own part, I do not believe that the removal of the great body of the blacks can be effected by voluntary contributions or individual sacrifices; and if we depend alone upon the efforts of colonization societies, slavery will never be exterminated.

As a home for emancipated slaves, I view the republic of Hayti with a favourable eye. In many points it is superior to Liberia. Its climate is more salubrious, its government is stable, its locality is near, and transportation can be effected more cheaply. Emigrants are received with cordial affection, and allowed extraordinary privileges. Our free coloured people, moreover, generally cherish less repugnance to Hayti than to Liberia.

But while I would encourage every feasible plan for the reduction of this part of our population, I shall rely on nothing but the eternal principles of justice for the speedy overthrow of slavery. Since the delivery of my address in Boston, relative to this subject, I am convinced, on mature reflection, that no valid excuse can be given for the continuance of the evil a single hour. These, therefore, are my positions:

1. That the slaves are entitled to immediate and complete emancipation: consequently, to hold them longer in bondage is both tyrannical and unnecessary.

2. That the question of expediency has nothing to do with that of right, and it is not for those who tyrannise to say when they may safely break the chains of their subjects. As well may a thief determine on what particular day or month he shall leave off stealing, with safety to his own interest.

3. That, on the ground of expediency, it would be wiser to set all the slaves free to-day than to-morrow — or next week than next year. To think of removing them all out of the land is visionary: not two-fiftieths of the annual increase are taken away during the same period. Hence the sooner they receive the benefits of instruction, the better for them and us. We can educate two millions of slaves, now, with more facility and success than four millions at the expiration of twenty-five years. Give them liberation, and every inducement to revolt is removed; give them employment as free labourers, and their industry will be more productive and beneficial than mines of gold; give them religious and secular instruction, restrict them

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with suitable regulations, and they will make peaceable citizens. One million of degraded slaves are more dangerous to the welfare of the country than would be two millions of degraded freemen.

4. That, as a very large proportion of our colored population were born on American soil, they are at liberty to choose their own dwelling-place, and we possess no right to use coercive measures in their removal.

Cherishing these views, therefore, I shall give no quarter to the open advocates of slavery, nor easily excuse those pseudo-philanthropists who find an apology for its continuance in the condition of the slaves.

It would give me pleasure, in concluding these remarks, to pass an elaborate eulogium upon the zealous and amiable philanthropist with whom I am associated; but, for obvious reasons, I forbear. Elsewhere I have not hesitated to bear testimony to his worth, and witnesses thereto are multiplying in every quarter. Two republics will assist in building his monument, which no time shall crumble.

For myself, whatever else I may lack, I bring to this great cause a warm heart and a willing hand; nor shall I spare any efforts, in conjunction with the senior editor, to make the *Genius of Universal Emancipation* worthy of extensive patronage.

WM. LLOYD GARRISON.[1]

[1] The only direct appeal for immediate, as opposed to gradual, emancipation which appears to have been made in the United States prior to the above declaration of Garrison's, was in 'A Treatise on Slavery, in which is shown forth the Evil of Slaveholding, both from the Light of Nature and Divine Revelation, by [Rev.] James Duncan.' This was a small volume printed at the *Indiana Register* office, in Vevay, Indiana, in the year 1824, in which the author showed the fallacy of gradualism, at the very outset, in his preface. The work is a remarkable one, and indicates that Mr. Duncan possessed great powers of reasoning, and rare clearness of vision, for that day, on the subject of slavery. He devoted much space to proving slavery to be a violation of all the Commandments, and of the Divine Law, opposed to republicanism, and hurtful to masters as well as slaves. Slaveholders were warned that they could not escape perdition for their sins, if they failed to repent and release their captives. The book, written from the extreme orthodox standpoint, bore evidence on every page of the vigor and earnestness of the writer, though he weakened it by an Appendix, in which he assented that the blacks should be kept under a certain tutelage for a time after emancipation, subject to patrols, obliged to bear passes, etc. It seems strange that so masterly an argument should have fallen dead, making no stir or impression, and being consigned to a speedy oblivion, in which it remained until discovered and reprinted in 1840 by the American Anti-Slavery Society; but the writer had the disadvantage of

Lundy and his partner boarded with two Quaker ladies, Beulah Harris and sister, who lived at 135 Market Street, and their circle of acquaintances was limited to a few Quaker friends and some of the more intelligent colored people of the city.[1] Associated with them in the conduct of the *Genius* was a young Quaker woman, Elizabeth Margaret Chandler, a resident of Philadelphia, who possessed considerable literary taste and skill and decided poetic talent. Early attracted by Lundy's efforts in behalf of the slaves, she had become a contributor to the *Genius* in 1826, when in her nineteenth year, and some of her productions were widely copied. She now consented to take charge of a department of the paper styled the "Ladies' Repository," which occupied a page and a half of each number. Her industry was unceasing, and her brother editors greatly valued her aid.[2]

The last page of the *Genius* was printed in French, for the benefit of Haytian subscribers, and also contained a list of agents for the paper in different cities. This included the names of James Mott, of Philadelphia, Dr. Bartholomew Fussell, of Kennett Square, Pa., and Samuel Philbrick, of Boston, none of whom were then personally known to Mr. Garrison, but who subsequently

publishing his work in an obscure town and a remote State, where he had no facilities for forcing it upon the attention of the country at large. Nor did he follow it up by dedicating his life to the cause.

[1] Among the former, John Needles, who subsequently attained a ripe age and lived to see slavery abolished, was one of the truest and most devoted; while among the latter were William Watkins (probably the "Colored Baltimorean" subsequently referred to), Jacob Greener, and his sons Richard W. and Jacob C. Greener. Jacob Greener was earnestly opposed to the Colonization Society. His sons were afterwards the Baltimore agents of the *Liberator*. A grandson, Prof. Richard T. Greener, was the first colored graduate of Harvard University (Class of 1870).

[2] She died Nov. 2, 1834, in her twenty-seventh year, while residing with her brother in Michigan. Her literary productions were subsequently published in a volume for which Mr. Lundy wrote the introductory memoir (Philadelphia, 1836). Mr. Garrison's tribute to her memory, after visiting her grave in 1853, will be found in *Lib.* 23:190. He declared her "worthy to be associated with Elizabeth Heyrick of England," and she certainly deserves to be known and honored as the first American woman who devoted her time and talents to the cause of the slave.

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became his life-long friends and co-workers; and also James Cropper, of Liverpool. It was doubtless to the last-named gentleman, an active supporter of Wilberforce and Buxton in the English anti-slavery movement, that Lundy and Garrison were indebted for a frequent supply of reports and other publications showing the progress of the agitation for West-India emancipation. They published considerable extracts from these in the *Genius*, contrasting the activity of the British with the apathy of the American abolitionists, and trying to incite the latter to similar effort. Special attention was called to the English Ladies' Anti-Slavery Societies, in the "Ladies' Repository," which also gave many extracts from Elizabeth Heyrick's 'Letters on the Prompt Extinction of British Colonial Slavery,' as clear and cogent productions as the same author's pamphlet, 'Immediate, not Gradual Emancipation.'[1]

Colonization was a theme of constant discussion in the pages of the *Genius*. Lundy, fresh from his visit to Hayti, began in the very first number a series of nine articles on that country, describing its climate, soil, and products, and giving the fullest information he could concerning the Haytian government and people. He evidently took little interest in Liberia, and, as has been already mentioned, had early expressed his distrust of the Colonization Society, because it did not make emancipation a primary object, but was actively supported by prominent slaveholders like Clay, Randolph, and Bushrod Washington. Hayti was near our own shores, and its Government was ready to give land to all immigrants who would settle upon it, while a few large land-owners offered to pay the cost of transportation of such as

Ante, p. 91.

G. U. E., Mar., 1824.

[1] To Elizabeth Heyrick, of Leicester, England, a member of the Society of Friends, belongs the high distinction of having been the first to enunciate the doctrine of Immediate Emancipation. Her pamphlet on that subject, published in 1825, was so able and convincing that the abolitionists of Great Britain, then struggling for the overthrow of slavery in the West Indies, quickly adopted the principle thus proclaimed by her, and conquered under that sign.

would come from the United States. Few were tempted even by these inducements, and the fruitless insertion of the following advertisement in the *Genius* for several successive weeks indicated that the eagerness on the part of many slaveholders to liberate their slaves, if free transportation from the country could be secured for them, did not exist to the extent to which the Colonization Society would have had it believed: CHAP. VI. 1829-30.

EMIGRATION TO HAYTI. *G. U. E., Nov. 13 to Dec. 18, 1829.*

☞ *To humane, conscientious Slaveholders.* ☜

Wanted, *immediately*, from twenty to fifty SLAVES, to remove and settle in the Republic of Hayti, where they will be forthwith invested with the rights of free men, and receive constant employment and liberal wages, in a healthy and pleasant section of the country.

☞ THE PRICE OF PASSAGE WILL BE ADVANCED, and everything furnished of which they may stand in need, until they shall have time to prepare their houses and set in to work. None will be taken, however, but such as reside in country places, and (those who are of sufficient age) accustomed to agricultural or mechanical labor.

Application may be made to the undersigned, at No. 135 Market Street, Baltimore.

LUNDY & GARRISON.

November 10th, 1829.

N. B.—Editors of Newspapers, friendly to the colonization of the colored race, are respectfully requested to notice the above. L. & G.

Lundy was anxious to establish colonies of free colored people in Hayti, Canada, Texas, or any place fairly accessible from the Southern States, so that no master disposed to emancipate his slaves, if an asylum could be found for them, and their removal assured, could have excuse for not doing so. He apparently did not stop to analyze the motives of the Colonization Society, and Garrison was slow to discover its real animus. The latter came, ere long, to regard it as "a doubtful auxiliary," and to view it with growing distrust and hostility. Some of his colored friends in Baltimore were the first to *Ibid., Jan. 15, 1830, p. 147.*

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point out to him its dangerous character and tendency, and its purpose to strengthen slavery by expelling the free people of color, whom the slaveholders instinctively deemed a constant source of danger on account of their intelligence and their ability (if so disposed) to disaffect the slaves. One of these, under the signature of "A Colored Baltimorean," contributed two remarkably able and vigorous articles in reply to another colored correspondent, a eulogist of the Society, and exposed with great keenness its fraudulent pretences.[1]

So eager were the Southern Colonizationists to get rid of the free colored people that they even invoked special appropriations for the purpose from their State Legislatures and from Congress, and the proposition was favored by Henry Clay, who was the foremost supporter of the Colonization Society in Kentucky; but these schemes failed.[2] A long address by Clay before the Kentucky society was elaborately reviewed and criticized in the *Genius* by Garrison, who began his series of articles with a fresh avowal of his admiration for Clay, and of the satisfaction with which he looked forward to his ultimate elevation to the Presidency,—"the champion who is destined to save this country from anarchy, corruption and ruin." This did not prevent his dealing faithfully with the errors, sophistries and shortcomings of the address, and he hastened to assert, at the outset, the equality of the human race:—

G. U. E., Feb. 12, 1830, p. 179.

"I deny the postulate that God has made, by an irreversible decree, or any inherent qualities, one portion of the human race superior to another. No matter how many breeds are amalgamated — no matter how many shades of color intervene between tribes or nations — give them the same chances to improve, and a fair start at the same time, and the result will be equally brilliant, equally productive, equally grand."

[1] An admirable letter from the same writer, on the proposition of the Colonization Society to civilize and evangelize Africa with a population which it declared to be the "most vicious of all classes in this country," had appeared in the *Genius* of June 28, 1828, more than a year before.

[2] A committee of the Maryland Legislature reported favorably, but in Georgia and Missouri the proposal met with decided disapproval.

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Pointing to the fact that the Colonization Society had transported only thirteen hundred emigrants to Liberia in thirteen years, while the slave population had increased half a million during the same period, he added:

G. U. E., Mar. 5, 1830, p. 202.

"And yet, such is the colonization mania, such the implicit confidence reposed in the operations of the Society, that no demonstration of its inefficiency, however palpable, can shake the faith of its advocates. . . . My complaint is, that its ability is overrated to a disastrous extent; that this delusion is perpetuated by the conduct and assurances of those who ought to act better — the members of the Society. I complain, moreover, that the lips of these members are sealed up on the subject of slavery, who, from their high standing and extensive influence, ought to expose its flagrant enormities, and actively assist in its overthrow."

In the condition of the free colored people, who were despised and persecuted in the Northern cities no less than in the Southern,[1] the editors of the *Genius* naturally took a deep interest, urging the establishment of schools and the formation of temperance societies among them;[2] and Mr. Garrison wrote thus in their vindication:

Ibid.

"There is a prevalent disposition among all classes to traduce the habits and morals of our free blacks. The most scandalous exaggerations in regard to their condition are circulated by a thousand mischievous tongues, and no reproach seems to them too deep or unmerited. Vile and malignant indeed is this practice, and culpable are they who follow it. We do not pretend to say that crime, intemperance and suffering, to a considerable

[1] So bitter was the feeling against them in Cincinnati, in 1829, that the local authorities enacted certain oppressive regulations with the avowed purpose of driving them from the city. The result was a furious riot lasting three days — during which the persons, homes and property of the blacks were at the mercy of the mob — and the final flight of more than a thousand of them to Canada. (See Wilson's 'Rise and Fall of the Slave Power in America,' 1: 365.)

[2] The labors of the Rev. Simeon S. Jocelyn among the colored people of New Haven were deservedly praised and commended as an example of what should be done in other places. Jacob C. Greener established a school for orphan and indigent children in Baltimore, and a colored temperance society was also formed there. The erection of a college, on the manual-labor system, was proposed privately, though no reference to it appears in the *Genius* (*Ldb.* 1: 111).

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extent, cannot be found among the free blacks; but we do assert that they are as moral, peaceable and industrious as that class of the whites who are, like them, in indigent circumstances — and far less intemperate than the great body of foreign emigrants who infest and corrupt our shores."

Although slavery in the cities was considered to be of a milder type than on the plantations, Lundy and Garrison were frequent witnesses of some of its iniquities and horrors. Slave auctions were of course of common occurrence in Baltimore, and the shipment of slaves to the New Orleans market was constantly going on. During the first month of their partnership, they received a call, one Sunday, from a slave who had just been severely whipped with a cowskin, and on whose bleeding back, from his neck to his hips, they could count thirty-seven terrible gashes. His head also was much bruised. And this man, whose offence was that he had not loaded a wagon to suit his overseer, had lately been emancipated by the will of his master, and was to receive his freedom a few weeks afterwards. The partners sheltered and nursed him for two days, and sought the heirs of the estate to expostulate against this cruelty, but they were received with abuse and contempt for their pains. A few days later, while passing along the street on which their office was situated, Garrison heard, from the upper story of a house, "the distinct application of a whip, and the shrieks of anguish" from the victim which succeeded every blow. "This is nothing uncommon," he added, in recording the circumstance.

G. U. E., Oct. 2, 1829, p. 27.

Ibid., Oct. 16, 1829, p. 43.

But though in the midst of the Philistines, the courage of the two editors was undaunted. The brutal slave-trader, Woolfolk, who had assaulted and nearly killed Lundy, in the street, three years before, still had his den in Baltimore; and when Garrison commented on the inconsistency of the *American and Gazette*, which refused his advertisements (because his cruelty was so notorious) while inserting those of slave auctions generally, Woolfolk ascribed the authorship of the paragraph to Lundy, and

Ante, p. 91.

G. U. E., Oct. 30, 1829, p. 62.

threatened dire vengeance. Garrison thereupon retorted in this wise: CHAP. VI. 1829-30.

AN INQUIRY.

G. U. E., Nov. 6, 1829, p. 70.

I would inquire of Mr. Austin Woolfolk if it was decent or manly in him, last week, to multiply his curses and his threats to the senior editor of this paper, for the insertion of a paragraph which was written by another — by me? Has he forgotten his alphabet? The letters "L." and "G." attached to the bottom of our separate articles no more resemble each other than the *persons* of Lundy and Garrison — and certainly the antithesis between *them* is remarkable. If he wishes to discuss the subject of slavery, or to complain of any slander of his character, I shall be happy to see him at my boarding-house, No. 135 Market Street, where I will endeavor to convince him that he is pursuing a wicked traffic; or if I fail in the argument, I will make a public apology for my strictures upon his conduct. Let me assure him, however, that I am not to be intimidated by the utterance of any threats, or the perpetration of any acts of violence. *Dieu défend le droit.*—W. L. G.

Garrison early declared against paying any money compensation to slaveholders for emancipating their slaves; and in reply to the inquiry of a colonizationist,— "Who can doubt that it might be the *soundest policy* to extinguish the master's claim throughout our territory at the price of *six hundred millions of dollars?*" he said:

Ibid., Oct. 2, 1829, p. 25.

"We unhesitatingly doubt it, in a moral point of view. It would be paying a thief for giving up stolen property, and acknowledging that his crime was *not* a crime. Once hold out the prospect of payment by the General Government, and there will soon be an end to all voluntary emancipation. Moreover, to rely upon private charities and public donations for the extinction of slavery is madness. If the moral sense of the people will not induce them to let the oppressed go free without money and without price, depend upon it their benevolent sympathies will be most unproductive. No; let us not talk of *buying* the slaves — justice *demands* their liberation."

To the same writer, who had spoken of the "delicate subject" of slavery, he replied: "In correcting public vices and aggravated crimes, delicacy is not to be con-

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sulted. Slavery is a monster, and he must be treated as such — hunted down bravely, and despatched at a blow."[1]

Considerable space was devoted in the *Genius* to accounts of a "Free Produce Society" established by Friends in Philadelphia, for the purpose of discouraging the purchase and use of products of slave labor, and thus restricting the growth of slavery by destroying the market for them. Two or three stores were opened for the sale of cotton and cotton goods, sugar, molasses, and other articles, the cultivation and manufacture of which were free from any taint of slave labor, and they received a moderate patronage and support; but the movement never assumed such proportions as in England, where, it was computed by Clarkson, no less than three hundred thousand persons voluntarily abandoned the use of sugar during the struggle for the abolition of the slave trade. Garrison was at this time disposed to regard it with favor, and welcomed it as "perhaps the most comprehensive mode that can be adopted to destroy the growth of slavery, by rendering slave labor valueless."

Hist. of the Slave Trade, p. 496.

G. U. E., *Oct.* 30, 1829, p. 58.

[1] The *laissez-faire* method of dealing with slavery which was commonly recommended by those who discussed the subject — whether ministers, journalists, or politicians — has already been illustrated by an abstract of Caleb Cushing's article in the Newburyport *Herald* (*ante*, p. 45), and is still more strikingly shown in the reply of Hezekiah Niles to an Eastern friend who had sent him an essay for his *Register*, in favor of emancipation without compensation: "But the great question then presents itself, Would the public good be promoted by an emancipation of the slaves without some efficient and costly provisions for essential changes in their location or condition? Our own experience would give a resolute negative to this question — much as we are, and always have been, opposed to the principle and practice of slavery. . . . We cannot entertain the idea that negro slavery is to go on, and on, and on, in the United States without limit — but how to arrest it, we have not yet been able to discover, with benefit to the slaves or safety to ourselves. The subject is beset with difficulties on every side — and when not knowing what to do, the most prudent way, generally, is to stand still. But on the other hand, if discussions and investigations are avoided, then what should be done, or might be done, to relieve an alarming and rapidly increasing evil, will never be ascertained" (*Niles' Register*, 47:4, Sept. 6, 1834). Mr. Niles had apparently failed to discover that standing still necessitated keeping still, and stifling all investigation and discussion.

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In the second number of this volume of the *Genius*, Lundy sounded a vigorous alarm against the plot just being developed to wrest Texas from Mexico, "for the avowed purpose of adding five or six more slaveholding States to this Union"; and called upon the people of the United States who were opposed to slavery "to arouse from their lethargy and nip the monstrous attempt in the bud." He pointed to the fact that slavery had already been abolished in Texas by the Mexican Government, and that Senator Benton and his Southern associates, who were pushing the scheme, were resolved to re-introduce slavery, with all its barbarities, into a State now free. "Should the territory be added to the Union," he continued, "*upon the condition that slavery should still be interdicted*, a great portion of the colored population in the other States, at least on this side of the Mississippi, might be induced to remove thither. *It would be the most suitable place for them in the world.*[1] But a greater curse could scarcely befall our country than the annexation of that immense territory to this republic, if the system of slavery should likewise be re-established there." Other papers took up and echoed the alarm, and joined in the vigorous protest, but the plot against Texas was not yet ripe for accomplishment.

G. U. E., *Sept.* 16, 1829, *pp.* 13, 14.

Thos. H. Benton.

The *Genius* urged the renewed circulation of petitions against slavery in the District of Columbia, though

[1] It was a favorite idea of Lundy's to establish a colony for the free blacks and emancipated slaves in Southern territory. So firm was his belief that Texas was the most appropriate region for it, that he subsequently (between 1831 and 1835) made three journeys thither, traversing the country, living there for months at a time, falling back on his saddler's trade for support when his funds gave out, incurring constant peril from disease or violence, yet laboring year after year, in season and out of season, to obtain a grant of land from the Mexican Government for his colony. In 1835 he succeeded in securing a grant of 138,000 acres, on condition that he should bring to it two hundred and fifty settlers with their families, and he returned to the United States to secure these; but the disturbances arising from the lawless Southern invasion of Mexico put an end to his scheme. His journeys had no other result than to make him the best informed man in the country in regard to the Mexican province, and of great assistance subsequently to John Quincy Adams and the other opponents of annexation in Congress.

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acknowledging that nothing was to be hoped for from an Administration in which six out of eight members — the President, Vice-President, Secretary of War, Secretary of the Navy, Attorney-General, and Postmaster-General — were from slaveholding States. It also supported, as a candidate for the Legislature from Baltimore, Daniel Raymond, who was regarded as anti-slavery, but he polled less than 200 of the more than 7000 votes cast. Further, it gave much attention to the proceedings of the Virginia Convention for the revision of the State constitution, a body remarkable for the number of able and distinguished men it contained; ex-Presidents Madison and Monroe, and John Randolph, being among them. As it has always been a favorite assertion and pretence of some Northern apologists for slavery that Virginia and Kentucky were on the verge of instituting schemes for emancipation when the anti-slavery agitation broke out, but were alarmed and deterred from attempting it by the violent and abusive spirit in which that was conducted, it is worthy of note that no proposition to this end was even broached in the Convention. The most exciting topic under discussion during its sessions was the demand of the western portion of the State that representation in the Legislature should be apportioned to the several counties on the basis of the white population, instead of on the Federal basis, as the latter, by adding three-fifths of all the slaves, gave an undue preponderance to the eastern counties, where the slaves were far more numerous than in the mountainous western district. This was hotly debated for many days, but Madison and Monroe threw their influence against it, and it was finally defeated by a close vote, leaving the control of the State in the hands of the slaveholding section. It is easy to see what fate any scheme of emancipation, however remote and gradual, would have met with in such a body; and this was more than two years before the organized anti-slavery movement began.

Oct., 1829, to Jan., 1830.

G. T. Curtis's Life of Buchanan, 2: 273.

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Less germane to the purpose of the *Genius* was the nullification debate between Hayne and Webster in the Senate; but Garrison could not resist printing those portions of Webster's famous reply which have become classic in American political and patriotic oratory. To the various moral and philanthropic questions in which he felt deep interest,— temperance, peace, the treatment of the Indians, imprisonment for debt, and the discountenancing of lotteries,— he made frequent reference. He found two temperance addresses which had been sent him for notice "too cold, too didactic, too speculative, to create a stirring sensation in the reader, or to rouse a slumbering community to a just apprehension of its danger," and he defined his own method of dealing with the subject:

G. U. E., *Oct.* 2, 1829, *p.* 30.

"We, who are somewhat impetuous in our disposition, and singular in our notions of reform,— who are so uncharitable as to make no distinction between men engaged in one common traffic, which shall excuse the destroyer of thousands, and heap contumely on the murderer of a dozen — we demand that the whole truth be told, on all occasions, whether it impeaches this man's reputation or injures that man's pursuit; whether it induces persecution, or occasions a breach of private friendship. If the atmosphere around us is thick and contagious, must it not be purified by thunder, and lightning, and storms? If we would destroy the withering influences of the poisonous Upas, must we not tear it up by the roots? We are not content with seeing proofs multiplied that temperance is better than ebriation, that a drunkard is a wretch without hope and beyond rescue, that rum costs money, that 'moderate drinking is the downhill road to intemperance.' No — we go to the fountain-head of the evil. If it be injurious, or criminal, or dangerous, or disreputable to drink ardent spirits, it is far more so to vend, or distil, or import this liquid fire. 'Woe unto him who putteth the cup to his neighbor's lips' — who increases his wealth at the expense of the bodies and souls of men — who takes away the bread of the poor, and devours the earnings of industry — who scatters his poison through the veins and arteries of community, till even the grave is burdened with his victims! Against *him* must the artillery of public indignation be brought to bear; and the decree

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must go forth, as from the lips of Jehovah, that he who will deal in the accursed article can lay no claims to honesty of purpose or holiness of life, but is a shameless enemy to the happiness and prosperity of his fellow-creatures."

A week after he wrote the above, Mr. Garrison attended and spoke at the formation of a Baltimore Temperance Society; the presiding officer of the evening being Judge Nicholas Brice, whom he was destined to meet, a few months later, in somewhat different relations, growing out of his "intemperate" use of language on the subject of slavery.

The phase of the Indian question at that time before the public was the conscienceless attempt of Georgia to dispossess the Cherokees of the lands which they held by solemn treaty with the United States, and to expel them from the State; or, if they remained after being robbed of their homes, to tax them and use their numbers (on the three-fifths basis) to swell the Federal representative population. President Jackson betrayed his sympathy with this scheme of spoliation, and was willing to see the State of Georgia set at naught the treaty obligations of the National Government; and in this, as in all previous and subsequent invasions of their sacred rights, the Indians had to submit to be plundered. There were many and loud protests from the benevolent and philanthropic portions of the community, and Mr. Garrison joined in them, insisting that the nation should keep its plighted faith. "Expediency and policy," he declared, "are convertible terms, full of dishonesty and oppression. Justice is eternal, and its demands cannot safely be evaded." Nevertheless, although he was invoking the aid of women in the temperance and anti-slavery movements, he was shocked when seven hundred women of Pittsburgh, Pa., petitioned Congress in behalf of Indian rights. He declared it "out of place," and said, "This is, in our opinion, an uncalled-for interference, though made with holiest intentions. We should be sorry to have this practice become general. There would then be

G. U. E., *Dec.* 25, 1829, *p.* 125.

Ibid., *Feb.* 12, 1830, *p.* 182.

no question agitated in Congress without eliciting the informal and contrarient opinions of the softer sex."[1] CHAP. VI. 1829-30.

He had not yet outgrown sectarian narrowness, and he still denounced Paine and Jefferson for their "infidelity," and lamented because a fête was given to Lafayette in France on the Sabbath. He could not even express his enthusiastic admiration of Mrs. Lydia Maria Child's genius without saying that he did not like her "religious notions." And yet he protested against the current religion in these terms: *G. U. E.*, *Oct.* 30, 1829, *p.* 60.

"With reverence, and in the name of God, we ask, what sort of religion is now extant among us? Certainly not such as cheered the prophets through the gloom of the old dispensation, and constrained them to denounce the abominations of the Jews; — not such as Jesus Christ laid down his life to vindicate; — not such as was preached by the Apostles and Martyrs, to their own destruction; — no, not a whit! It is a religion which complacently tolerates open adultery, oppression, robbery, and murder! seldom or never lifting up a warning voice, or note of remonstrance, or propitiatory sacrifice! — a religion which is graduated by the corrupt, defective laws of the State, and not by the pure, perfect laws of God! — a religion which quadrates with the natural depravity of the heart, giving license to sin, restraining no lust, mortifying not the body, engendering selfishness and cruelty! — a religion which walks in 'silver slippers,' on a carpeted floor, having thrown off the burden of the cross and changed the garments of humiliation for the splendid vestments of pride! — a religion which has no courage, no faithfulness, no self-denial, deeming it better to give heed unto men than unto God!" *Ibid.*, *Oct.* 23, 1829, *p.* 50.

Early in October, Lundy went forth to canvass for subscribers, leaving Garrison in full charge of the *Genius*. The latter's articles in favor of immediate, instead of gradual emancipation, had speedily evoked letters of expostulation and remonstrance from subscribers, though a few approved and endorsed the doctrine; but, as Gar-

[1] Forty years later, his friend Mrs. Abby Kelley Foster, at a Woman Suffrage meeting in Boston, laughingly confronted him with these long-forgotten words of his; to which he rejoined, "Whereas I was blind, now I see."

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rison afterwards described it, "Where Friend Lundy could get one new subscriber, I could knock a dozen off, and I did so. It was the old experiment of the frog in the well, that went two feet up, and fell three feet back, at every jump." The diminishing subscription-list had no deterrent effect upon the editors. Garrison steadily urged immediatism, and replied vigorously to his critics. He was strengthened by Elizabeth Heyrick's admirable letters on Colonial Slavery, and cheered by the act of President Guerrero of Mexico in proclaiming immediate emancipation to the ten thousand slaves in that country. Of those critics who declared that the slaves, if freed and turned loose, would cut the throats of their late oppressors, he exclaimed:

Speech to Franklin Club, Oct. 14, 1878.

G. U. E., Oct. 30, 1829, p. 59.

"Is it worth our while to reason with such men? Need they be told, that if fire be quenched, it cannot burn — if the fangs of the rattlesnake be drawn, he cannot be dangerous — if seed be annihilated, it cannot germinate? Will they continue to multiply their bugbears, and exaggerate their idle fears, and prophesy evil things, and weary our ears with their ridiculous cant? If we liberate the slaves, and treat them as brothers and as men, shall we not take away all motive for rebellion? And if we persist in crushing them down to the earth, and lacerating their bodies with our whips, will they not rise up, sooner or later, like an army of unbound giants, and carry rapine and slaughter in their path? No — respond our sapient advisers and far-sighted philanthropists — there will be a reversal of the case!"

The twenty-first biennial session of the "American Convention for the Abolition of Slavery and Improvement of the African Race in the United States" was held in Washington early in December, 1829, a room in the City Hall being offered for its sessions by the Mayor and Aldermen. The number of delegates present was small, and their proceedings were of little value, consisting largely of a discussion of various colonization schemes as a means of abolishing slavery. Lundy was a delegate, Garrison remaining in Baltimore. Prior to the assembling of the Convention, the *Genius* had announced the

appointment of delegates to it by various anti-slavery organizations in Baltimore,—a "National Anti-Slavery Tract Society," the "First Baltimore Branch of the Anti-Slavery Society of Maryland," and a "Convention of the Anti-Slavery Societies of Maryland,"— but these seem to have possessed no vitality, and to have had little more than "a local habitation and a name." The Convention adopted an Address to the Public,[1] and adjourned to meet two years later.

An extraordinary sensation was caused at the South during the winter of 1829–30 by the appearance of 'Walker's Appeal,' a pamphlet written by an obscure and unknown colored man in Boston,[2] who printed and circulated it among people of his color as widely as his means would permit. It seems singular that a produc-

[1] In this Address the Convention recapitulated its objects and methods, which were substantially those of all the State Societies of the close of the eighteenth and beginning of the nineteenth centuries. The anti-slavery sentiment of that period was organized, (1) with a view to getting rid of slavery, whose abolition was regarded as a foregone conclusion; (2) to protect the free blacks against kidnapping and reënslavement; (3) to establish schools for, and otherwise improve the condition of, the colored people. It was satisfied with gradual emancipation (as in Pennsylvania), and with the prohibition of slave importations. Its sense of responsibility for slavery was chiefly for that under its own eyes and in its own State. Its mode of action was confined to memorials to legislative bodies and governors, and to the courts. It did not feel that responsibility for slavery everywhere which Garrison was now seeking to enforce, nor did it, while attacking slavery on grounds adopted by him, personally arraign the slaveholder, hold him criminal for not immediately emancipating his slaves, and seek to make him odious and put him beyond the pale of intercourse. Hence its failure to awaken any interest in the public mind, or to disturb the consciences and peace of the slaveholders.

[2] David Walker was born in Wilmington, North Carolina, Sept. 28, 1785, of a free mother and a slave father, following, by slave law, the condition of the former. He travelled extensively through the South, regarding the degradation and sufferings of his race with a bitter sympathy, acquired a sufficient education, and read and pondered such general historical works as were procurable. At the age of forty-two, being then a resident of Boston, he opened a store on Brattle Street for the sale of second-hand clothes. From this unpromising laboratory there issued, two years later, an octavo pamphlet of 76 pp., now very rare, entitled 'Walker's Appeal, in four articles, together with a Preamble to the Colored Citizens of the World, but in particular, and very expressly, to those of the United States of America. Written in Boston, in the State of Massachusetts, Sept. 28th,

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tion so original, able, and important, coming from such a source, should not have been promptly noticed in the *Genius*, even if critically and with exceptions; but it was not until the Richmond *Whig* had reported, with ridicule, the secret session of the Virginia Legislature to consider a message from Governor Giles on the subject, and the Savannah *Georgian* had announced similar action on the part of Governor Gilmer and the Georgia Legislature, that Garrison alluded to it in any way. After copying the two articles above referred to, he said:

G. U. E., Jan. 15, 1830, *p.* 147.

"We have had this pamphlet on our table for some time past, and are not surprised at its effect upon our sensitive Southern

1829. Boston: Published by David Walker. 1829.' The author had already delivered an address before the General Colored Association of Boston, which was printed in *Freedom's Journal*, Dec. 20, 1828. He now urged the free colored people to make the slave's cause their concern, as inseparably connected with their own condition, and to aspire to be something more than barbers and bootblacks. His first article set forth "Our wretchedness in consequence of slavery"; his second, "Our wretchedness in consequence of ignorance"; his third, "Our wretchedness in consequence of the preachers of the religion of Jesus Christ"; his fourth, "Our wretchedness in consequence of the colonizing plan." This last was so full and thorough an exposure of the animus of the Colonization Society that it might almost seem to have been the leading motive of the pamphlet. But Jefferson's disparaging estimate of the capacity of the negro is also examined and confuted at such length as to entitle his 'Notes on Virginia' to be considered at least equally the occasion of the 'Appeal.' Its tone was distinctly religious and prophetic. "For although the destruction of the oppressors God may not effect by the oppressed, yet the Lord our God will bring other destructions upon them — for not unfrequently will he cause them to rise up one against another, to be split, divided, and to oppress each other, and sometimes to open hostilities with sword in hand" (p. 5). The meek and unresisting character of the blacks was sternly censured; but while contending for the right of self-defence, Walker counselled entire forgiveness of the past if the slaveholders would let their victims go in peace. The pamphlet ended with quotations from the Declaration of Independence and some Methodistical hymns.

It had at once so great a vogue that a second edition was called for, and, reaching the South, it produced much consternation among the whites, especially in the seaboard slave States, where incoming vessels were searched for it. On Dec. 12, 1829, the Mayor of Savannah addressed the Mayor of Boston (Harrison Gray Otis) with reference, as would appear, to the possible punishment of the author. Mayor Otis replied that, "notwithstanding the extremely bad and inflammatory tendency of the publication," the author had not made himself amenable to the laws of Massachusetts; that he was an old-clothes dealer, and openly avowed to an emissary from the Mayor's office the sentiments of his book, declaring that

brethren. It is written by a colored Bostonian, and breathes the most impassioned and determined spirit. We deprecate its circulation, though we cannot but wonder at the bravery and intelligence of its author. The editor of the *Whig* must not laugh at Governor Giles: his alarm was natural."

In a subsequent number of the *Genius* he again spoke of it as "a most injudicious publication, yet warranted by the creed of an independent people." *G. U. E., Feb. 26, 1830, p. 195.*

The law passed by the Georgia Legislature prohibited the admission of free colored persons into the ports of the State, declared "the circulation of pamphlets of evil tendency among our domestics" a capital offence, and

he meant to circulate it by mail at his own expense, if need be. Mayor Otis expressed his determination to warn sea-captains and others of the consequences of transporting incendiary writings into the Southern States. He sent (February 10, 1830) a copy of this letter to Governor Giles of Virginia, at the same time belittling the weight of the 'Appeal,' from "the insignificance of the writer, the extravagance of his sanguinary fanaticism," and "the very partial circulation" of the book, which had caused no excitement in Boston. The Governor submitted these documents to the House of Delegates on February 16, and the communication was laid on the table. (See Richmond *Enquirer*, Feb. 18, 1830, and Boston *Courier*, Feb. 26; the *Abolitionist*, monthly, 1:98; Williams's 'History of the Negro Race in America,' 2:553.)

From internal evidence it appears that the third edition of the 'Appeal' was published shortly after March 6, 1830. It was wholly reset, and contained many corrections and important additions, both to the body of the text and in the shape of notes. The additions were for the most part explicitly indicated, and were designedly of a character to justify the epithet "sanguinary" applied by Mayor Otis. They favored a servile insurrection as soon as the way was clear; the superiority of the blacks in numbers and their greater (historic) bravery in battle being dwelt upon. Walker also insisted more plainly on his having had a divine commission to write, and in truth he may be regarded as a sort of John the Baptist to the new anti-slavery dispensation. It is curious that no allusion is made in the 'Appeal' to Lundy's labors on behalf of the slave. Walker did not long survive the third edition of his pamphlet, dying on June 28, 1830—some thought by foul play, as a price was set upon his head at the South; but this surmise was incorrect. His noble intensity, pride, disgust, fierceness, his eloquence and his general intellectual ability, have not been commemorated as they deserve. (See May's 'Recollections,' p. 133, and *Lib.*, 1:17.) He is a unique figure in the anti-slavery movement. The late Rev. Henry Highland Garnet reprinted the 'Appeal' in 1858, but this edition has become as scarce as the original. A copy of the third edition is in the May Collection at Cornell University, inscribed "Rev. Samuel J. May, from his friend and admirer, Wm. Lloyd Garrison." Mr. Garrison was never acquainted with Walker.

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made penal the teaching of free colored persons or slaves to read or write; and it was rushed through in a single day on the discovery of Walker's incendiary pamphlet. The Virginia House of Delegates passed a similar bill a few weeks later, but it was defeated in the Senate. "The circulation of this 'seditious' pamphlet," said Garrison, in the last number (for him) of the *Genius*, "has proven one thing conclusively—that the boasted security of the slave States, by their orators and writers, is mere affectation, or something worse."

G. U. E., Mar. 5, 1830, p. 202.

With a diminishing subscription-list and trivial remittances from those subscribers who still consented to receive the *Genius*, it was evident that some change would be necessary at the end of the first half-year. Lundy remarked in one issue that good wishes were so abundant that they were "not worth picking up in the street," and informed those who were so prodigal of them that they must give them a substantial form to prove their sincerity. Garrison, in a later number, betrayed the inevitable result of their experiment when he stated that, though their terms required payment in advance, the voluntary remittances of their subscribers for more than four months had not exceeded fifty dollars, while their weekly expenses were at least that amount; and, in the personal meditations in which he indulged on the completion of his twenty-fourth year, he mentioned that he was so seldom troubled with bits of silver, he had not deemed it a piece of economy to buy so useless an article as a purse.

Ibid., Nov. 20, 1829, p. 82.

Ibid., Jan. 22, 1830, p. 158.

Ibid., Jan. 1, 1830, p. 133.

Hitherto the partners had struggled constantly against poverty and the indifference of the public to their cause. Conducting their labors in a slave State, they had naturally experienced various forms of persecution, but it remained for a Northern man to institute an attack on the *Genius* and its editors which the community was ready and eager to make effective. This, if it did not hasten, at least insured, the discontinuance of the paper as conducted by them.

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In a department of the *Genius* which he styled the "Black List," and which bore at its head the figure of a chained and kneeling negro,[1] with the motto, "Am I not a Man and a Brother?" Mr. Garrison recorded each week some of the terrible incidents of slavery,—instances of cruelty and torture, cases of kidnapping, advertisements of slave auctions, and descriptions of the horrors of the foreign and domestic slave trade. By common consent of the principal maritime nations, the foreign slave trade was now adjudged felony, and their navies united in efforts for its suppression. When the additional term of twenty years allowed it by the iniquitous compromise clause in the United States Constitution had expired, the bill forbidding its continuance, which Congress promptly passed, received general support, even the Southern members voting for it, after securing certain modifications. The traffic went on, nevertheless, and it was estimated that as many as twelve or fifteen thousand kidnapped Africans were annually smuggled into this country in defiance of law.[2] The willing consent of some of the Southern States to the legal prohibition of the foreign slave trade was notoriously owing less to conscientious scruples against the traffic, than to the fact that they saw an opportunity of making greater gains through a domestic slave trade, based on the deliberate and systematic breeding of slaves in Virginia and the Northern tier of slave States, for the Southern market. The deadly influences of the climate in the Gulf States, the terrible hardships of plantation labor in the cotton fields,

Wilson's Rise and Fall of the Slave Power, I: 102, 103.

[1] This figure, originally designed for the seal of the Committee for the Abolition of the Slave Trade, in October, 1787, had a powerful influence in kindling anti-slavery sentiment in Great Britain, and was, with its direct and pathetic appeal, no less an inspiration and incentive to the American abolitionists. (See Clarkson's 'History of the Slave Trade,' Chapter XX.)

[2] How thoroughly the prohibition was disregarded can be judged from the fact, that although the law required the forfeiture to the Government of all slaves illegally imported after 1807, the Register of the Treasury was obliged to confess, in 1819, that of more than a hundred thousand thus introduced up to that time, not one had been forfeited. Frequent record of the capture of slavers by English vessels was made in the *Genius*.

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the cane-brakes, and the rice swamps, caused a high rate of mortality, retarded the increase of population, and created a constant demand for fresh victims; and these it was found more safe and profitable to import from Virginia than from Africa, the mortality of the inland or coastwise transportation being far less than that of the ocean passage. Likewise the risks of a traffic sanctioned and protected by the State and National Governments were trivial compared with those of a trade outlawed by the civilized world.

And yet the difference between the domestic and foreign slave trade was only one of degree,[1] and in many respects the former equalled and even exceeded the latter in its dreadful features. Coffles of slaves, chained together and driven under the lash, were constantly wending their way on foot, under the scorching sun, along the Southern highways to the distant States of Tennessee, Mississippi, Louisiana, and Alabama, or were conveyed in steamers down the Ohio and Mississippi rivers, or in sailing vessels along the Atlantic and Gulf coasts to New Orleans, the great slave mart of the South. The arrivals of these cargoes of living freight were reported in the newspapers as unblushingly as if they had been cattle, or bales of cotton, or other merchandise.[2]

Lib. 4 : 91.

Fully fifty thousand slaves a year, it was estimated, were sold and transported from one State to another, in this infernal traffic, whose victims, torn from their kindred and friends, and the homes in which they had been literally "bred" and born (often having the blood of their masters in their veins), went forth with hearts full of despair to what they believed to be a certain, slow and torturous death. Not infrequently they chose instant

[1] Any coast slave-trader, indeed, which came within British jurisdiction, was as liable to forfeit its human freight as a foreign cruiser, and this happened to one such, the *Enterprise*, driven into Bermuda by stress of weather (*Lib.* 5: 47, 51, 85).

[2] In a single week — that ending Oct. 16, 1831 — 371 slaves were landed in New Orleans, chiefly from Alexandria, Norfolk, and Charleston (*Niles' Register*, Nov. 26, 1831).

death by suicide in preference. Alexandria, Baltimore, and Norfolk were the ports from which the Maryland and Virginia slaves were chiefly shipped; and as Lundy's soul had been stirred within him by the sight of the daily processions of manacled slaves before his door at Wheeling, so now was Garrison's indignation aroused by this constant exportation of hapless victims to the Southern markets. The discovery that a Massachusetts man, and one of his own townsmen, was implicated in it elicited his prompt and stinging rebuke. In the *Genius* of November 13 he wrote, under the "Black List," as follows: CHAP. VI. 1829-30.

DOMESTIC SLAVE TRADE. *G. U. E., Nov.* 13, 1829, *p.* 75.

This horrible traffic continues to be pursued with unabated alacrity. Scarcely a vessel, perhaps, leaves this port for New Orleans without carrying off in chains large numbers of the unfortunate blacks. The ship *Francis*, Brown, which sailed hence a few weeks since, transported *seventy-five*. This vessel hails from my native place (Newburyport, Mass.), and belongs to *Francis Todd*.—So much for New England principle!—Next week I shall allude more particularly to this damning affair.

Following this was an account of another ship, not Todd's, which had just sailed for New Orleans with 115 slaves. The next week, true to his promise, he returned to the subject of

THE SHIP FRANCIS. *Ibid., Nov.* 20, 1829, *p.* 83.

This ship, as I mentioned in our last number, sailed a few weeks since from this port with a cargo of slaves for the New Orleans market. I do not repeat the fact because it is a rare instance of domestic piracy, or because the case was attended with extraordinary circumstances; for the horrible traffic is briskly carried on, and the transportation was effected in the ordinary manner. I merely wish to illustrate New England humanity and morality. I am resolved to cover with thick infamy all who were concerned in this nefarious business.

I have stated that the ship *Francis* hails from my native place, Newburyport, (Massachusetts,) is commanded by a Yankee captain, and owned by a townsman named

FRANCIS TODD.

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Of Captain Nicholas Brown I should have expected better conduct. It is no worse to fit out piratical cruisers, or to engage in the foreign slave trade, than to pursue a similar trade along our own coasts; and the men who have the wickedness to participate therein, for the purpose of heaping up wealth, should be ☞ SENTENCED TO SOLITARY CONFINEMENT FOR LIFE; ☜ *they are the enemies of their own species — highway robbers and murderers;* and their final doom will be, unless they speedily repent, *to occupy the lowest depths of perdition.* I know that our laws make a distinction in this matter. I know that the man who is allowed to freight his vessel with slaves at home, for a distant market, would be thought worthy of death if he should take a similar freight on the coast of Africa; but I know, too, that this distinction is absurd, and at war with the common sense of mankind, and that God and good men regard it with abhorrence.

I recollect that it was always a mystery in Newburyport how Mr. Todd contrived to make profitable voyages to New Orleans and other places, when other merchants, with as fair an opportunity to make money, and sending to the same ports at the same time, invariably made fewer successful speculations. The mystery seems to be unravelled. Any man can gather up riches if he does not care by what means they are obtained.

The *Francis* carried off *seventy-five* slaves, chained in a narrow place between decks. Capt. Brown originally intended to take *one hundred and fifty* of these unfortunate creatures; but another hard-hearted shipmaster underbid him in the price of passage for the remaining moiety. Capt. B., we believe, is a *mason.* Where was his charity or brotherly kindness?

I respectfully request the editor of the Newburyport *Herald* to copy this article, or publish a statement of the facts contained herein — not for the purpose of giving information to Mr. Todd, for I shall send him a copy of this number, but in order to enlighten the public mind in that quarter. — G.

Cf. ante, p. 114.

The editor of the Newburyport *Herald* did not comply with this request, not deeming it prudent to offend so respectable and influential a citizen as Mr. Todd by informing his townsmen what manner of freight he authorized his vessel to carry; and it is probable that the fact would have been little known and soon forgotten if Mr. Todd himself had been able to restrain his wrath and

keep silence. Unhappily for him, he could not. This first direct, *ad-hominem* blow at Northern complicity with slavery stung him to the quick,[1] and he soon took measures to bring his accuser to punishment.

The *Genius* of January 8, 1830, contained this brief announcement:

"A suit has been commenced against the Editors of this paper, by Mr. Francis Todd, of Newburyport, (Mass.,) for an alleged libel published in our Black List Department of Nov. 20, 1829. Damages laid at $5000. Our strictures were predicated upon the sound proverb — *Qui non vetat peccare cum possit, jubet.*"

Mr. Todd was not left to conduct his attack single-handed. A few weeks after notice of his suit had been served, there came the following presentment from the Grand Jury:

BALTIMORE CITY COURT, February Term, 1830.

The Grand Jurors of the State of Maryland, for the body of the City of Baltimore, on their oaths do present, that Benjamin Lundy and William Lloyd Garrison did, in a certain newspaper printed and published in the City of Baltimore, on the 20th day of November last, called the *Genius of Universal Emancipation*, publish a gross and malicious libel against Francis Todd and Nicholas Brown.

Witnesses, H. W. EVANS, Foreman.
Henry Thompson,
John W. Thompson.

True Copy from the original Presentment.
Teste,
Wm. Medcalf, Clerk Baltimore City Court.

[1] A similar sensitiveness was betrayed by some Northern members of Congress on the adoption of the Declaration of Independence. Jefferson, in his autobiographical 'Memoir of the Convention' (p. 15, ed. 1830), makes this record: "The clause, too, reprobating the enslaving the inhabitants of Africa was struck out in compliance to South Carolina and Georgia, who had never attempted to restrain the importation of slaves, and who, on the contrary, still wished to continue it. Our Northern brethren also, I believe, felt a little tender under these censures; for though their people had very few slaves, themselves, yet they had been pretty considerable carriers of them to others."

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This was filed on the 19th of February, and an action in accordance therewith was promptly entered by the State of Maryland against the editors of the *Genius*, charging them with "contriving and unlawfully, wickedly, and maliciously intending, to hurt, injure and vilify" Todd, "and to deprive him of his good name, fame and reputation, and to bring him into great contempt, scandal, infamy, and disgrace, to the evil example of all others in like manner offending, and against the peace, government and dignity of the State." The case was pressed to an early trial, on the first day of March, the counsel for the prosecution being Jonathan Meredith and R. W. Gill, while the defence was conducted by Charles Mitchell, one of the most brilliant and able members of the Baltimore bar. Although a stranger to Garrison (on whom, as the author of the obnoxious article, the brunt of the trial fell), he generously volunteered his services as counsel, refusing all compensation, and defended him in a brave and masterly manner.[1]

The counsel for the prosecution, finding that the extracts from the libellous article which they had incorporated in their indictment were too weak to rest their case upon, sought to have the entire article read to the jury, to prove the malicious intent of the writer, which was done, the court (Judge Nicholas Brice) overruling the objections of the defendant's counsel that according such liberty to a plaintiff was utterly without precedent. The witnesses were Mr. Henry Thompson (Mr. Todd's agent), the Pilot of the *Francis*, the Customs officers, and the printers of the *Genius*, the latter being called to acknowledge that they had printed the paper containing the alleged libel; but no evidence was offered to show that the defendant had printed or published, or written

1 "Of his attainments as a lawyer," wrote Mr. Garrison, in noticing his death, a year later, "the fertility and amplitude of his mind, and the sweetness and energy of his eloquence, it is difficult to speak in sober terms. The benevolence of his heart was as expansive as the ocean." Mr. Mitchell was a native of Connecticut, and a son of Judge Stephen Mitchell of that State (*Lib.* 1:111).

or caused to be written, the obnoxious article. The Pilot testified that eighty-eight slaves (thirteen more than had been stated in the *Genius*)—men, women and children—were received on board the *Francis* at Annapolis; and Mr. Thompson, who had acted as Todd's agent for many years, acknowledged that, while he had contracted for the transportation of slaves before consulting Mr. Todd, he had immediately written to the latter, stating the conditions on which the contract was made. "*Mr. Todd, in reply, said he should have preferred another kind of freight, but as freights were dull, times hard, and money scarce, he was satisfied with the bargain.*" The slaves were purchased by a planter of New Orleans, named Millighan, of whom Thompson (and also Judge Brice) spoke in warm terms. He likewise testified that Captain Brown was a humane man, by whom the slaves were doubtless kindly treated on the passage.[1]

The defence deemed it unnecessary to offer further evidence, having proved the shipment of slaves on the *Francis*, and Mr. Todd's ownership of the vessel being

[1] That Captain Brown was personally a kind and humane man was undoubtedly true, and that Mr. Garrison had esteemed him up to this time is apparent from his expression of surprise and regret, in the "libellous" article, that one of whom he "should have expected better conduct" should be in any way implicated in the involuntary transportation, from their homes and kindred, of those whose right to liberty was as clear and sacred as his own. It is a fact, which did not come out at the trial, and of which Mr. Garrison himself was probably never aware, that these helpless victims whom Mr. Todd consented, in view of the "hard times, dull freights, and scarce money," to receive as freight and cargo, had the utmost horror of being carried South, and secreted themselves in the woods to escape going. They were hunted, captured, and driven aboard in a half-naked condition, as Captain Brown himself narrated, and so utterly destitute were they that the agent of Millighan, their new master, sent bales of clothing aboard for them. Needles and thread were provided for the women, the Captain further stated, the entire space between decks was given to the slaves, and a prayer-meeting was held by them every day. When they reached their destination (on the Mississippi river, below New Orleans), they expressed their gratitude to Captain Brown for his kindness to them, and when, later, on his return down the river from New Orleans, he anchored off the plantation, they again thanked him and professed themselves satisfied with their new home. "It was one of the happiest hours of my father's long life," writes a daughter of Captain Brown, in the *Southern Workman*, May, 1883, "as I have often heard him say,—and further, that there was no act

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admitted. Mr. Mitchell made an eloquent plea in behalf of his client, addressing the jury for nearly two hours. "Indignation and shame for the continuance of the accursed traffic in human flesh," wrote Mr. Garrison in describing it, "sympathy for the poor victims of oppression, love for the cause of universal liberty, kindled his feelings into a blaze. His eloquence 'was a torrent that carried everything before it. He thundered—he lightened.'" He declared that the law of libel was "the last and most successful engine of tyranny, and had done more to perpetuate public abuses, and to check the march of reform, than any other agent"; dwelt upon the inconsistency of the Government which tolerated the domestic slave trade while treating the foreign traffic as piracy; and pointed out the fatal defect in the indictment, which showed no libel upon Mr. Todd, quoted nothing from the article to implicate or charge him with being privy or consenting to the transportation of slaves, and merely stated the fact of his ownership of the vessel. The postulate assumed by the writer of the article, that the domestic slave trade was as heinous as the foreign, that it was a war upon the human species, murderous and piratical, was certainly not punishable by law, but was a general view of the traffic, expressed in general terms; and "the extraordinary license which

of his life that he could look back upon with more satisfaction." He was not so well satisfied with the philanthropy of the undertaking, however, that he cared to repeat the experiment, and that was the first and last voyage on which he ever carried slaves from one taskmaster to another; and the last, also, it is believed, on which Francis Todd allowed a vessel of his to be chartered for such a purpose.

Mr. Garrison derived the information on which he based his article, "*indirectly*, from Captain Brown and the mate of the *Francis, the latter a son of Mr. Todd;* and *directly*," as he has recorded, "from a young gentleman who went as passenger in the vessel to New Orleans, and who expressed some fears of an insurrection on board, but whose testimony I could not obtain in season to produce at my trial. I sent a copy of the paper to Mr. Todd, according to my promise. Instead of vindicating his conduct in the columns of the *Genius*, and endeavoring to show that my statement was materially false, he entered a civil action against me, . . . estimating damages at five thousand dollars" ('Brief Sketch of the Trial of William Lloyd Garrison,' p. 3).

had been given to the prosecution to read other parts of the publication not contained in the indictment, in order to obtain a verdict of guilty, was neither *jure humano* nor *jure divino*. It was taking the defendant by surprise, by giving him no notice to prepare his evidence of the truth of those parts omitted." In concluding, Mr. Mitchell paid a warm tribute to the editors of the *Genius*, and expressed the hope that they would be sustained by the jury and by their country.

The prosecuting attorney, Mr. Gill, made a brief rejoinder, defending the domestic slave trade, and denouncing Lundy and Garrison for their "fanaticism and virulence." Judge Brice said that the jury would acquit or convict upon the matter contained in the indictment, but that they might also derive "auxiliary aid" from the remainder of the article, in making up their verdict! It took the jury only fifteen minutes to return a verdict in favor of the prosecution, and to declare Garrison guilty of libel. Mr. Mitchell at once moved for arrest of judgment, and for judgment of acquittal; but these motions, as well as one for a new trial, made by the advice of the Court itself, were all overruled on the 3d of April, and judgment was given on the verdict. Two weeks later, the Court imposed a fine of fifty dollars and costs on the offending editor, the whole amounting to upwards of one hundred dollars. This was a large sum at that period — more, probably, than the young printer had ever possessed at one time, and far more than any friend to whom he might apply could afford to lend him. He had no alternative, therefore, but to submit to imprisonment; and on the 17th of April, 1830, he entered Baltimore Jail, amid shouts of "Fresh fish! fresh fish!" from the prisoners who peered at him from behind their grated doors, and received him with the playful salutation which they impartially extended to all new-comers.

The publication of the weekly *Genius* had ceased six weeks previous to this event, the final number being dated March 5, 1830, and completing the sixth month of

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the partnership, the dissolution of which was therein announced. Lundy's valedictory was a frank statement of their inability longer to continue the *Genius* on the scale which they had essayed, and the necessity he should again be under of issuing it as a monthly, in a reduced form.

G. U. E., *Mar.* 5, 1830, *p.* 205.

"Instead of a patronage that would enable us to pursue our course with vigor, we are not afforded the means of continuing our labors upon the present plan, even with the greatest exertions of body and mind. Instead of being placed in circumstances that would enable us to act independently — which is all we have asked, and which a proper advocacy of our cause requires — we are compelled to struggle (harder than nature will long endure) for existence itself.

"In addition to the ordinary difficulties arising from a scanty patronage, as above mentioned, others of the most aggravated character have presented themselves. Persecution, in some of its worst forms, has been meted out with unsparing hand. Threats and slanders, without number or qualification, as well as libel suits and personal assaults, have been resorted to, with the view of breaking down our spirits and destroying the establishment. . . .

"It would be useless to say much now as to the manner in which the work has been conducted the last six months. Having been nearly the whole of the time (as I now am) from home, with the exception of the first few weeks, the management of it devolved, principally, upon the junior editor. In some few instances, as might have been expected, articles were admitted that did not fully meet my approbation; but I fully acquit him of intentionally inserting anything knowing that it would be thus disapproved; and we have ever cherished for each other the kindliest feelings and mutual personal regard. Wherever his lot may in future be cast, or whatever station he may occupy, he has my best wishes for happiness and prosperity, both temporal and eternal. It would be superfluous in me to say that he has proven himself a faithful and able coadjutor in the great and holy cause in which we are engaged.— Even his enemies will admit it. But I cheerfully take this opportunity to bear testimony to his strict integrity, amiable deportment, and virtuous conduct, during the period of our acquaintance.

"On many accounts I extremely regret the necessity of taking the steps above mentioned. It will not be encouraging to our friends; and our opponents will chuckle at this failure of the attempt to sustain a weekly publication for the promotion of our cause. BUT THAT CAUSE IS NOT YET TO BE ABANDONED. Every energy of my mind shall still be devoted to it."

To this, Garrison added these farewell words:

G. U. E., Mar. 5, 1830, p. 205.

"A separation from my philanthropic friend is painful, yet, owing to adverse circumstances, unavoidable. Although our partnership is at an end, I trust we shall ever remain one in spirit and purpose, and that the cause of emancipation will suffer no detriment.

"My views on the subject of slavery have been very imperfectly developed in the *Genius*,—the cares and perplexities of the establishment having occupied a large share of my time and attention. Every pledge, however, that I have made to the public, shall be fulfilled. My pen cannot remain idle, nor my voice be suppressed, nor my heart cease to bleed, while two millions of my fellow-beings wear the shackles of slavery in my own guilty country.

"In all my writings I have used strong, indignant, vehement language, and direct, pointed, scorching reproof. I have nothing to recall. Many have censured me for my severity — but, thank God! none have stigmatized me with lukewarmness. 'Passion is reason — transport, temper — here.'"

CHAPTER VII.

BALTIMORE JAIL, AND AFTER.—1830.

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NO man ever went to prison with a lighter heart or cleaner conscience than Garrison; and his slumbers, the first night, were as sweet and peaceful as if he had been in his old home by the Merrimac. His seven weeks in jail were neither idle nor unhappy weeks to him. He was courteously and kindly treated by the Warden (David W. Hudson), at whose family table he often took his meals. He was allowed considerable freedom within the walls, and made use of it to acquaint himself with some of his fellow-prisoners, visiting them in their cells, and being locked in with them, often, while he questioned them and showed a sympathetic interest in their cases. Sometimes they were permitted to come to his cell, and for certain men whom he thought especially deserving of consideration he drew up petitions and letters to the Governor, in their name, with the result of getting the sentences of several commuted.[1]

The high round window of Garrison's cell commanded a view of the street below, which he could see by standing on his bed; and on a certain Sunday afternoon, when a sudden shower fell and drenched the people just coming from church, he congratulated himself that he was in

[1] One of those who were pardoned and released was a gigantic fellow, with double sets of teeth, who had been sentenced for life, for highway robbery, and had served many years in a most exemplary manner. He was so grateful to Mr. Garrison for the latter's efforts in his behalf, that he presented him with a specimen of his handiwork—a reel skilfully carved within a bottle—which the recipient retained for many years.

such dry and snug quarters,—a similar sensation, he used to say with a laugh, to that of the criminal on the scaffold, with rope about his neck, who forgot his impending doom in a temporary sense of delight over his secure and elevated position, while a mad bull was causing the spectators below to flee for their lives. CHAP. VII. 1830.

Lundy, who had returned to Baltimore, and was again issuing the *Genius* in a monthly pamphlet of sixteen octavo pages, came frequently to the jail to see him, as did his old comrade Isaac Knapp, who had come to Baltimore a few weeks before, to work in the *Genius* office. Many slave-traders also visited the jail to buy slaves, the poor creatures being constantly brought in, bound and gagged in a frightful manner, for attempting to escape,[1] and Garrison did not hesitate to rebuke these dealers in human flesh for their sinful occupation. His encounter with a master who came to reclaim his fugitive was thus related by him:

"During my late incarceration in Baltimore prison, four men came to obtain a runaway slave. He was brought out of his cell to confront his master, but pretended not to know him — did not know that he had ever seen him before — could not recollect his name. Of course the master was exceedingly irritated. 'Don't you remember,' said he, 'when I gave you, not long since, thirty-nine lashes under the apple-tree? Another time, when I gave you a sound flogging in the barn? Another time, when you were scourged for giving me the lie, by saying that the horse was in a good condition?' *Lib.* 1:21.

"'Yes,' replied the slave, whose memory was thus quickened, 'I do recollect. You have beaten me cruelly without a cause; you have not given me enough to eat and drink; and I don't want to go back again. I wish you to sell me to another master — I had rather even go to Georgia than to return home.'

"'I'll let you know, you villain,' said the master, 'that *my* wishes, and not *yours*, are to be consulted. I'll learn you how to run away again.'

"The other men advised him to take the black home, and cut him up in inch pieces for his impudence, obstinacy, and deser-

[1] Maryland slaveholders seldom kept a slave who had once run away, but sold him immediately for the Southern market.

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tion — swearing tremendously all the while. The slave was ordered back to his cell.

"I had stood speechless during this singular dialogue, my blood boiling in my veins, and my limbs trembling with emotion. I now walked up to the gang, and, addressing the master as calmly as possible, said —

"'Sir, what right have you to that poor creature?'

"He looked up in my face very innocently, and replied —

"'My father left him to me.'

"'Suppose,' said I, 'your father had broken into a bank and stolen ten thousand dollars, and safely bequeathed the sum as a legacy: could you conscientiously keep the money? For myself, I had rather rob any bank to an indefinite amount than kidnap a fellow-being, or hold him in bondage: the crime would be less injurious to society, and less sinful in the sight of God.'

"The man and his crew were confounded. What! to hear such sentiments in Maryland,—and in jail, too! Looking them full in the face, and getting no reply, I walked a few steps to the door. After a brief consultation, the master came up to me and said —

"'Perhaps you would like to buy the slave, and give him his liberty?'

"'Sir, I am a poor man; and were I ever so opulent, it would be necessary, on your part, to make out a clear title to the services of the slave before I could conscientiously make a bargain.'

"After a pause, he said —

"'Well, sir, I can prove from the Bible that slavery is right.'

"'Ah!' replied I, 'that is a precious book — the rule of conduct. I have always supposed that its spirit was directly opposed to everything in the shape of fraud and oppression. However, sir, I should be glad to hear your text.'

"He somewhat hesitatingly muttered out —

"'Ham — Noah's curse, you know.'

"'O, sir, you build on a very slender foundation. Granting, even — what remains to be proved — that the Africans are the descendants of Ham, Noah's curse was a *prediction* of future servitude, and not an *injunction* to oppress. Pray, sir, is it a careful desire to fulfil the Scriptures, or to make money, that induces you to hold your fellow-men in bondage?'

"'Why, sir,' exclaimed the slavite, with unmingled astonishment, 'do you really think that the slaves are beings like our-

selves? — that is, I mean do you believe that they possess the same faculties and capacities as the whites?'

"'Certainly, sir,' I responded; 'I do not know that there is any moral or intellectual quality in the curl of the hair or the color of the skin. I cannot conceive why a black man may not as reasonably object to my color, as I to his. Sir, it is not a black face that I detest, but a black heart — and I find it very often under a white skin.'

"'Well, sir,' said my querist, 'how should you like to see a black man President of the United States?'

"As to that, sir, I am a true republican, and bow to the will of the majority. If the people prefer a black President, I shall cheerfully submit; and if he be qualified for the station, may peradventure give him my vote.'

"'How should you like to have a black man marry your daughter?'

"'I am not married — I have no daughter. Sir, I am not familiar with *your* practices; but allow me to say, that slaveholders generally should be the last persons to affect fastidiousness on that point; for they seem to be enamoured with *amalgamation*.'

"Thus ended the dialogue. . . . "

Austin Woolfolk had usually visited the jail almost daily, to pick up bargains for his Southern shipments; but during Garrison's incarceration he absented himself.

The first task to which the imprisoned editor addressed himself was to prepare and have printed, in a pamphlet of eight pages, "A Brief Sketch of the Trial of William Lloyd Garrison, for an alleged libel on Francis Todd, of Massachusetts." To this he invited "the attention of the public, and of editors generally, as containing much instruction and interest, as highly illustrative of Maryland justice (as administered by Nicholas Brice), and as showing to what extent the liberty of the press is enjoyed in this State," and these were his concluding comments:

"The facts are before the public. The case, I believe, is important. As for the law (if it be law) which has convicted me, I regard it as a burlesque upon the constitution — as pitiful as it is abhorrent and atrocious. It affords a fresh illustration of the sentiment of an able writer, that '*of all injustice, that is*

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the greatest which goes under the name of Law; and of all sorts of tyranny, the forcing of the letter of the Law against the equity is the most insupportable.' Is it supposed by Judge Brice that his frowns can intimidate me, or his sentence stifle my voice, on the subject of African oppression? He does not know me. So long as a good Providence gives me strength and intellect, I will not cease to declare that the existence of slavery in this country is a foul reproach to the American name; nor will I hesitate to proclaim the guilt of kidnappers, slave abettors, or slave owners, wheresoever they may reside, or however high they may be exalted. I am only in the *alphabet* of my task; time shall perfect a useful work. It is my shame that I have done so little for the people of color; yea, before God, I feel humbled that my feelings are so cold, and my language so weak. A few white victims must be sacrificed to open the eyes of this nation, and to show the tyranny of our laws. I expect, and am willing, to be persecuted, imprisoned and bound, for advocating African rights; and I should deserve to be a slave myself if I shrunk from that duty or danger.

"To show the vindictiveness of the prosecutor, in the present instance, I would state that, not content with punishing the *author* of the 'libellous' article in the *Genius*, he has also brought a suit against my philanthropic friend Lundy, on the same ground. This is a grief to me — not so, however, to him. The court was aware that he was *out of the State* when I published my strictures upon Mr. Todd, and that he never saw them until they appeared in print — *and yet another prosecution!*[1]

"Deeply as I am indebted to my editorial brethren throughout the country, for their kind expressions toward me, I solicit them to publish the facts growing out of this trial, and to make such comments as may seem expedient. I think it will appear that the freedom of the press has been invaded, and that power, and not justice, has convicted me; and I appeal to the people for a change of the verdict. Certainly the fact would astonish all Europe, if it were trumpeted in that quarter, that *an American citizen lies incarcerated in prison, for having denounced slavery, and its abettors, in his own country!*

WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON.

"Baltimore Jail, May 1, 1830."

The following sonnet, which he had written on the wall of his cell, also appeared in the pamphlet, and is

[1] This suit was never pressed to trial.

unquestionably the most perfect specimen he ever produced of his favorite style of versification: CHAP. VII. 1830.

FREEDOM OF THE MIND.

Selections from Writings of W. L. G., p. 230.

High walls and huge the BODY may confine,
And iron grates obstruct the prisoner's gaze,
And massive bolts may baffle his design,
And vigilant keepers watch his devious ways:
Yet scorns th' immortal MIND this base control!
No chains can bind it, and no cell enclose:
Swifter than light, it flies from pole to pole,
And, in a flash, from earth to heaven it goes!
It leaps from mount to mount—from vale to vale
It wanders, plucking honeyed fruits and flowers;
It visits home, to hear the fireside tale,
Or in sweet converse pass the joyous hours:
'Tis up before the sun, roaming afar,
And, in its watches, wearies every star!

Mr. Garrison next addressed brief and caustic "Cards" to Judge Brice, Richard W. Gill, the prosecuting attorney for the State, and Henry Thompson, Todd's agent, which would have appeared in the May number of the *Genius* but for the timidity of the printers. Two months later, Lundy had his own office and printed them, with his usual fearlessness. Still another "Card," to Francis Todd, he sent to Mr. Buckingham, who promptly published it in the Boston *Courier*, and again spoke in complimentary terms of the young editor, whose career he had carefully watched from the outset. "We take the liberty," he added, "of prefixing two paragraphs from his *private* letter, which show, even more happily than the other, the complacency and serenity of his mind, and will teach his opponents a good lesson in the art of enduring misfortune":

May 13, 1830.

G. U. E., July, 1830, p. 54.

W. L. Garrison to Joseph T. Buckingham.

BALTIMORE, May 12, 1830.

Boston Courier, May 24, 1830.

DEAR SIR: I salute you from the walls of my prison! So weak is poor human nature, that commonly, the larger the building it occupies, the more it is puffed up with inordinate

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pride. I assure you, that, notwithstanding the massive dimensions of this superstructure — its imperishable strength, its redundant passages, its multicapsular apartments — I am as humble as any occupant of a ten-foot building in our great Babel; — which frame of mind, my friends must acknowledge, is very commendable. It is true, I am not the owner of this huge pile, nor the grave lord-keeper of it; but then, I pay no rent — am bound to make no repairs — and enjoy the luxury of independence divested of its cares. . . .

Now, don't look amazed because I am in confinement. I have neither broken any man's head nor picked any man's pocket, neither committed highway robbery nor fired any part of the city. Yet, true it is, I am in prison, as snug as a robin in his cage; but I sing as often, and quite as well, as I did before my wings were clipped. To change the figure: here I strut, the lion of the day; and, of course, attract a great number of visitors, as the exhibition is gratuitous — so that between the conversation of my friends, the labors of my brain, and the ever-changing curiosities of this huge menagerie, time flies astonishingly swift. Moreover, this is a capital place to sketch the lights and shadows of human nature. Every day, in the gallery of my imagination, I hang up a fresh picture. I shall have a rare collection at the expiration of my visit. . . .

A CARD.

To Mr. Francis Todd, Merchant, of Newburyport, (Mass.)

SIR: As a New-England man, and a fellow-townsman, I am ashamed of your conduct. How could you suffer your noble ship to be freighted with the wretched victims of slavery? Is not this horrible traffic offensive to God, and revolting to humanity? You have a wife — Do you love her? You have children — If one merchant should kidnap, another sell, and a third transport them to a foreign market, how would you bear this bereavement? What language would be strong enough to denounce the abettor? You would rend the heavens with your lamentations! There is no sacrifice so painful to parents as the loss of their offspring. So cries the voice of nature!

Take another case. Suppose you and your family were seized on execution, and sold at public auction: a New Orleans planter buys your children — a Georgian, your wife — a South Carolinian, yourself: would one of your townsmen (believing the job to be a profitable one) be blameless for transporting you all thither, though familiar with all these afflicting circumstances?

Sir, I owe you no ill-will. My soul weeps over your error. I denounced your conduct in strong language — but did not you deserve it? Consult your Bible and your heart. I am in prison for denouncing slavery in a free country! You, who have assisted in oppressing your fellow-creatures, are permitted to go at large, and to enjoy the fruits of your crime! *Cui prodest scelus, is fecit.*

You shall hear from me again. In the meantime, with mingled emotions, &c., &c.

WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON.

Baltimore Jail, May 13, 1830.

[*For the Courier.*]

MR. EDITOR: At the request of the State of Maryland, (through the medium of Judge Nicholas Brice,) I have removed from my residence in Baltimore Street to a less central but more imposing tenement. My windows are grated — probably to exclude nocturnal visitants, and to show the singular estimation in which my person is held. The cause of this preferment arises from my opposition to slavery.

I send you a Sonnet which I pencilled on the wall of my room the morning after my incarceration. It is a little bulletin showing in what manner I rested during the preceding night.

SONNET TO SLEEP.

Thou art no fawning sycophant, sweet Sleep!
That turn'st away when fortune 'gins to frown,
Leaving the stricken wretch alone to weep,
And curse his former opulent renown:
O no! but here — even to this desolate place —
Thou com'st as 'twere a palace trimm'd with gold,
Its architecture of Corinthian grace,
Its gorgeous pageants dazzling to behold: —
No prison walls nor bolts can thee affright —
Where dwelleth innocence, there thou art found!
How pleasant, how sincere wast thou last night!
What blissful dreams my morning slumber crowned!
Health-giving Sleep! than mine a nobler verse
Must to the world thy matchless worth rehearse.

W. L. G.

While editing the *Genius*, Garrison found no time to indulge his fondness for writing verses, and some lines

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of his on the Slave Trade, in the first number, were his only poetical contribution to the paper; but during his imprisonment his muse seems to have been especially active, and besides the sonnets already given he wrote a third, entitled —

THE GUILTLESS PRISONER.

Prisoner! within these gloomy walls close pent —
Guiltless of horrid crime or venial wrong —
Bear nobly up against thy punishment,
And in thy innocence be great and strong!
Perchance thy fault was love to all mankind;
Thou didst oppose some vile, oppressive law;
Or strive all human fetters to unbind;
Or wouldst not bear the implements of war: —
What then? Dost thou so soon repent the deed?
A martyr's crown is richer than a king's!
Think it an honor with thy Lord to bleed,
And glory 'midst intensest sufferings!
Though beat — imprisoned — put to open shame —
Time shall embalm and magnify thy name.

Lib. 1:92.

He furthermore wrote a series of twenty stanzas in fair Byronic metre, chiefly addressed to a young lady whom he had met but once, some three years before, but whose personal attractions had touched his susceptibilities. His incidental description of a Boston "election week" or "June training" has been quoted in a previous chapter. Noticeable, also, is another poem of half a dozen stanzas, inspired by a speech of Senator Frelinghuysen, of New Jersey, in the United States Senate, in denunciation of the plots in Georgia to dispossess the Cherokee Indians of their lands. "If the dominant party in the Senate," wrote Mr. Garrison, in sending his poem[1] to the *Genius*, "had not been more insensate than marble statues, or their hearts more impenetrable than polar ice, his speech would have effectually checked the rapacity of Georgia, and rescued the American name from eternal infamy. Their positive refusal to observe the faith of

Ante, p. 79.

G. U. E., July, 1830, *pp.* 54, 55.

[1] First printed in the *National Journal*, Washington. It bore date "Baltimore Jail, May 22, 1830," and was "the hasty effusion of a moment."

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treaties caps the climax of party depravity, which, in this instance, is one degree *below* total depravity."

The pamphlet account of the libel suit and trial soon evoked wide comment and criticism from the newspapers on this transparent attempt to stifle a free press. "More than an hundred voices have been raised," said Lundy, in the *Genius*, "more than an hundred periodical works have denounced (many of them in no very measured terms) this attack upon what we have ever considered our proper editorial privileges."[1]

G. U. E., June, 1830, *p.* 35.

"Up to that period," wrote Garrison subsequently, "no single incident connected with the subject of slavery had ever excited so much attention, or elicited such a spontaneous burst of general indignation. As the news of my imprisonment became extensively known, and the merits of the case understood, not a mail rolled into the city but it brought me consolatory letters from individuals hitherto unknown to me, and periodicals of all kinds, from every section of the Union, (not even excepting the South,) all uniting to give me a triumphant acquittal — all severely reprehending the conduct of Mr. Todd — and all regarding my trial as a mockery of justice. Indeed, I was in danger of being lifted up beyond measure, even in prison, by excessive panegyric and extraordinary sympathy."[2]

Preface to 2d ed. Trial Pamphlet, Boston, 1834.

[1] It is doubtful if any Northern editor expressed himself with more vigor and fearlessness on the subject than George D. Prentice, then conducting the *New England Weekly Review* at Hartford. He was at that time a warm admirer of Garrison, though he had never seen him, and, after a careful examination of the facts relating to the trial, he flung down the gauntlet to Todd in this spirited fashion:

"The remarks in Mr. Garrison's alleged libel were strict truths — truths, too, which it concerns the public to know. The slave-trade *is* murder — it *is* piracy — and if F. Todd is guilty of it, murder and piracy are among the crimes for which he is answerable. Perhaps his vindictive feelings are not propitiated by the sufferings of a single victim. If so, he is at perfect liberty to consider us as repeating, sentence for sentence and word for word, everything which Mr. Garrison has said touching him and his abominable traffick. Thank Heaven, we are not in Maryland, nor within the jurisdiction of the Court from which our friend received his sentence" (*N. E. W. Review*, May 31, 1830).

Prentice soon after resigned his position to Whittier and removed to Louisville, Kentucky, where, as editor of the *Journal*, he became wholly subservient to the Slave Power and recreant to his early professions.

[2] Prentice was certainly unstinting in his praise. "Mr. Garrison is too well known to the public," he said, "to need from us any testimonial either

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The comments of no other paper were awaited with such eager interest by Mr. Garrison as those of the Newburyport *Herald*, as he naturally wished to know how his old master and his townsmen regarded his course, and felt anxious that they should understand and appreciate the motives which had led him to assail one of their prominent citizens. Mr. Allen could not ignore the appeal made in the pamphlet of his late apprentice, and at length broke the silence which he had hitherto kept about the matter. After briefly mentioning Garrison's trial and imprisonment, he paid a generous tribute to his protégé, defending him against the charges of vanity, love of display, and eagerness for notoriety, which had been brought against him, and crediting him with only lofty aspirations and motives; and he bore this testimony:

N. P. Herald, May 25, 1830.

"We are the friends of Mr. Garrison. We have known him from his childhood; he has been in our family and eaten at our board. We have watched his progress in life with deep interest. Without early advantages of education, but with a mind exceedingly susceptible to improvement, he seized on every opportunity afforded by intervals from labor to create and add to his stock of information; in a word, he was a diligent student. His peculiar characteristics are an ardent temperament and warm imagination; his undeniable merits, pure purposes and unshaken courage. Resolute in his convictions on subjects of higher importance, he may seem (and no doubt sometimes is) hasty, stubborn, and dogmatic, rash and unyielding, where patience and docility would have varied his views and softened his temper."

of his talents or his virtues. Among the young men of our country, he has few equals and not one superior. His greatest praise, and the greatest which any man can covet, is that he has devoted himself, body and soul to the amelioration of our race. Without the hope, and almost without the possibility, of pecuniary remuneration, he has gone out, a moral apostle, among the votaries of crime and oppression, and lifted up a voice among them that already makes them tremble for their ancient prerogatives. By the blessing of God, he will triumph. His triumphs have already begun. We would rather be W. L. Garrison, confined as he now is in a dungeon-cell, than his tyrannical judge upon the bench which he has disgraced, or Francis Todd in the midst of the guilty splendors of ill-gotten gold" *(Ibid.)*

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But while condemning the domestic slave trade, and applauding Garrison's reprobation of it, Mr. Allen thought that in assailing Todd he had stepped aside to wound those who were not and never would be guilty of joining in the traffic; and that his charge had been based on "vague rumor, hasty conversation, and scattered facts," and not fully sustained. That Todd considered such a charge a libel on his reputation, was a circumstance highly in his favor, and showed that he himself thought, with the just and benevolent, that the traffic ought not to be supported,— a very amusing theory, in view of the facts proved at the trial.

To this article Mr. Garrison promptly replied in a letter which filled nearly three columns of the *Herald:*

W. L. Garrison to Ephraim W. Allen.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NEWBURYPORT "HERALD."

N. P. Herald, June 11, 1830.

DEAR SIR: I thank you for a copy of the *Herald* containing a notice of my late trial for an alleged libel on Mr. Francis Todd. Your encomiums I receive with pleasure and humility. The esteem of a good man is always worth possessing; but to him who stands comparatively alone in the world — fatherless, motherless, without wealth, and unassisted by the influence of relatives — and who has just passed the vestibule of manhood, it is invaluable. I have received too many kindnesses at your hands to doubt your friendship; and too many ever to forget the obligations under which I labor.

Yet there are some passages in your review which seem to require a brief interrogation:

You say:

"*When carried on by system, for purposes of traffic,* the domestic slave trade deserves the reprobation of every man who dares call himself free, or just, or humane."

Surely, sir, you do not mean to justify or palliate the *occasional* transportation of slaves? If the whole system be abhorrent to humanity, can any part of it be venial? If Austin Woolfolk (a slave-exporter of devilish notoriety in Maryland) deserves the withering indignation of a virtuous community for carrying on the trade *regularly,* does not Francis Todd (or any other merchant) merit reprobation — in a less degree, cer-

CHAP. VII. 1830. tainly — for dipping into it *irregularly*? In a case of theft, is it not an orthodox maxim, that "the receiver (*i. e.* he who knows that the goods are stolen) is as bad as the thief?" Even if a man connives at crime, though he is not the immediate perpetrator thereof, the law does not hold him guiltless; and common sense tells us that it should not.

The above quotation carries a pernicious inference — contrary, I am sure, to your intention. But why not have explicitly declared, that no device should protect the man from public indignation who assists in any way, or however rarely, in extending and perpetuating the horrible traffic? For myself, neither the terrors of the law, nor the fires of martyrdom,* shall deter me from invoking confiscation and imprisonment upon every such abettor. Pope illustrates the distinction with admirable conciseness:

> "Friend, spare the person, and expose the vice."
> "How! not condemn the *sharper*, but the *dice!*"

Moreover, you remark: "If, in assailing the traffic, Mr. Garrison steps aside to wound those *who are not, and would never be, guilty of joining in it*, he is neither to be justified nor commended,"— &c., &c. [Certainly not.] "And he who is made the object of the odious charge, if innocent, is not to be browbeaten for taking lawful steps to vindicate his character." [Ditto.]

There is a gratuitous insinuation in these truisms, which is calculated to injure my character with those who are ignorant of the merits of the present case. Have I gone out of my way to attack an *innocent* man? If not, where is the pertinency of your remarks? Now, I substantially proved the truth of my allegations at my trial — namely, that the *Francis* carried slaves to New Orleans, and that she was owned by Mr. Todd: nay, that thirteen more were taken than I had represented. Yet you do not apprise your readers of these facts, but leave them to infer that I have slandered the character of this gentleman in the most wilful and unpardonable manner!! Is this suppression commendable? . . .

If Mr. Todd had been innocent, he would not have instantaneously kindled into a passion, and presented me as a libeller to a jury whom he suspected of cherishing hostile feelings to-

* A few days since, Judge Brice observed to the Warden of the Jail, that "Mr. Garrison was ambitious of becoming a martyr." "Tell his Honor," I responded, "that if his assertion be true, he is equally ambitious of gathering the faggots and applying the torch."

wards the *Genius of Universal Emancipation*. Charitably believing that I had been unwittingly led into error, he would have corresponded with me on the subject, and demanded a public apology for the injury inflicted upon his character; and I would have promptly made that apology — yea, upon my bended knees. For I confidently assert, that no individual who knows me personally — not even the accused himself — believes that I was instigated by malice in the publication of my strictures. *I make no other charge against him.* If I have enemies, I forgive them — I am the enemy of no man. My memory can no more retain the impression of anger, hatred or revenge, than the ocean the track of its monsters.

The admonition of Ganganelli, that *libels and satires make an impression only upon weak and badly organized heads*, ought not to have been lost upon Mr. Todd — especially if his hands were clean and his heart white. Moreover, what if the times *were* hard, freights dull, and money scarce — was he in danger of starvation? And, if so, how much nobler would have been his conduct, if he had adopted the language of the martyred patriot of England — the great Algernon Sidney! —

"I have ever had in my mind, that when God should cast me into such a condition as that I cannot save my life but by doing an indecent thing, he shows me the time has come wherein I should resign it; *and when I cannot live in my own country but by such means as are worse than dying in it, I think he shows me I ought to keep myself out of it.*"

Finally, you observe: "We cannot, in such comment as Mr. Garrison desires editors generally to make on his prosecution; and we cannot, in our real friendship to him, *praise him for any act of rashness and indiscretion.*"

I ask, deserve, and expect the praise of no individuals for my labors; because I am merely endeavoring to perform my duty — and, as I fall far short of that duty, therefore I cannot be meritorious. You misapprehend the nature of the comments that I requested editors to make upon my trial. It is my solemn belief, that a more flagrant infringement upon the liberty of the press than is presented in the decision of the Court, is hardly to be found in the record of libellous prosecutions in France or Great Britain. I was convicted upon an indictment which was utterly defective, and as innocent as blank paper — evidence failing to prove that I had printed or published, or had any agency in printing or publishing, or had written or caused to be written, or had even seen or known anything of, the obnoxious

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article!! Here, then, seemed to be an extraordinary procedure, unparalleled for its complexion in this country at least, and dangerous to the freedom of public discussion — deserving, in a special manner, the animadversion of every watchful patriot: — An editor convicted of writing and publishing a "false, wicked and malicious libel," without any authentic evidence of his guilt, and upon the most whimsical pretenses!!— I solicited no sympathy for myself: I only requested editors to look at the *law* and the *facts*, and to vindicate their prerogative. "Let it be impressed upon your minds," says Junius, "let it be instilled into your children, that the liberty of the press is the *palladium* of all your civil, political and religious rights." . . .

If I am prompted by "*vanity*" in pleading for the poor, degraded, miserable Africans, it is at least a harmless, and, I hope, will prove a useful vanity. Would to God it were epidemical! It is a vanity calculated to draw down the curses of the guilty, to elicit the sneers of the malevolent, to excite the suspicion of the cold-hearted, to offend the timidity of the wavering, to disturb the repose of the lethargic; — a vanity that promises to its possessor nothing but neglect, poverty, sorrow, reproach, persecution and imprisonment — *with the approbation of a good conscience, and the smiles of a merciful God.* I think it will last me to the grave.

Cf. Lib. 1: 11, *and S. J. May's Recollections, p.* 37.

But why so vehement? so unyielding? so severe? Because the times and the cause demand vehemence. An immense iceberg, larger and more impenetrable than any which floats in the arctic ocean, is to be dissolved, and a little *extra heat* is not only pardonable, but absolutely necessary. Because truth can never be sacrificed, and justice is eternal. Because great crimes and destructive evils ought not to be palliated, nor great sinners applauded. With reasonable men, I will reason; with humane men, I will plead; but to tyrants I will give no quarter, nor waste arguments where they will certainly be lost.

The hearts of some individuals are like ice, congealed by the frigidity of a wintry atmosphere that surrounds, envelopes and obdurates. These may be melted by the rays of humanity, the warmth of expostulation, and the breath of prayer. Others are like adamantine rocks; they require a ponderous sledge and a powerful arm to break them in pieces, or a cask of powder to blow them up. Truth may blaze upon them with midday intenseness, but they cannot dissolve.

Everyone who comes into the world should do something to repair its moral desolation, and to restore its pristine loveliness;

and he who does not assist, but slumbers away his life in idleness, defeats one great purpose of his creation. But he who, not only refusing to labor himself, endeavors to enlarge and perpetuate the ruin, by discouraging the hearts of the more industrious, and destroying their beautiful works, is a monster and a barbarian, in despite of his human nature and of civilization.

With sentiments of high esteem and ardent affection, I subscribe myself,

Yours, to the grave,

WM. LLOYD GARRISON.

NOTE. . . . No doubt many merchants in New England will condemn me, for the significant reason urged by the editors [of the Boston *Commercial Gazette*], namely, "a proper regard for their own characters." Why? Because they are guilty, and dread exposure. It is a shameful fact,—and in private conversation it is thrown at me repeatedly,—that the transportation of slaves is almost entirely effected in New England bottoms!!!—The case of Mr. Todd is not a rare one. I was very warmly conversing, the other day, with a slave-owner on the criminality of oppressing the blacks, when he retorted—"Your preaching is fine, but it is more especially needed *at home*. I detest the slave trade—it is cruel and unpardonable: yet your Eastern merchants do not scruple to embark in it." "Sir," I replied, "I do not endorse their conduct. The fact that you state is humiliating. Am I not confined in prison for exposing one of their number? Let them beware! Every one whom I detect in this nefarious business—merchant or master—shall be advertised to the world."

My punishment does not dishearten me. Whether liberated or not, my pen shall not remain idle. My thoughts flow as copiously, my spirit towers as loftily, my soul flames as intensely, in prison, as out of it. The court may shackle the body, but it cannot pinion the mind.

W. L. G.

Baltimore Jail, June 1, 1830.

Among the friends to whom Garrison had written, from his prison cell, a bright and cheerful letter, similar to that printed in the Boston *Courier*, was the poet Whittier, who felt deeply troubled about his confinement

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and tried to devise some means of effecting his release. He could think of nothing better than to write to Henry Clay, asking him to use his influence with his personal and political friends in Baltimore to that end, and he took pains to remind the Kentucky statesman that the imprisoned editor had nominated him for the Presidency two years before, and was his warm admirer. Clay soon afterwards replied that he had communicated with a friend (Hezekiah Niles) in Baltimore, in compliance with Whittier's request, and had just learned from his correspondent that he had been anticipated, and that the liberation had been effected without the aid he would otherwise have given. Clay was probably disposed to unite with his friend Niles in paying the fine, if the latter considered the case a worthy one, and to testify thus his appreciation of the support which both Garrison and Whittier had given him in the *Journal of the Times* and the Boston *Manufacturer*.[1]

Garrison had nearly completed his seventh week in jail when Lundy received the following letter from a New York merchant, well known for his philanthropy and generosity:

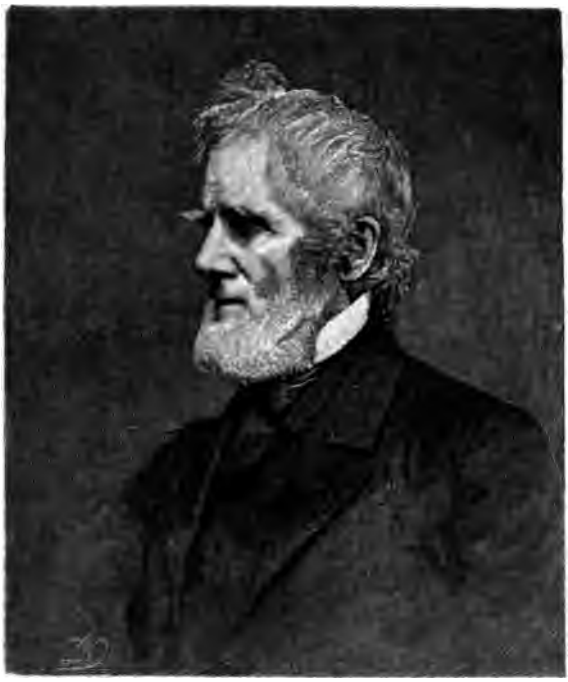
Arthur Tappan to Benjamin Lundy.

MS.

NEW YORK, May 29, 1830.

DEAR SIR: I have read the sketch of the trial of Mr. Garrison with that deep feeling of abhorrence of slavery and its abettors which every one must feel who is capable of appreciating the blessings of liberty. If one hundred dollars will give him his liberty, you are hereby authorized to draw on me for that sum, and I will gladly make a further donation of the same amount to aid you and Mr. G. in re-establishing the *Genius of Universal Emancipation* as published by you previous to its assuming the pamphlet form. Such a paper is much needed to hold up to American freemen, in all its naked deformity, the subject of

[1] He had never seen either of them. Years afterwards he met Whittier in Washington, and asked the poet why he no longer supported him. Whittier frankly replied that he could not support a slaveholder. Clay was "pleasant, cordial, and magnetic in manner."



Arthur Tappan

slavery as it now exists in our country; and I earnestly hope you will find encouragement to resume it and to give it a wide circulation. I am with esteem

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Yr. obt. servant,

ARTHUR TAPPAN.[1]

The Warden's receipt for $5.34 in payment of jail fees shows that Mr. Garrison was released on the 5th of June, 1830, after an imprisonment of forty-nine days. Two days later he started for Massachusetts, to obtain certain evidence which his counsel deemed important for the trial yet pending on Todd's suit. He took with him a written circular, "To the Friends of the Anti-Slavery Cause," signed by Lundy and dated Baltimore, June 7, which proposed the renewal of the weekly *Genius* and continuation of the monthly issue, provided a sufficient patronage could be obtained. "My friend W. L. G. will show the foregoing to such persons as he may think

MS.

[1] Arthur Tappan (1786–1865), a native of Northampton, Mass., began his business career in Portland, Me., in 1807, removing thence in 1809 to Montreal, where he prospered until the War of 1812 destroyed his business and compelled him to leave Canada at a great sacrifice. Establishing himself in New York in 1815, he succeeded eventually in building up a large and profitable silk trade, and became one of the best-known merchants in the country, whose name was a synonym for uprightness. A man of the most simple tastes and frugal habits, he gave lavishly of his fortune to aid the religious and philanthropic movements of the day, and contributed tens of thousands of dollars to the support of the Tract and Bible Societies, theological seminaries, and various educational and reformatory efforts. His early espousal of the slave's cause, and the moral and material support which he brought to the anti-slavery movement, were therefore of incalculable value and importance. "With a sound understanding," wrote Mr. Garrison of him, "a great conscience to the dictates of which he was inflexibly true, a genuine humility that did not wish the left hand to know what the right hand performed, a moral courage that could look any reproach or peril serenely in the face in the discharge of what seemed to be an imperative duty, a sense of rectitude commensurate with the golden rule, a spirit of philanthropy as comprehensive and universal as the 'one blood' of all nations of men, a liberality rarely paralleled in the consecration of his means to deliver the oppressed and to relieve suffering humanity in all its multifarious aspects, and a piety that proved its depth and genuineness by the fruits it bore, his example is to be held up for imitation to the latest posterity." (See 'Life of Arthur Tappan,' p. 424.) The founder of the Tappan family in this country settled in Newbury, Mass., so that Mr. Garrison's benefactor, like himself, was of Essex County descent (*Hist. and Genealogical Register*, 14:327, and for Jan., 1880, pp. 48–55).

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proper," added Lundy in a postscript, "and give any further explanations of our intentions that he may think necessary."

On his arrival in New York, he at once called on his benefactor, Arthur Tappan, to express his gratitude for the unexpected service rendered him. "His appearance and deportment at that time," wrote Lewis Tappan, "were not likely to be forgotten. His manly form, buoyant spirit, and countenance beaming with conscious rectitude, attracted the attention of all who witnessed his introduction to Mr. Tappan." He proceeded without delay to Newburyport, passing through Boston on the 10th of June, and paying his respects to friendly Mr. Buckingham of the *Courier*.

Life of A. Tappan, p. 163.

Boston Courier, June 11, 1830.

W. L. Garrison to Ebenezer Dole,[1] *at Hallowell, Maine.*

MS.

BALTIMORE, July 14, 1830.

RESPECTED AND BENEVOLENT SIR: At the request of my Counsel, and at the desire of my friend Lundy, I visited Boston and Newburyport a few weeks since, in order to get some essential evidence to be used in the civil action which is now pending against me in this city; and also to see whether anything could be done towards renewing, and permanently establishing, the weekly publication of the *Genius*. I left Baltimore without adequate means to carry me home, relying upon Providence to open a door of relief. On my arrival in New York, I was accidentally introduced to a gentleman named Samuel Leggett, who generously offered me a passage to Rhode Island, in the splendid steamboat *President*, he being a stockholder therein. Thus I was most unexpectedly relieved of my embarrassment, and enabled to reach my place of destination. Mr. L. said that he had read with indignation the proceedings of the court at my late trial, and was glad to have an opportunity of serving me. I gave him many thanks for his kindness.

I found the minds of the people strangely indifferent to the subject of slavery. Their prejudices were invincible,—stronger,

[1] Ebenezer Dole was born in Newburyport, Mass., in 1776. He was a descendant in the fifth generation of Richard Dole, of Newbury, by his first wife. The second wife, Hannah Brocklebank, widow of Capt. Samuel Brocklebank *(ante,* p. 3), was an ancestor of Mr. Garrison's.

if possible, than those of slaveholders. Objections were started on every hand; apologies for the abominable system constantly saluted my ears; obstacles were industriously piled up in my path. The cause of this callous state of feeling was owing to their exceeding ignorance of the horrors of slavery. What was yet more discouraging, my best friends—without an exception—besought me to give up the enterprise, and never to return to Baltimore! It was not my duty (they argued) to spend my time, and talents, and services, where persecution, reproach and poverty were the only certain reward. My scheme was visionary—fanatical—unattainable. Why should I make myself an exile from home and all that I held dear on earth, and sojourn in a strange land, among enemies whose hearts were dead to every noble sentiment? &c., &c., &c. I repeat—*all were against my return.* But I desire to thank God, that he gave me strength to overcome this selfish and pernicious advice. Opposition served only to increase my ardor, and confirm my purpose.

But how was I to return? I had not a dollar in my pocket, and my time was expired. No one understood my circumstances. I was too proud to beg, and ashamed to borrow. My friends were prodigal of pity, but of nothing else. In the extremity of my uneasiness, I went to the Boston Post-office, and found a letter from my friend Lundy, enclosing a draft for $100, from a stranger—yourself, as a remuneration for my poor, inefficient services in behalf of the slaves! Here Providence had again signally interfered in my behalf. After deducting the expenses of travelling, the remainder of the above-named sum was applied in discharging a few of the debts incurred by the unproductiveness of the *Genius.*

As I lay on my couch one night, in jail, I was led to contrast my situation with that of the poor slave. Ah! my dear Sir, how wide the difference! In one particular only, (I said,) our conditions are similar. He is confined to the narrow limits of a plantation—I to the narrow limits of a prison-yard. Further all parallels fail. My food is better and more abundant, as I get a pound of bread and a pound of meat, with a plentiful supply of pure water, *per diem.* I can lie down or rise up, sit or walk, sing or declaim, read or write, as fancy, pleasure or profit dictates. Moreover, I am daily cheered with the presence and conversation of friends;—I am constantly supplied with fresh periodicals from every section of the country, and, consequently, am advertised of every new and interesting occurrence.

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Occasionally a letter greets me from a distant place, filled with consolatory expressions, tender remembrances, or fine compliments. If it rain, my room is a shelter; if the sun flame too intensely, I can choose a shady retreat; if I am sick, medical aid is at hand. Besides, I have been charged with a specific offence — have had the privilege of a trial by jury, and the aid of eminent counsel — and am here ostensibly to satisfy the demands of justice. A few months, at the longest, will release me from my captivity.

Now, how is it with the slave? He gets a peck of corn (occasionally a little more) each week, but rarely meat or fish. He must anticipate the sun in rising, or be whipped severely for his somnolency. Rain or shine, he must toil early and late *for the benefit of another*. If he be weary, he cannot rest — for the lash of the driver is flourished over his drooping head, or applied to his naked frame; if sick, he is suspected of laziness, and treated accordingly. For the most trifling or innocent offence, he is felled to the earth, or scourged on his back till it streams with blood. Has he a wife and children, he sees them as cruelly treated as himself. He may be torn from them, or they from him, at any moment, never again to meet on earth. Friends do not visit and console him: *he has no friends*. He knows not what is going on beyond his own narrow boundaries. He can neither read nor write. The letters of the alphabet are cabalistical to his eyes. A thick darkness broods over his soul. Even the "glorious gospel of the blessed God," which brings life and immortality to perishing man, is a sealed book to his understanding. Nor has his wretched condition been imposed upon him for any criminal offence. He has not been tried by the laws of his country. No one has stepped forth to vindicate *his* rights. He is made an abject slave, simply because God has given him a skin not colored like his master's; and Death, the great Liberator, alone can break his fetters.

Reflections like the foregoing turned my prison into a palace. Can you wonder, benevolent Sir, that I was enabled to sing,— after such an amazing contrast,— with a heart overflowing with gratitude,—

> "When all thy mercies, O my God,
> My rising soul surveys,
> Transported with the view I'm lost
> In wonder, love and praise!"

If the public sympathy is so strongly excited in my behalf, because justice has been denied me in a single instance,

how ought it to flame for TWO MILLIONS of as valuable and immortal souls, who are crushed beneath the iron car of despotism? O that my countrymen would look at things in their true light! O that they might feel as keenly for a black skin as for a white one! forgetting me entirely, and thinking only of the poor slave!

Your generosity deeply affects my heart; but as I have done nothing, and can do nothing, in the cause of African emancipation, to merit such a gift, I must receive your donation only *as a loan on interest* — to be repaid as soon as Providence may enable me to do so. At present, I am opulent in nothing but gratitude, though my language is cold and penurious. Be good enough to make my acknowledgments to Mr. J. C. Lovejoy, for his friendly sympathies. Friend Lundy desires to be affectionately remembered. May God bless and prosper you and yours, is the prayer of

WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON.[1]

Mr. Garrison lingered in Baltimore for several weeks after the above letter was written, but, finding that his second trial, on Todd's personal suit, would not occur till the fall, unable to wait there so long, and satisfied that he could expect no justice from a Maryland jury or court, he determined to make no contest, and to let the case go by default. When it came to trial, therefore, the evidence was entirely one-sided and substantially the same as that given in the previous trial, though Captain Brown now appeared by deposition, testifying that the slaves were kindly treated on the voyage, and claiming credit for having "actually relieved their condition in some degree," since he had carried them to "a climate much more congenial to their nature." He also expressed his belief that this was the only case in which Mr. Todd had allowed slaves to be carried in any of his

Lib. 1 : 2.

[1] Appended to this letter was the following note, which Mr. Dole carefully cancelled by drawing his pen emphatically across it several times:—

$100. BALTIMORE, July 14, 1830.

For value received, I promise to pay Ebenezer Dole, or his order, the sum of *One Hundred Dollars*, with interest, on demand.

Witness, Isaac Knapp. WM. LLOYD GARRISON.

The original letter is in possession of the Union League Club of New York.

CHAP. VII. 1830. vessels, and his certain knowledge that Todd had never owned a slave in his life.

The defendant failing to appear,[1] the case was submitted to the jury, who returned a verdict for Todd, with damages of one thousand dollars; but payment of this was never enforced, the defendant being safely beyond the reach of Maryland law. The proceedings of this trial were printed in the first number of the *Liberator* by Mr. Garrison, who subsequently published a candid commentary on them, disclaiming any personal hostility to Mr. Todd and Captain Brown, and asserting that in the publication of his strictures he was governed by the following very practical motives:

Lib. 1:9. "1. A sense of duty, as an advocate of freedom, and a hater of tyranny and of all its abettors. 2. A desire to evince to the Southern people, that, in opposing slavery, I disregarded all sectional feelings, and that a New-England assistant was as liable to reprehension as a Maryland slaveholder. 3. A belief that the publication would ever afterward deter Mr. Todd from venturing into the domestic slave trade; and that it would be a rod over the backs of New-England merchants generally.

"Having proved, on my first trial, my main charges — viz., that the *Francis* carried away the slaves, and even thirteen more than I had stated — that the ship was owned by Mr. Todd — and that he was privy to the transaction — I determined to incur no expense, and to give myself no trouble, in relation to the second suit. I knew that my judges must be men tainted with the leprosy of oppression, with whom it would be useless to contend — men morally incapable of giving an impartial verdict, from the very nature of their pursuit. And here let me observe, *en passant*, that, though I do not say that a *packed jury* has convicted me, yet, knowing as I do how juries are selected in Baltimore, and recognizing also some of my condemners, I consider my trial as having had all the formality, but none of the substance, of justice. . . .

"Mr. Todd, as a high-minded man, should have been satisfied with the result of the former trial. The second suit betrays the meanness of avarice and the littleness of revenge. It was

[1] "I am willing that the Court should have all the sport to itself," wrote Garrison to Lundy; "I give Mr. Todd every advantage" (*Genius*, Nov., 1830, p. 114). Todd's attorney accused him of having "absconded."

not so much a desire to clear his reputation, as to gain a few dollars or gratify a vindictive spirit, that induced the prosecution.

"It is averred, that, 'after his [Garrison's] conviction in the City Court, he was distinctly informed through his Counsel, that as Mr. Todd had no vindictive feelings to gratify, the suit would be withdrawn, if a proper apology and recantation of the calumny were put upon record.' This is true; and it is also true that I refused to comply with the demand, because I never will apologize for telling the truth.

"With regard to the truth of my allegation, that chains were used on board the *Francis*, it could not be substantiated except by summoning the crew. Generally speaking, irons are inseparable from the slave trade; nor is this usage a grievance in the eye of the law, but a preservative right on the part of owners and masters of vessels engaged in the perilous traffic. Whether the slaves, in this instance, were confined or not, was immaterial to the formation of a verdict. I am now disposed to believe, however, that no chains were used on board of the *Francis*.

"It is certainly true, as stated in my 'libellous' article, that Mr. Todd has been remarkably successful in his commercial speculations; but I do not know that he has ever been guilty of carrying slaves in his vessels, excepting in this particular instance. He says that this was his first cargo of souls, and Capt. Brown corroborates his assertion; and I am almost as sure that it will be his last.

"Leaving Mr. Todd, (to his relief and my own,) my business is next with Capt. Brown and his fanciful affidavit. He says 'he received on board of the *Francis* eighty-eight black *passengers*' — a very delicate substitute for *slaves*. These *passengers*, he concedes, belonged to a 'new master, named Milligan, who was present at the time of their embarkation, and assured them that they were not to be sold again at New Orleans — but that he intended them all for his own estate.' No doubt this trader in souls was fruitful in promises; but what security had the slaves for their fulfilment? Nothing but the mere say-so of their unprincipled buyer; or, to borrow the courtly language of Capt. Brown, nothing but 'the *honor* and *integrity* of Mr. Milligan.'

"I do not care whether the slaves were bought expressly for the New Orleans market, or for Milligan's own use; it does not, in my estimation, alter the aspect of the affair. If they

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were to be sold, they might get a better — they might get a worse — master than Milligan. They are disposable property; and he who bought them to make money, would assuredly sell them for the same reason, whenever an opportunity presented itself. To say that they were not intended for public sale, is a contemptible quibble. Of this I was aware: that they were slaves — the creatures of an absolute despotism; that they were human beings, entitled to all the privileges and enjoyments of liberty; and that no man could assist in their oppression without participating in the guilt of the purchase. I must ever regret that New England men were engaged in the inhuman traffic, but not that I promptly exposed them to public censure. . . .

"The decision of the Court upon my trial forms the paradox of paradoxes. The law says that the domestic slave trade is a legal business, and no more criminal than the most innocent mechanical or commercial pursuit; and, therefore, that any man may honestly engage in it. Yet, if I charge an individual with following it, either occasionally or regularly, I am guilty of 'a gross and malicious libel'—of 'defaming his good name, fame and reputation'—of 'foul calumny and base innuendo'—with sundry other law phrases, as set forth in an indictment! So much for the consistency of the law! So much for the equity of the Court! The trial, in fact, was not to ascertain whether my charges were true, but whether they contained anything disreputable to the character of the accused; and the verdict does not implicate or condemn me, but the law.

"The hat-making business, for instance, is an authorized trade. Suppose I were to accuse a man of making hats, and should believe, and publicly declare as my opinion, that every hat-maker ought be imprisoned for life: would this be libellous? It is my belief, that every distiller or vender of ardent spirits is a poisoner of the health and morals of community; but have I not a right to express this belief without subjection to fine and imprisonment? I believe, moreover, that every man who kills another, either in a duel or battle, is, in the eye of God, guilty of his blood; but is it criminal or punishable to cherish or avow such an opinion? What is freedom of thought, or freedom of expression? It is my right — and no body of men can legally deprive me of it — to interrogate the moral aspect and public utility of every pursuit or traffic. True, my views may be ridiculous or fanatical; but they may also be just and benevolent. Free inquiry is the essence, the life-blood of liberty;

and they who deny men the right to use it, are the enemies of the republic.

"In conclusion, I would remark that, on my first trial, his honor Judge Brice informed my counsel that if the case had been submitted to the Court, instead of the jury, it would have been thrown out as containing nothing actionable.

"The facts are now before the public. It is for them to judge whether imprisonment and a fine of *one thousand dollars* (giving the worst construction to my motives and language) are not excessive punishment; and whether, in the publication of my strictures, I exceeded the freedom of the press, or the legitimate province of an independent editor." [1]

As his trip to Massachusetts had failed to afford any encouragement for the renewal of his partnership with Lundy, and the revival of the weekly *Genius*, Mr. Garrison resolved to establish a journal of his own; and in August, 1830, he issued the following prospectus, of which the original draft, in his clear handwriting, is probably the only complete copy now in existence:

MS.

PROPOSALS

FOR

Publishing a weekly periodical in Washington City, to be entitled

THE

PUBLIC LIBERATOR,

AND

JOURNAL OF THE TIMES.

The primary object of this publication will be the abolition of slavery, and the moral and intellectual elevation of our colored population. The Capital of our Union is obviously the most eligible spot whereon to build this mighty enterprise:—first, because (through Congress and the Supreme Court) it is the head of the body politic, and the soul of the national system; and secondly, because the District of Columbia is the first citadel to be carried.

[1] The Manumission Society of North Carolina appointed a committee to investigate the subject, and their report, which was adopted, was a vindication of Garrison, with a recommendation that the Society should protest against the illegal and unconstitutional decision in his case (*Genius of Universal Emancipation*, Oct., 1830, p. 98).

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On this subject, I imagine my views and feelings are too well known to render an elaborate exposition necessary. In its investigation, I shall use *great plainness of speech*—believing that *truth can never conduce to mischief, and is best discovered by plain words.* I shall assume, as self-evident truths, that the liberty of a people is the gift of God and nature:— That liberty consists in an independency upon the will of another:— That by the name of slave, we understand a man who can neither dispose of his person or goods, but enjoys all at the will of his master:— That no man can have a right over others, unless it be by them granted to him:— That virtue only gives a natural preference of one man above another, or why one should be chosen rather than another:— That the creature having nothing, and being nothing but what the Creator makes him, must owe all to him, and nothing to any-one from whom he has received nothing:— That that which is not just, is not law; and that which is not law, ought not to be in force:— That he who oppugns the public liberty, overthrows his own, and is guilty of the most brutish of all follies whilst he arrogates to himself that which he denies to all men:— That whosoever grounds his pretensions of right upon usurpation and tyranny, declares himself to be an usurper and a tyrant—that is, an enemy to God and man—and to have no right at all:— That that which was unjust in its beginning, can of itself never change its nature:— That he who persists in doing injustice, aggravates it, and takes upon himself all the guilt of his predecessors:— That there is no safety where there is no strength, no strength without union, no union without justice, no justice where faith and truth are wanting:— That the right to be free is a truth planted in the hearts of men, and acknowledged so to be by all that have hearkened to the voice of nature, and disproved by none but such as through wickedness, stupidity, or baseness of spirit, seem to have degenerated into the worst of beasts, and to have retained nothing of men but the outward shape, or the ability of doing those mischiefs which they have learnt from their master the devil.—*Vide Algernon Sidney's Discourses on Government—the Declaration of American Independence—the Constitutions and Bills of Rights of the several States, &c., &c.*

I shall spare no efforts to delineate the withering influence of slavery upon our national prosperity and happiness, its awful impiety, its rapid extension, and its inevitable consequences if it be suffered to exist without hindrance. It will also be my

purpose to point out the path of safety, and a remedy for the disease.

The cause of Peace and the promotion of Temperance, being equally dear to my heart, will obtain my zealous and unequivocal support. My creed, as already published to the world, is as follows: — That war is fruitful in crime, misery, revenge, murder, and everything abominable and bloody — and, whether offensive or defensive, contrary to the precepts and example of Jesus Christ, and to the heavenly spirit of the gospel; consequently, that no professor of Christianity should march to the battle-field, or murder any of his brethren for the glory of his country: — That intemperance is a filthy habit and an awful scourge, wholly produced by the moderate, occasional and fashionable use of alcoholic liquors; consequently, that it is sinful to distil, to import, to sell, to drink, or to offer such liquors to our friends or laborers, and that entire abstinence is the duty of every individual.

I shall exercise a strict supervision over the proceedings of Congress, and the characters of its members. The representatives of a moral and religious people should walk circumspectly, not as fools but as wise men, lest they be brought to public shame. The *Public Liberator* shall be a terror to evil-doers, but a praise to them that do well.

In politics, no man can doubt my republicanism. I go for the people — the whole people — whatever be their bodily dimensions, temporal conditions, or shades of color. As a man of peace, I am not an admirer of military men; as a friend of good government, I deprecate their elevation to offices of civil trust. The proscriptive measures of the present Administration have been such as no people, who do not possess the abject servility of slaves, can sanction or tolerate. I shall give a dignified support to Henry Clay and the American System.

The *Public Liberator* will contain a fair proportion of literary and miscellaneous matter — all important foreign and domestic news — and a copious summary of Congressional transactions.

I now appeal to the American people — to philanthropists and patriots, to moralists and Christians — for adequate patronage. I believe that a paper of the foregoing character is specially needed at this momentous crisis: I am equally confident that it will receive the approbation of all sober, reflecting, honest, humane men. Its columns shall be open to all temperate and intelligent communications on the subject of

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slavery, politics or morals. Whatever savors of bigotry or proscription shall gain no admittance. I am opposed to bondage, under its every aspect — whether spiritual, civil, political, mental or physical. "Implicit faith belongs to fools; and truth is comprehended by examining principles." My country is the world; my countrymen are mankind.

The first number of the *Public Liberator* will be issued as soon as subscriptions thereto may authorize the attempt. Postmasters are authorized to act as Agents, until further arrangements can be made.

Editors of newspapers who will give this Prospectus two or three gratuitous insertions in their columns, shall receive my thanks, and a reciprocation of the favor if it be in my power hereafter.

WM. LLOYD GARRISON.

A copy of this prospectus was evidently sent to Arthur Tappan, who replied with characteristic promptness and generosity:

Arthur Tappan to W. L. Garrison at Baltimore.

MS. (slightly mutilated).

NEW YORK, Aug. 9, 1830.

DEAR SIR: I have your letter of the 5th, and am glad to find that you are sufficiently relieved from persecution to be able to turn your attention to the project you have in view. It is a noble enterprise and worthy of having consecrated to it the best talents in our [land]. I am not sufficiently acquainted with you [to judge] whether you possess the various qualifications that must be concentrated in the editorial and publishing departments to insure success to a paper. With [regard to] your talent at writing and your zeal in the cause, I have information that is highly satisfactory; and though I do not feel sufficiently informed to venture to advise you, I will cheerfully aid you to the extent you ask. Annexed is my check for $1[ ].

It will give me pleasure to see you [ ] in this city.

I am, very respectfully, yours,

ARTHUR TAPPAN.

During his imprisonment, Mr. Garrison had prepared three addresses on slavery and colonization, for delivery at the North; and, after trying in vain to obtain a hall or meeting-house in Baltimore in which to give them, he

left that city in the fourth week of August, and did not revisit it for thirty-four years. Philadelphia was the first city in which he paused, on his northward journey, and he was there a week before he could obtain the free use of a hall in which to hold his meetings. He was about giving up in despair and leaving the city, when the hall of the Franklin Institute was offered to him, and on Tuesday evening, August 31, 1830, he gave his first lecture there to an audience composed almost exclusively of members of the Society of Friends and of colored people. They listened to this and to the lectures of the two succeeding evenings with marked attention and interest, though his "hard language" troubled some. The *Inquirer*, while professing friendship and sympathy for Mr. Garrison, reproved him for his excess of zeal and intemperance in advocating his views; yet it spoke warmly of his first lecture, which it declared to be "elevated and impassioned, bespeaking the thorough acquaintance of the author with his subject, and evincing the deep and philanthropic interest which animated him in behalf of the poor Africans. The declamation of Mr. Garrison," it furthermore said, "is in some respects uninviting and defective; but it is impossible for an intelligent auditor to be unimpressed with the strength and beauty of his composition. Indeed, we thought the former quality too predominant, though its attractiveness is a sufficient excuse for its display."

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Phila. Inquirer, Sept. 2, 1830.

The friends who welcomed him to Philadelphia were those who had long been actively interested in the anti-slavery cause, and who, as personal friends of Lundy and subscribers to the *Genius*, were not unfamiliar with Garrison. Among them were Thomas Shipley, Dr. Edwin P. Atlee, and James and Lucretia Mott, all of whom proffered the hospitality of their homes and gave him words of encouragement.[1]

[1] Of the Motts he afterwards wrote: "Though I was strongly sectarian in my religious sentiments (Calvinistic) at that time, and hence uncharitable in judgment touching theological differences of opinion, . . . yet

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In New York he repeated his lectures in Broadway Hall to small but respectable audiences, Arthur and Lewis Tappan honoring him with their presence. Thence he went to New Haven, and was welcomed by his friend Simeon S. Jocelyn to the pulpit of the colored church in that city, of which, although a white man, he was the pastor. "I spoke to mixed audiences," records Mr. Garrison, "and naturally to the hearty approval of my colored hearers. I had a prolonged interview with Rev. Leonard Bacon, D. D., and an earnest discussion respecting the merits of the American Colonization Society, he being its special champion. I was greatly impressed with his ability, and equally so with the jesuitism of his reasoning. At Hartford I lectured in a colored church, and roused up a good deal of interest in the breasts of the colored inhabitants. In all these places converts and friends were made among the whites."

MS., Feb. 5, 1874, to Oliver Johnson.

From Hartford he addressed this letter to Rev. George Shepard, of Hallowell, Maine, of whose church his recent benefactor, Ebenezer Dole, was a member, and who had consulted him with reference to an offer which Mr. Dole proposed to make, anonymously, of $50 premium for the best tract on slavery:

W. L. Garrison to Rev. George Shepard.

MS.

HARTFORD, CT., Sept. 13, 1830.

Your very interesting and important letter of the 18th ult. was duly received; but circumstances have prevented my giving it a suitable reply till the present moment.

E. Dole.

Towards the unknown individual who generously offers a premium of $50 for the best tract on the subject of slavery, I

they manifested a most kind, tolerant, catholic spirit, and allowed none of these considerations to deter them from giving me their cordial approbation and cheering countenance as an advocate of the slave. If my mind has since become liberalized in any degree, (and I think it has burst every sectarian trammel,)—if theological dogmas which I once regarded as essential to Christianity, I now repudiate as absurd and pernicious,—I am largely indebted to them for the change" (*Lib.* 19:178; 'Life of James and Lucretia Mott,' pp. 296, 297).

feel an attachment of soul which words cannot express; and for yourself, sir, I beg you to accept my thanks for the sympathy which you express in behalf of the poor slave. Alas! that so few in our land feel an interest in the great cause of emancipation! But let us not despair. The time must come — for the mouth of the Lord of Hosts has spoken it — when all oppression shall cease, and every man shall sit under his own vine and fig-tree — there being none to molest or make him afraid. We may not live to see that glorious day, but may hasten it by our prayers, our toils, and our sacrifices; nor shall we lose our reward — for the King of Heaven may peradventure bestow that noblest of panegyrics upon us, "Well done, good and faithful servants!"

At the present day, American slavery is unequalled for cruelty: — antiquity cannot produce its parallel. And yet it is boastingly proclaimed to the world, that this is the land of the free, and the asylum of the oppressed! Was liberty ever so degraded in the eyes of mankind, or justice mocked with such impunity?

For myself I hold no fellowship with slave-owners. I will not make a truce with them even for a single hour. I blush for them as countrymen — I *know* that they are not *Christians;* and the higher they raise their professions of patriotism or piety, the stronger is my detestation of their hypocrisy. They are dishonest and cruel — and God, and the angels, and devils, and the universe know that *they are without excuse.*

> "They hear not — see not — know not; for their eyes
> Are covered with thick mists — they *will not* see;
> The sick earth groans with man's impieties,
> And heaven is tired with man's perversity."

With regard to the outlines of the contemplated tract which you have given, I think they are highly important — but so broad, that their discussion could not be easily or efficiently embraced within twelve duodecimo pages. I would therefore suggest, with deference, the expediency of confining the object of the tract to one of these two points — namely, "The Duty of Ministers and Churches, of all denominations, to clear their skirts from the blood of the slaves, and to make the holding of slaves a barrier to communion and church-membership" — or, secondly, in your own language, "Suggestions as to the best ways and means to restore the slaves to their unalienable rights, and elevate them to that standing in society to which,

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as brethren of the human family, and fellow-heirs to immortality, they are entitled."

Both of the above points are eminently weighty, and would require separate treatises in their elucidation. I am decidedly in favor of the one first mentioned; because all plans will be likely to prove nugatory as long [as] the church refuses to act on the subject — it must be purified, as by fire. It must not support, it must not palliate, the horrid system. It seems morally impossible that a man can be a slaveholder and a follower of the Lamb at the same time. A *Christian slaveholder* is as great a solecism as a religious atheist, a sober drunkard, or an honest thief. In 1826, the Synod of Ohio held an animated discussion on a question which had been before referred to the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church, viz.: "*Is the holding of slaves man-stealing?*" in the *affirmative* of which a large majority concurred. This is a rational view of the subject; consequently no slaveholder ought to be embraced within the pale of a Christian church.

Is not the fact enough to make one hang his head, that *Christian men* and *Christian ministers* (for so they dare to call themselves) are slave-owners? Are there not *Balaams* in our land who prophesy in the name of the Lord, but covet the presents of *Balak*? What! shall he who styles himself an ambassador of Christ — who preaches what angels sung, "Peace on earth, *good-will to man*" — who tells me, Sabbath after Sabbath, that with God there is no respect of persons — that my Creator commands me to do unto others as I would that they should do unto me — to love my neighbor as myself — to call no man master — to be meek and merciful, and blameless — to let my light so shine before men that they may see my good works, and glorify my Father who is in heaven — to shun every appearance of evil — to rather suffer myself to be defrauded than defraud; — nay, who tells me, as the injunction of my Judge, to love even my enemies, to bless them that curse me, to do good to them that hate me, and to pray for them that despitefully use and persecute me — (alas! how has he needed the prayers and forgiveness of his poor degraded, persecuted slaves!) — I say, shall such a teacher presume to call the creatures of God his property — to deal in bones and sinews, and souls — to whip and manacle and brand — merely because his victims differ in complexion from himself, and because the tyrannous laws of a State and the corrupt usages of Society justify his conduct? Yet so it is. By his example, he sanctifies,

in the eyes of ungodly men, a system of blood, and violates every commandment of Jehovah. Horrible state of things!

"For this thing which it cannot bear, the earth is disquieted. The Gospel of Peace and Mercy preached by him who steals, buys or sells the purchase of Messiah's blood! — Rulers of the Church making merchandise of their brethren's souls! — and Christians trading the persons of men! — These are they who are lovers of their own selves — Covetous — Proud — Fierce — Men of corrupt minds, who resist the truth — Having the form of godliness, but denying the power thereof. From such turn away."

I think that an able and faithful tract upon this [subject] is greatly needed, and would be the means of incalculable good. — I submit the choice of topics to yourself, and to the benevolent individual who offers the premium.

There is no Society in existence bearing the title of the "American Abolition Society." I think the tract had better come out to the public under the auspices of the "Pennsylvania Society for promoting the Abolition of Slavery, the relief of free negroes unlawfully held in bondage, and for improving the Condition of the African Race." Agreeably to your request, I select three members of that Society to decide upon the merits of the various tracts that may be presented — namely, the venerable William Rawle, LL. D., President, and Jonas Preston, M. D., and Thomas Shipley, Vice-Presidents of said Society — all thorough-going reformers and highly intelligent and respectable men, residents of Philadelphia. The premium-money may be deposited in the hands of the President, Wm. Rawle.

I am now on an Eastern tour for the purpose of delivering public addresses on the subject of slavery, of obtaining subscriptions to my proposed new paper at Washington City, of establishing a National Anti-Slavery Tract Society, &c., &c. I shall leave Hartford for Boston this morning, where I shall probably reside some time, and to which place please to address your next letter as soon as convenient.

Your friend and well-wisher till death,

WM. LLOYD GARRISON.

Mr. Garrison now proceeded to Newburyport, resolved that his native town should be the first place in Massachusetts to hear his lectures on slavery. Dr. Daniel Dana, pastor of the Presbyterian church on Harris Street,

CHAP. VII. 1830. readily agreed to give him the meeting-house for that purpose, but when the audience gathered for the first lecture, the doors of the sanctuary were closed, and it appeared that the Trustees had held a meeting and overruled their pastor, who could only express his regret and chagrin that they had refused to sustain him. The Todd influence was still all-powerful, and endeavored to crush the offending editor, who left Newburyport in disgust for Amesbury. As he was driving up the hill beyond the Chain Bridge, he met his friend Dr. Luther F. Dimmick, pastor of the Second Congregational church. "William," said the Doctor, "I thought you were going to lecture last night"; and on William's explaining why he had not done so, the Doctor declared that he should have *his* church for as many lectures as he wanted. It was agreed that he should return to Newburyport as soon as he had delivered his lectures in Amesbury, and these he gave, probably on three consecutive evenings, before the Amesbury and Salisbury Lyceum. The Lyceum room was so crowded during the first lecture that Rev. Mr. Damon's meeting-house was secured for the second and third addresses, and filled.

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Sept. 28, 1830. "The first lecture," wrote a correspondent of the Newburyport *Herald*, "endeavored to refute the strongest and most popular objections to the immediate abolition of slavery, and to show that expediency, as well as justice, urged the necessity of the measure. The second pointed out slavery as it exists in law, and in fact, in our country, the speaker illustrating his remarks by several anecdotes of the extreme cruelty exercised towards the slaves of our Southern States, some of which instances he told us he himself had witnessed. These cruelties he described with so much feeling, and in language so forcible, that one might almost fancy he heard the groans, and viewed the lacerated bodies, of the poor sufferers. While in this part of his discourse, all his feelings and power of soul appeared to be brought into action, and so vividly did he describe the sufferings of the slaves that the audience seemed to be completely carried along with him, and to partake, in some degree at least, of the enthusiasm of the speaker. . . . In the third and last discourse we were told that the crime, the infamy, and the

curse of slavery are national, and that *we New Englanders* are equally culpable with the slave-dealers and slave-owners. He also spoke of the Colonization Society. It is, he says, lulling the American people to sleep."

These meetings in Amesbury sowed good seed, and ripened public sentiment for the early formation of two anti-slavery societies there, one of men and the other of women. Returning without delay to Newburyport, Mr. Garrison delivered his first lecture in Dr. Dimmick's church, on the evening of September 28, to a large audience; but the next evening the doors were closed against him, and Dr. Dimmick found himself as helpless in the hands of his Trustees as Dr. Dana had been. Indignant at this insulting treatment, Mr. Garrison addressed the following communication to the editor of the *Herald*, and, shaking the dust of the town from his feet, went back to Boston:

N. P. Herald, Oct. 1, 1830.

SIR: Twice have the inhabitants of this town been deceived in relation to the delivery of my Addresses on Slavery. Permit me to exonerate myself from blame in this matter. Circumstances beyond my control have prevented the fulfilment of my pledges. Toward those who have exerted their influence, with a malignity and success which are discreditable to themselves and the place, in order to seal my lips on a subject which involves the temporal and eternal condition of millions of our countrymen, I entertain no ill-will, but kindness and compassion. Let them answer to God and posterity for their conduct; for even this communication shall be read by future generations, and shall identify the ashes of these enemies of their species.

If I had visited Newburyport to plead the cause of twenty white men in chains, every hall and every meeting-house would have been thrown open, and the fervor of my discourses anticipated and exceeded by my fellow-townsmen. The fact that two millions of colored beings are groaning in bondage, in this land of liberty, excites no interest nor pity!

I leave this morning for Boston. A circumstantial account of my treatment in this my native place will probably be given, in a few days, in one of the city papers.

Your grateful servant, and undaunted friend to the cause of universal liberty, WM. LLOYD GARRISON.

Thursday morning, Sept. 30, 1830.

Two days later, a brief editorial appeared in the
Oct. 2, 1830. columns of the Boston *Evening Transcript*, announcing Mr. Garrison's arrival in Boston, and describing the shabby treatment to which he had been subjected in Newburyport. The article[1] concluded with some complimentary words about the young reformer in a cause "which he could never hope to see perfected, but of which he would long be remembered as an early and laborious pioneer."

Encouraged by this kindly reception, Mr. Garrison sent three short communications to the *Transcript* during the
Oct. 13, 1830. ensuing month. In one of these he called attention to the recent rendition of two fugitive slaves (man and wife) who had escaped by secreting themselves on a brig from New Orleans to Boston, but who, being discovered before the vessel reached port, were arrested and carried before a magistrate on its arrival, and sent back into slavery without producing the least ripple of excitement in the com-
Oct. 12, 1830. munity. In another article he commented on the inconsistency and hypocrisy of the whites of Charleston, Richmond and Baltimore, in noisily celebrating the overthrow of Charles the Tenth, of France, while holding their fellow-beings in a state of servitude which, for cruelty and debasement, found no parallel in European despotism. This stirred the wrath of the Charleston (S. C.) *City Gazette*, which declared it "impertinence" in a man who had "lately been punished for similar impertinences," to meddle with the concerns of other people, and expressed the wish that he might be furnished with some "decent, honest employment," to keep him out of
Nov. 1, 1830. mischief. The *Transcript* copied this paragraph as "a fair offset" to the article which had elicited it; whereupon Mr. Garrison replied in a letter of such vigor that the timid editor printed it with confessed reluctance, and a preliminary sermon to his correspondent on the rash-

[1] Doubtless written by the editor, Lynde M. Walter, who had established the *Transcript* only a few weeks previously. He was a graduate of Harvard College in the famous class of 1817.

ness and unwisdom of using harsh or intemperate language in discussing so delicate a subject as slavery. It was evident that the latter's communications would no longer be welcomed to the *Transcript's* columns, and this letter — in which, as "a New-England mechanic who is not ashamed of his trade," he asked the Charleston "scribbler" whether it was a "decent, honest employment" to "reduce the creatures of God to a level with brutes, to lacerate and brand their bodies with more than savage cruelty, and to keep their souls in thick, impenetrable darkness" — was his last word. "When," he fervently declared,— CHAP. VII. 1830.

"When I shall become so mean and dastardly, so lost to every feeling of humanity, every principle of justice, every conviction of conscience, as to fetter and sell my own countrymen or others, may I receive (as I ought to receive, if capital punishment be lawful,) a just reward for my conduct at the gallows, like any other pirate; may my memory be accursed to the end of time; and may the lightnings of heaven consume my body to ashes. I join with the eloquent and indignant Brougham — 'Tell me not of rights — talk not of the property of the planter in his slaves. *I deny the right — I acknowledge not the property.* The principles, the feelings of our common nature rise in rebellion against it. Be the appeal made to the understanding or to the heart, the sentence is the same that rejects it. While men despise fraud, and loathe rapine, and abhor blood, they shall reject with indignation the wild and guilty fantasy that man can hold property in man.'" *Transcript, Nov. 8, 1830.*

During the first fortnight after his arrival in Boston, Mr. Garrison vainly endeavored to procure, without cost, a place in which to deliver his lectures; and he finally sent this advertisement to the *Courier:* *Oct. 12, 1830.*

WANTED.— For three evenings, a Hall or Meeting-house (the latter would be preferred), in which to vindicate the rights of TWO MILLIONS of American citizens who are now groaning in servile chains in this boasted land of liberty; and also to propose just, benevolent, and constitutional measures for their relief. As the addresses will be gratuitous, and as the cause is of public benefit, I cannot consent to remunerate any society

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for the use of its building. If this application fails, I propose to address the citizens of Boston in the open air, on the Common.

WM. LLOYD GARRISON.

No. 30, Federal Street, Oct. 11, 1830.

This appeal was quickly answered, but not by any of the Christian ministers or churches of Boston. It was left for a society of avowed "infidels"[1] to save the city from the shame of sealing all its doors against the slave's advocate, and to offer him their hall for his three lectures, although, as a body and individually, they had no personal acquaintance or sympathy with him, and no especial interest in his cause. Two days later, the papers announced that Mr. Garrison would deliver his first lecture on Friday evening, October 15, in Julien Hall, at the northwest corner of Milk and Congress Streets.[2]

It was not without reluctance that the young Baptist accepted this courteous offer from a sect whom he had so recently denounced and held up for reprobation, and who now taught him, and the Christian brotherhood to whom he had vainly appealed, a lesson of charity and toleration that might well cause them to blush. Accordingly, in acknowledging, at the beginning of his first lecture, his indebtedness to them and his shame that the churches had allowed themselves to be thus surpassed, he felt it incumbent upon him to explain that he was very far from sympathizing with their views on religious questions, and that he believed slavery could be abolished only through the power of the Gospel and of the Christian religion.

The hall was pretty well filled when he began his address, and the audience included Dr. Lyman Beecher, Rev. Ezra S. Gannett, Deacon Moses Grant, and John Tappan (a brother of Arthur) — the last two, well-known and respected merchants; Rev. Samuel J. May, then

[1] Under the leadership of Abner Kneeland.

[2] The building, a brick structure, was demolished and replaced by another building shortly before the great fire of 1872, and the site is now (1885) covered by the Post-office.

settled as a Unitarian minister at Brooklyn, Connecticut, and the only one of the denomination in that State; his cousin, Samuel E. Sewall, a young Boston lawyer; and his brother-in-law, A. Bronson Alcott.[1] Mr. May has thus described the occasion:

May's Recollections of our A. S. Conflict, pp. 18–20.

"Presently the young man arose, modestly, but with an air of calm determination, and delivered such a lecture as he only, I believe, at that time, could have written; for he only had had his eyes so anointed that he could see that outrages perpetrated upon Africans were wrongs done to our common humanity; he only, I believe, had had his ears so completely unstopped of 'prejudice against color' that the cries of enslaved black men and black women sounded to him as if they came from brothers and sisters.

"He began with expressing deep regret and shame for the zeal he had lately manifested in the Colonization cause. It was, he confessed, a zeal without knowledge. He had been deceived by the misrepresentations so diligently given throughout the free States, by Southern agents, of the design and tendency of the Colonization scheme. During his few months' residence in Maryland he had been completely undeceived. He had there found out that the design of those who originated, and the especial intentions of those in the Southern States that engaged in the plan, were to remove from the country, as 'a

[1] It was natural that Mr. Sewall should find himself in sympathy with Mr. Garrison. His distinguished ancestor, Judge Samuel Sewall, was one of the earliest opponents of slavery in America, and published an anti-slavery pamphlet, 'The Selling of Joseph; a Memorial,' in 1700 (reprinted in Williams's 'History of the Negro Race in America,' 1: 210). (For his descent from Judge Sewall, see Titcomb's 'Early New England People,' pp. 217–223.) Mr. May (who was born in 1797, and hence was eight years Mr. Garrison's senior) was a son of Col. Joseph May, of Boston, a highly respected merchant, and both he and his cousin Mr. Sewall graduated from Harvard College in 1817, in the same class with David Lee Child, George Bancroft, George B. Emerson, Caleb Cushing, Samuel A. Eliot, Stephen Salisbury, Stephen H. Tyng, and Robert F. Wallcut. It is worthy of note that Mr. May preached his first sermon in December, 1820, on the Sunday following the delivery of Daniel Webster's Plymouth Rock oration, and was so impressed by the latter's fervid appeal to the ministry to denounce the slave-trade that he read the fifty-eighth chapter of Isaiah in his morning service. Five years later he was interested in the Rev. John Rankin's 'Letters on Slavery,' and when Lundy made his second visit to New England, in June, 1828, he was welcomed to Brooklyn, Conn., by Mr. May, and held a large meeting in the latter's church. (See 'Memoir of Samuel Joseph May,' pp. 139, 140.)

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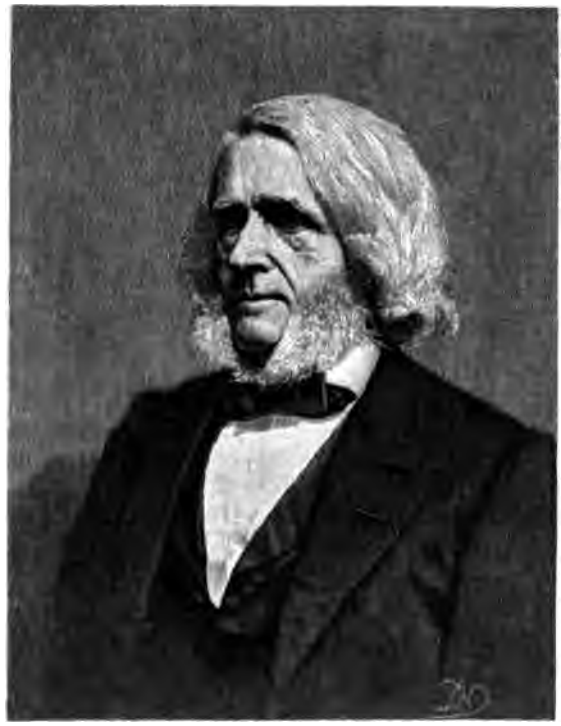
disturbing element in slaveholding communities, all the free colored people, so that the bondmen might the more easily be held in subjection. He exhibited in graphic sketches and glowing colors the suffering of the enslaved, and denounced the plan of Colonization as devised and adapted to perpetuate the system, and intensify the wrongs of American slavery, and therefore utterly undeserving of the patronage of lovers of liberty and friends of humanity.

"Never before was I so affected by the speech of man. When he had ceased speaking I said to those around me: 'That is a providential man; he is a prophet; he will shake our nation to its centre, but he will shake slavery out of it. We ought to know him, we ought to help him. Come, let us go and give him our hands.' Mr. Sewall and Mr. Alcott went up with me, and we introduced each other. I said to him: 'Mr. Garrison, I am not sure that I can indorse all you have said this evening. Much of it requires careful consideration. But I am prepared to embrace you. I am sure you are called to a great work, and I mean to help you.' Mr. Sewall cordially assured him of his readiness also to coöperate with him. Mr. Alcott invited him to his home. He went, and we sat with him until twelve that night, listening to his discourse, in which he showed plainly that *immediate, unconditional emancipation, without expatriation, was the right of every slave, and could not be withheld by his master an hour without sin.* That night my soul was baptized in his spirit, and ever since I have been a disciple and fellow-laborer of William Lloyd Garrison.

"The next morning, immediately after breakfast, I went to his boarding-house and stayed until two P. M. I learned that he was poor, dependent upon his daily labor for his daily bread, and intending to return to the printing business. But, before he could devote himself to his own support, he felt that he must deliver his message, must communicate to persons of prominent influence what he had learned of the sad condition of the enslaved, and the institutions and spirit of the slaveholders; trusting that all true and good men would discharge the obligation pressing upon them to espouse the cause of the poor, the oppressed, the down-trodden. He read to me letters he had addressed to Dr. Channing, Dr. Beecher, Dr. Edwards, the Hon. Jeremiah Mason, and Hon. Daniel Webster, holding up to their view the tremendous iniquity of the land, and begging them, ere it should be too late, to interpose their great power in the Church and State to save our country from the

W. E. Channing, Lyman Beecher, Justin Edwards.



S. E. Sewall

terrible calamities which the sin of slavery was bringing upon us. These letters were eloquent, solemn, impressive. I wonder they did not produce a greater effect. It was because none to whom he appealed, in public or private, would espouse the cause, that Mr. Garrison found himself left and impelled to become the leader of the great anti-slavery reform. . . .

"The hearing of Mr. Garrison's lectures was a great epoch in my own life. The impression which they made upon my soul has never been effaced; indeed, they moulded it anew. They gave a new direction to my thoughts, a new purpose to my ministry."

The second and third lectures were delivered on Saturday and Monday evenings, October 16 and 18, 1830, and on the 28th Mr. Garrison repeated the first lecture in Athenæum Hall, on Pearl Street, which Mr. Sewall and Mr. May had engaged for him, doubtless at their own expense. A few colored persons who attended it sat apart in one corner, in accordance with their habit in those days, feeling that even at such a meeting their presence might be unwelcome and distasteful to the white auditors.

Dr. Beecher, as has been mentioned, was present at the first lecture, but no word of sympathy or approval came from him. He was the man to whom Mr. Garrison had first turned with confidence for help in this new crusade against sin and iniquity, but the Doctor was indifferent to his appeal, and excused himself on the ground that he had too many irons in the fire already. "Then," said Garrison, solemnly, "you had better let all your irons burn than neglect your duty to the slave." The demand for immediate and unconditional emancipation was alarming to the Doctor, however. "Your zeal," he said to Garrison, "is commendable, but you are misguided. If you will give up your fanatical notions and be guided by us (the clergy), we will make you the Wilberforce of America."

Johnson's Garrison and his Times, p. 44.

Of a very different mould from Dr. Beecher was the young Unitarian minister who now allied himself with Mr. Garrison. One of the sweetest and gentlest of men,

CHAP. VII. 1830.

disliking controversy with all his soul, he did not for a moment shrink from the path of trial which now opened before him. On the Sunday following the delivery of Mr. Garrison's lectures, Mr. May occupied the pulpit of Rev. Mr. Young at Church Green, in Summer Street. "Of course," he said, "I could not again speak to a congregation, as a Christian minister, and be silent respecting the *great iniquity* of our nation. The only sermon I had brought from my home in Connecticut that could be made to bear on the subject, was one on Prejudice — the sermon about to be published as one of the Tracts of the American Unitarian Association. So I touched it up as well as I could, interlining here and there words and sentences which pointed in the new direction to which my thoughts and feelings so strongly tended, and writing at its close what used to be called an *improvement*." This was a fervid appeal in behalf of the two millions of his fellow-beings in bondage. His concluding declaration, that the iniquity must be put an end to, even if the very foundations of the Republic itself were thereby broken up, created much excitement in the congregation. When he rose to pronounce the benediction, Mr. May said:

May's Recollections, pp. 20–22.

May's Recollections, p. 22.

"Every one present must be conscious that the closing remarks of my sermon have caused an unusual emotion throughout the church. I am glad. Would to God that a deeper emotion could be sent throughout our land, until all the people thereof shall be roused from their wicked insensibility to the most tremendous sin of which any nation was ever guilty, and be impelled to do that righteousness which alone can avert the just displeasure of God. I have been prompted to speak thus by the words I have heard during the past week from a young man hitherto unknown, but who is, I believe, called of God to do a greater work for the good of our country than has been done by any one since the Revolution. I mean William Lloyd Garrison. He is going to repeat his lectures the coming week. I advise, I exhort, I entreat — would that I could compel! — you to go and hear him."

This fearless profession brought the immediate reproof and condemnation of Mr. Young, and the reproba-

tion of most of his auditors, upon Mr. May; and his father was beset next day by friends and business acquaintances who begged him to stop his son in this "mad career." The young man was immovable, however, and neither halted nor retreated in his course save on one point. When he handed his sermon to Rev. Henry Ware, Jr., then purveyor of the American Unitarian Association, for publication, the latter insisted that the interlineations and additions respecting slavery should be omitted, and Mr. May consented, to his lasting regret. "Unconsciously to ourselves," he said, "the hand of the slaveholding power lay *heavily* upon the mind and heart of the people in our Northern as well as Southern States." This fact was becoming more and more impressed on Mr. Garrison, and when he learned, during this month of October, that Lundy had removed the *Genius* to Washington, he abandoned his intention of publishing the *Liberator* at the national capital, and resolved to establish it in Boston.

May's Recollections, p. 24.

It is difficult to overrate the value of Mr. May's and Mr. Sewall's friendship to him at that period. The former's hearty and enthusiastic response to his appeal at Julien Hall had been as unexpected and delightful as his own self-consecration to the cause had been to Lundy, two years previous; while Mr. Sewall's excellent judgment and advice were of frequent service to him when launching his paper and movement in Boston. In one respect Mr. Garrison declined to follow his suggestions. Desirous of conciliating and winning as large a number of the community as possible, and fearful that the name *Liberator* would alarm and repel them, Mr. Sewall suggested several of a milder type, of which one was the *Safety Lamp*. On this point, however, the editor was tenacious and adhered to his self-explanatory title. But, as through all their subsequent long association with one another, difference of judgment on subordinate questions failed to weaken or impair in the slightest degree the friendship begun at Julien Hall.

VII. And now it remained for Mr. Garrison to establish, at the beginning of the new year, the paper which he had publicly announced. He had neither types, press, nor office, nor had he any money, and he had secured no subscribers beyond the few personal friends whom he could count on his fingers. It was clearly impossible for him to edit, print and publish the paper alone and unaided, and he could not afford to hire an assistant. At this juncture his friend Isaac Knapp, as poor and destitute as himself, but like him a practical printer, agreed to go into partnership with him and share the toils and privations of his seemingly desperate enterprise; and they proceeded to devise ways and means by which the paper could be issued. Even if they should succeed in publishing the first number, it was a problem how they could afford to bring out a second. If a desire for glory or reputation had been their controlling motive, any other method of obtaining it would have seemed more promising than the course they had chosen; but Mr. Garrison, in a sonnet which appeared in the same number of the *Courier* in which he advertised for a hall, had already avowed his indifference to

Oct. 12, 1830.

Writings of W. L. G., *p.* 301.

EARTHLY FAME.

How fall Fame's pillars at the touch of Time!
How fade, like flowers, the memories of the dead!
How vast the grave that swallows up a clime!
How dim the light by ancient glory shed!
One generation's clay enwraps the next,
And dead men are the aliment of earth;
"Passing away!" is Nature's funeral text,
Uttered coeval with Creation's birth.
I mourn not, care not, if my humble name,
With my frail body, perish in the tomb;
It courts a heavenly, not an earthly fame,
That through eternity shall brightly bloom;
Write it within thy Book of Life, O Lord,
And, in "the last great day," a golden crown award!

CHAPTER VIII.

"THE LIBERATOR."—1831.

PUNCTUALLY on Saturday, January 1, 1831, the first number of the weekly *Liberator* appeared, bearing on its front a plain black-letter heading, the names of William Lloyd Garrison and Isaac Knapp as publishers, of Mr. Garrison as editor, of Stephen Foster as printer, and the motto: *Our Country is the World — Our Countrymen are Mankind.*[1] It was a modest folio, of which the printed page of four columns measured fourteen inches by nine and a quarter, and the running titles of the second, third, and fourth pages were respectively "The Liberator," "Journal of the Times," and "Literary, Miscellaneous, and Moral," making so many departments of the paper. As a mother recalls a lost darling by giving its name to a later born, so, apparently, Mr. Garrison commemorated his *Journal of the Times* in the title which covered the news of the day. Once more his own master, alone responsible for his utterances, there was something pleasant in this suggestion of an unbroken continuity of editorial independence. Typographically, the number

[1] This sentiment, which was fully foreshadowed in the Park-Street Church address, was, as we have already seen *(ante*, p. 202), wrought out in the prospectus of the *Public Liberator*. As will appear later on, Mr. Garrison claimed originality for the formula. There is no evidence, and small probability, that at this time he had read Thomas Paine's 'Rights of Man,' in the fifth chapter of which occurs this passage, so eminently applicable to the editor of the *Liberator*: "In stating these matters, I speak an open and disinterested language, dictated by no passion but that of humanity. . . . Independence is my happiness, and I view things as they are, without regard to place or person; *my country is the world*, and my religion is to do good."

CHAP. VIII. 1831.

was a model of neatness and accuracy, and worthily introduced a series possessing to the end the same characteristics.[1]

MS. Mar. 1, 1874, *W. L. G. to O. Johnson.*

On their return from Baltimore, the two friends, Garrison and Knapp, had taken lodgings on Federal Street, with the Rev. William Collier, and there made the acquaintance of Stephen Foster, an intelligent and warm-hearted youth of their own age, from Portland, then foreman of the printing-office of the *Christian Examiner* at Merchants' Hall. A zeal for the cause, added to personal friendship, induced Foster to allow them the use of his type for their new paper in return for their services by day as journeymen at the case. For three numbers this arrangement continued, when a change became necessary, and Foster's name was withdrawn from the paper; but his good-will and anti-slavery endeavor knew no abatement till his untimely death before the close of the year. A lot of well-worn, second-hand type was rescued from the foundry, and with this the fourth number was put to press.

Lib. 1 : 179.

The publication office, originally at No. 6 Merchants' Hall,[2] was shifted to No. 8, No. 9, and No. 11 with each succeeding issue; but at No. 11, in the third story, "under the eaves"—the old home of the *National Philanthropist*—with a temporary flitting to No. 10, it rested for some years. "The dingy walls; the small windows, bespattered with printer's ink; the press[3] standing in one corner; the composing-stands opposite; the long editorial and mailing table, covered with newspapers; the bed of the editor and publisher on the floor — all these," says Oliver Johnson, "make a picture never to be forgotten."[4]

Ante, p. 80.

Garrison and his Times, p. 51.

[1] The first and several succeeding numbers were "dry-pressed."

[2] This building, like so many other historic landmarks, was consumed in the great fire of November 9 and 10, 1872.

[3] In the interval of acquiring a hand-press of their own (procured, together with the second-hand type referred to, on credit, of Greele & Willis), the partners had used one belonging in the office of the Boston *Daily Advocate*, by permission of the foreman, James B. Yerrinton.

[4] "It was a pretty large room," says Josiah Copley (in the Pittsburgh *United Presbyterian* of June 5, 1879), who visited it in the winter of 1832-33,

Here were workshop and home in one.[1] "The Publishers of the *Liberator*," as they announced in their first issue, "have formed their copartnership with a determination to print the paper as long as they can subsist upon bread and water, or their hands obtain employment. The friends of the cause may therefore take courage; its enemies — may surrender at discretion." The partners lived, in fact, "chiefly upon bread and milk, a few cakes, and a little fruit, obtained from a baker's shop opposite and a petty cake and fruit shop in the basement," and "were sometimes on 'short commons,' even at that."[2] But they had meat to eat the world knew not of. "Many a time in visiting their office," Mr. Johnson again bears witness, "did I find them partaking of their humble repast, which they seasoned with laughter, song and cheerful talk. A friendly cat cheered their loneliness and protected them from the depredations of mice. Mr. Garrison was fond of his feline companion, and I remember seeing her more than once mounted upon his writing-table, and caressing his bald forehead in a most affectionate way, while he was spinning editorial yarn."

Lib. 1:3.

MS. Mar. 1, 1874. *W. L. G. to O. Johnson.*

N. Y. Tribune, May 26, 1879.

Cf. ante, p. 30.

How little time there was for such spinning, and why in this first volume editorial promises went so often unfulfilled, appears in Mr. Garrison's letter to his "beloved friend," Samuel J. May, under date of February 14, 1831:

"but there was nothing in it to relieve its dreariness but two or three very common chairs and a pine desk in the far corner, at which a pale, delicate, and apparently over-tasked gentleman was sitting. . . . I never was more astonished. All my preconceptions were at fault. My ideal of the man was that of a stout, rugged, dark-visaged desperado — something like we picture a pirate. He was a quiet, gentle, and I might say handsome man — a gentleman indeed, in every sense of the word."

[1] Another witness, the Rev. James C. White, of Cincinnati, under date of Nov. 4, 1879, writes: "I was often at the office of the *Liberator*. . . . I knew of his [Mr. Garrison's] self-denials. I knew he slept in the office with a table for a bed, a book for a pillow, and a self-prepared scanty meal for his rations in the office, while he set up his articles in the *Liberator* with his own hand, and without previous committal to paper."

[2] "I believe we thus lived for at least a year and a half" (MS. Mar. 1, 1874, W. L. G. to O. Johnson).

MS. "If the most unremitted labor had not occupied my time since your departure, I should feel very culpable for my long silence. Without means, and determined to ask the assistance of no individual,—and, indeed, not knowing where to look for it, so unpopular was the cause,—you may suppose that I have been obliged to make severe personal exertions for the establishment of the *Liberator*. I am ashamed of the meagre aspect which the paper presents in its editorial department, because the public imagine that I have six days each week to cater for it, when, in fact, scarcely six hours are allotted to me, and these at midnight. My worthy partner and I complete the mechanical part; that is to say, we compose and distribute, on every number, one hundred thousand types, besides performing the press-work, mailing the papers to subscribers,[1] &c., &c. In addition to this, a variety of letters, relative to the paper, are constantly accumulating, which require prompt answers. We have just taken a colored apprentice,[2] however, who will shortly be able to alleviate our toil.

"I cannot give you a better apprehension of the arduousness of my labors than by stating that it is more than six weeks since I visited Mr. Coffin[3]—perhaps more properly the Misses Coffin; for, certainly, there is no place in Boston I am disposed to visit so often as in Atkinson Street."

Feb. 5, 1831, *Lib.* 1:23. Already, in replying publicly to a correspondent, he had said: "It cannot be supposed that we, who perform every day but the Sabbath *fourteen hours* of manual labor on our paper, independent of mental toil, . . . are inimical to the prosperity or improvement of the work-

[1] Many numbers in the bound Volume I. now (1885) in possession of Mr. Oliver Johnson bear in Mr. Garrison's own hand the name of the *Protestant*, an exchange newspaper edited by the Rev. George Bourne in New York City.

[2] Thomas Paul, son of the highly respected pastor (of the same name) of the African Baptist Church in Belknap Street, who died in April, 1831 (*Lib.* 1:63). From the printing-office the lad went to the Noyes Academy in Canaan, N. H. (*Lib.* 5:71), and thence to Dartmouth College (*Lib.* 7:203), where he graduated in 1841 (*Lib.* 11:151). Afterwards he became a teacher.

[3] Peter Coffin, father-in-law of Mr. May. Atkinson Street was that part of Congress now lying between Milk and Purchase Streets; the family lived, therefore, at no great distance from the *Liberator* office. They were remotely related to Joshua Coffin, the historian of Newbury, Mass., of whom more anon.

ing fraternity." And towards the close of the year he writes thus to a friend in Providence: *Nov. 12, 1831.*

"I am sorry that I can give you in return only a few lines which are destitute of thought and distinguished for bad penmanship, (for I write in haste,) — but so it is. A week's hard labor has just closed, and my mind is too much exhausted for mental effort, and my body too jaded to be serviceable. My correspondence is necessarily extensive and onerous; pen, ink and paper throw me into a kind of intellectual hydrophobia, and so I avoid them as much as possible." *MS.*

But we have not done with the mechanical obstacles to the birth of the new journal. The ream or two of paper needed to produce a specimen number was sought to be obtained on credit of Deacon Moses Grant, of the firm of Grant & Daniell, an acquaintance in the temperance cause, who had entire respect for the partners and had previously been consulted by them about starting the *Liberator*. His refusal to let them have the modest amount asked for was, therefore, not from distrust of ultimate repayment, but from scruples about countenancing a paper having the anti-slavery character proposed. At last, a house to which the young men were both strangers was found to take the business risk, and the first number was launched. Simultaneously was received from James Forten, "the greatly esteemed and venerated sailmaker of Philadelphia," the sum of fifty-four dollars in advance for twenty-seven subscribers — aid so timely as (like that shortly before received from Ebenezer Dole) perhaps to be called Providential, seeing that Mr. Garrison's orthodoxy was at that date irreproachable. Still, neither a slender credit nor fifty-four dollars in hand could go a great way towards supporting a paper which began without a subscriber. But for the "cheering countenance and pecuniary assistance early extended to the *Liberator*" by Mr. Sewall[1] and Mr. Ellis

MS. Mar. 1, 1874. W. L. G. to O. Johnson; May's Recollections, p. 30; Lib. 21:18, 19.

MS. Dec. 31, 1830, to W. L. G.

Ante, p. 193.

[1] "Had it not been for Samuel E. Sewall, I never should have been able to continue the paper. He was the man who gave money again and again, never expecting and never asking for the return of it" (Stenographic report of Mr. Garrison's speech at the 20th anniversary of the *Liberator*, omitted in print; see *Lib.* 21:18).

CHAP. VIII. 1831.

Gray Loring in particular, it "must have again and again been suspended, and ultimately discontinued."

The mission of the *Liberator* was thus set forth on the first page in a salutatory address:

TO THE PUBLIC.

In the month of August, I issued proposals for publishing "THE LIBERATOR" in Washington City; but the enterprise, though hailed in different sections of the country, was palsied by public indifference. Since that time, the removal of the *Genius of Universal Emancipation* to the Seat of Government has rendered less imperious the establishment of a similar periodical in that quarter.

During my recent tour for the purpose of exciting the minds of the people by a series of discourses on the subject of slavery, every place that I visited gave fresh evidence of the fact, that a greater revolution in public sentiment was to be effected in the free States — *and particularly in New-England* — than at the South. I found contempt more bitter, opposition more active, detraction more relentless, prejudice more stubborn, and apathy more frozen, than among slave-owners themselves. Of course, there were individual exceptions to the contrary. This state of things afflicted, but did not dishearten me. I determined, at every hazard, to lift up the standard of emancipation in the eyes of the nation, *within sight of Bunker Hill and in the birthplace of liberty.* That standard is now unfurled; and long may it float, unhurt by the spoliations of time or the missiles of a desperate foe — yea, till every chain be broken, and every bondman set free! Let Southern oppressors tremble — let their secret abettors tremble — let their Northern apologists tremble — let all the enemies of the persecuted blacks tremble.

I deem the publication of my original Prospectus unnecessary, as it has obtained a wide circulation. The principles therein inculcated will be steadily pursued in this paper, excepting that I shall not array myself as the political partisan of any man. In defending the great cause of human rights, I wish to derive the assistance of all religions and of all parties.

Assenting to the "self-evident truth" maintained in the American Declaration of Independence, "that all men are created equal, and endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights — among which are life, liberty and the pur-

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suit of happiness," I shall strenuously contend for the immediate enfranchisement of our slave population. In Park-Street Church, on the Fourth of July, 1829, in an address on slavery, I unreflectingly assented to the popular but pernicious doctrine of *gradual* abolition. I seize this opportunity to make a full and unequivocal recantation, and thus publicly to ask pardon of my God, of my country, and of my brethren the poor slaves, for having uttered a sentiment so full of timidity, injustice, and absurdity. A similar recantation, from my pen, was published in the *Genius of Universal Emancipation* at Baltimore, in September, 1829. My conscience is now satisfied.

I am aware that many object to the severity of my language; but is there not cause for severity? I *will be* as harsh as truth, and as uncompromising as justice. On this subject, I do not wish to think, or speak, or write, with moderation. No! no! Tell a man whose house is on fire to give a moderate alarm; tell him to moderately rescue his wife from the hands of the ravisher; tell the mother to gradually extricate her babe from the fire into which it has fallen; — but urge me not to use moderation in a cause like the present. I am in earnest — I will not equivocate — I will not excuse — I will not retreat a single inch — AND I WILL BE HEARD. The apathy of the people is enough to make every statue leap from its pedestal, and to hasten the resurrection of the dead.

It is pretended, that I am retarding the cause of emancipation by the coarseness of my invective and the precipitancy of my measures. *The charge is not true.* On this question my influence, — humble as it is, — is felt at this moment to a considerable extent, and shall be felt in coming years — not perniciously, but beneficially — not as a curse, but as a blessing; and posterity will bear testimony that I was right. I desire to thank God, that he enables me to disregard "the fear of man which bringeth a snare," and to speak his truth in its simplicity and power. And here I close with this fresh dedication:

"Oppression! I have seen thee, face to face,
And met thy cruel eye and cloudy brow;
But thy soul-withering glance I fear not now —
For dread to prouder feelings doth give place
Of deep abhorrence! Scorning the disgrace
Of slavish knees that at thy footstool bow,
I also kneel — but with far other vow
Do hail thee and thy herd of hirelings base: —
I swear, while life-blood warms my throbbing veins,

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Still to oppose and thwart, with heart and hand,
Thy brutalising sway—till Afric's chains
Are burst, and Freedom rules the rescued land,—
Trampling Oppression and his iron rod:
Such is the vow I take—SO HELP ME GOD!"[1]

WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON.

BOSTON, January 1, 1831.

From this manifesto, in which, as was Mr. Garrison's wont, every word was weighed with a more than rhetorical exactitude, one misses any allusion to the American Colonization Society, unless the passage on gradual abolition, with its reference to the Park-Street Church discourse, be such; nor does the Society's name occur in the first number. In the very next, however, in opposition to Lundy, the editor reiterates his belief that "the American Colonization Society is wrong in principle and impotent in design," and promises to "thoroughly sift its pretensions in subsequent numbers of the *Liberator*." No bodily nor mental fatigue prevented this pledge from being amply redeemed.

Lib. 1:7.

The resolution to guard his agitation from political and sectarian entanglements was frankly based on practical considerations of expediency. "We are out of the arena of politics, and we mean to keep out of it," he says subsequently. And again, announcing his intention to address by request the Society of Free Enquirers, at the Lower Julien Hall, on the cruelties and impieties of slavery and the anti-republican and anti-Christian tendency of the Colonization Society:

Lib. 1:35.

Lib. 1:39. "It is immaterial to me what party or sect I am invited to address on this subject. Universal emancipation from despotism is, and ought to be, common ground. He is neither a free man, nor a friend to freedom, who makes this a sectarian or political cause. If the religious portion of the community are indifferent to the cries of suffering humanity, it is no reason

[1] The author of this sonnet was Thomas Pringle, the Scottish poet, 1789–1834, one of the founders of *Blackwood's Magazine*, and Secretary of the London Society for the Abolition of Slavery throughout the British Dominions (*Lib.* 1:43; 6:188; May's 'Recollections,' p. 112).

why I should reject the co-operation of those who are more deeply interested, though they make no pretension to evangelical piety." CHAP. VIII. 1831.

Those who have sought to belittle Mr. Garrison's part in the abolition of slavery, have found nothing novel in the "severity of his language." But whether a real, and whether a good or a bad title to distinction from his predecessors, for this he had gone to jail, and for it he was now obliged to listen to the remonstrances of those who most nearly sympathized with his objects, and whose profound faith in the purity of his motives furnished him the means to shock them weekly in print. Towards them he could be patient, but not so to an anonymous correspondent who had been pestering him with some crude advice: *May's Recollections*, p. 37.

"Everybody is opposed to slavery. . . . O yes! there is an abundance of philanthropy among us: the difficulty is, we have *too much*, instead of *too little* of it. . . . *There is nobody to reform* (except the reformers) — here lies the difficulty. Further: I conceive it no part of my duty, as editor, to prove that the holding of slaves is criminal. I take it for granted that slavery *is* a crime — a damning crime: therefore my efforts shall be directed to the exposure of those who practise it. *Lib.* 1:49.

"The public shall not be imposed upon, and men and things shall be called by their right names. I retract nothing — I blot out nothing. My language is exactly such as suits me; it will displease many, I know — to displease them is my intention.

"Here I must advertise, that further advice will be considered intrusive. I do not want it. I want more leisure from manual labor, in order to do justice to the cause — I want a larger periodical that will enable me and my correspondents to appear before the public without crowding each other."

There is an apparent inconsistency between the terms in which gradual abolition is condemned in the Salutatory, and the phraseology of a petition to Congress entreating emancipation in the District of Columbia, printed beside the former on the first page of the *Liberator*. This petition,—which is introduced by editorial surprise at "many of the professed enemies of slavery . . .

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heaping all their reproaches upon the South, and asserting that the crime of oppression is not national," whereas the power of Congress over the District is indisputable, —this petition prays that "Congress will, without delay, take such measures for the immediate or gradual abolition of slavery in the District of Columbia, and for preventing the bringing of slaves into that District for purposes of traffic, in such mode as may be advisable," etc. This is an advance on the petition which Mr. Garrison had circulated in Vermont, in so far as it assumes the practicability of *immediate* emancipation; and it may be said for the author of it (not the editor himself) that the appeal is not here to individuals guilty of the sin of slaveholding, but to a legislature which must consider ways and means, and which is accordingly also asked to make "suitable provision . . . for the education of all free blacks and colored children in the District, thus to preserve them from continuing, even as free men, an unenlightened and degraded caste."[1] Moreover, as a test of the disposition of Congress to exercise its Constitutional authority over the District, a demand for gradual abolition was as good as for immediate. For the moment, the publication and recommendation of such a petition, even in its least strenuous aspect, were evidence, in Southern eyes, of the business-like character of Mr. Garrison's undertaking, and gave unmistakable significance to the bold and defiant language of his Salutatory.

Ante, p. 108.

Nor did turning the leaf of the first number of the *Liberator* bring much comfort to slaveholders. On the second page they might read the indomitable spirit of their adversary in his preface to a report of his second Baltimore trial—a report taken from the Baltimore *Gazette*, and containing in full the original libel. His persecutors are challenged to do their worst: he can

[1] "Urge immediate abolition as earnestly as we may, it will, alas! be gradual abolition in the end. We have never said that slavery would be overthrown by a single blow; that it ought to be, we shall always contend" (W. L. G. in *Lib.* 1:129).

neither be frightened nor humbled, nor made to forget that he is an American citizen and a freeman, or, as a being accountable to God, to hold his peace on the subject of African oppression. "Is the inquiry made, how do I bear up under my adversities? I answer—like the oak—like the Alps—unshaken, storm-proof." To the narrative of his conviction he is able to append a Southern and a Northern protest against it; the former from a convention of the Manumission Society of North Carolina, the latter from the *Massachusetts Journal and Tribune*, whose opinion was reinforced by the fact that the editor and writer of the article in question, David Lee Child,[1] was a lawyer. His own comments follow in a later number.

Lib. 1:9; *ante*, *p.* 196.

Still a little space remains on the second page, and this shall be filled by verses signed "G——n," but written who knows when or where amid all the distractions of the past six months?

UNIVERSAL EMANCIPATION.

Though distant be the hour, yet come it must—
Oh! hasten it, *in mercy*, righteous Heaven!
When Afric's sons, uprising from the dust,
Shall stand erect—their galling fetters riven;
When from his throne Oppression shall be driven,
An exiled monster, powerless through all time;
When freedom—glorious freedom, shall be given
To every race, complexion, caste, and clime,
And nature's sable hue shall cease to be a crime!

Wo if it come with storm, and blood, and fire,
When midnight darkness veils the earth and sky!
Wo to the innocent babe—the guilty sire—
Mother and daughter—friends of kindred tie!
Stranger and citizen alike shall die!

[1] "My husband was anti-slavery," wrote Mrs. Child in 1867, "and it [slavery] was the theme of many of our conversations while Garrison was in prison" ('Letters of L. M. Child,' p. 195).

CHAP. VIII. 1831.

Red-handed Slaughter his revenge shall feed,
And Havoc yell his ominous death-cry,
And wild Despair in vain for mercy plead —
While Hell itself shall shrink, and sicken at the deed!

Thou who avengest blood! long-suffering Lord!
My guilty country from destruction save!
Let Justice sheathe her sharp and terrible sword,
And Mercy rescue, e'en as from the grave!
Oh! for the sake of those who firmly brave
The lust of Power — the tyranny of Law —
To bring redemption to the perishing slave —
Fearless, though few — Thy presence ne'er withdraw,
But quench the kindling flames of hot, rebellious war!

And ye — sad victims of base Avarice!
Hunted like beasts, and trodden like the earth;
Bought and sold daily, at a paltry price —
The scorn of tyrants, and of fools the mirth —
Your souls debased from their immortal birth!
Bear meekly — as ye 've borne — your cruel woes;
Ease follows pain — light, darkness — plenty, dearth:
So time shall give you freedom and repose,
And high exalt your heads above your bitter foes!

Not by the sword shall your deliverance be;
Not by the shedding of your masters' blood,
Not by rebellion — or foul treachery,
Upspringing suddenly, like swelling flood:
Revenge and rapine ne'er did bring forth good.
GOD'S *time is best!* — nor will it long delay:
Even now your barren cause begins to bud,
And glorious shall the fruit be! — Watch and pray,
For, lo! the kindling dawn, that ushers in the day!

On the literary quality of these verses the Southern mind, we may be sure, did not dwell long. As confidently we may affirm that it saw in them only a blood-thirsty purpose, and that when in September of this memorable year the editor recalled the second stanza as prophecy, it seemed rather to the panic-stricken objects of real and imaginary insurrections a diabolic *cause* of

Lib. 1 : 143.

their impending destruction. The heat, therefore, with which they passed from reading this warning to the oppressor, this injunction of non-resistance to the oppressed, this absolutely just prediction that their redemption would come from without, was not likely to be allayed by the editorial notice, on the third page, of an interesting piece of current intelligence: the Legislature of North Carolina was sitting with closed doors to consider a message from the Governor about 'Walker's Appeal.' They had good reason to be alarmed, observed Mr. Garrison, "for a better promoter of insurrection was never sent forth to an oppressed people." As "one of the most remarkable productions of the age," he proposed to examine it in a future number, together with the opinions of the press about it; adding, "We have already publicly deprecated its spirit." He himself did not get beyond a first and very brief article, in which he again deprecated the "spirit and tendency" of the 'Appeal,' but declared that it was not for his guilty countrymen as a nation "to denounce it as bloody or monstrous. . . . Every Fourth of July celebration must embitter and inflame the minds of the slaves. And the late dinners, and illuminations, and ovations, and shoutings, at the South, over the downfall of the French tyrant, Charles the Tenth, furnish so many reasons to the slaves why they should obtain their rights by violence." Subsequently, an able analysis of the 'Appeal,' with extracts, by an anonymous contributor, filled the place of honor in several numbers of the paper, at no great interval before the Nat Turner rising in Virginia.[1]

CHAP. VIII. 1831.

Cf. ante, p. 159.

Ante, p. 161.

Lib. 1:6.

Lib. 1:69, 77, 85.

The "incendiary" character of the *Liberator* was not fully developed till its seventeenth number, when the plain heading gave way to an ornamental one, surmounted by a rude but effective cut, representing a slave-

[1] The Virginia House of Delegates took notice of 'Walker's Appeal' in a bill "To prevent the circulation of seditious writings" (*ante*, p. 162, James Stuart's 'Three Years in America,' and the monthly *Abolitionist*, p. 98).

Lib. 1:67. auction, "appropriately located at the seat of the National Government," indicated on the left side by the Capitol in the distance, "with the American flag (on which is conspicuous the word LIBERTY) floating on the breeze," and a whipping-post in front at which a bound slave is being flogged. On the right and in the immediate foreground is a group in which a single beast answers to the sign "Horse Market," and to the placard on the auctioneer's pulpit, "Slaves, horses and other cattle to be sold at 12 o'c.," while a sorrowing family of slaves about to be separated, "a purchaser examining a negro as a butcher would an ox," and sundry bidders, complete the picture —or all but complete it, for "down in the dust our Indian Treaties are seen." This design has every appearance of having originated with the editor, whose sense of pictorial effect was ever very keen.[1] Re-drawn and elaborated in after years to meet the expansion of the paper, it remained at the head, as Mr. Garrison remained at the helm, until slavery and the *Liberator* were no more. "I
Lib. 1:178. have heard," wrote a resident of Georgia, "many comments upon your paper by the slaveholders who have seen it. Your engraving in the title is galling to them, and often elicits a deep and bitter curse." They saw in it not what it was meant to be, an appeal to the Northern conscience, but an instigation to servile insurrec-
30 Years' View, 1:577. tion. "For what purpose," asked Senator Benton in 1835 of a similar issue "from the abolition mint," "could such a picture be intended unless to inflame the passions of slaves?"—as if it could sink deeper into their consciousness than the lash itself![2] And in this latter year Mr. Calhoun's unsuccessful bill to guard the South from anti-slavery propagandism made it a penal offence for

[1] The newspapers of the day were full of deprecation of it. His more cautious friends counselled him to suppress it. Mr. Sewall "very kindly offered to pay for the whole of it if I would have plain type instead of it" (MS. stenographic report of speech at the 20th anniversary of the *Liberator*).

[2] Compare J. G. Birney's letter to the Alabama Vigilance Committee (*Lib.* 6:12).

THE LIBERATOR.

VOL. I.] WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON AND ISAAC KNAPP, PUBLISHERS. [NO. 17.

BOSTON, MASSACHUSETTS.] OUR COUNTRY IS THE WORLD—OUR COUNTRYMEN ARE MANKIND. [SATURDAY, APRIL 23, 1831.

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WM. LLOYD GARRISON, EDITOR.

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☞ Agents allowed every sixth copy.
☞ No subscription will be received for a short period than six months.
☞ All letters and communications must be post paid.

AGENTS.

CHARLES WHIPPLE, *Newburyport, Mass.*
ARNO C. ELLIS, *Providence, R. I.*
PHILIP S. BELL, *New-York City.*
BENJ. CARTER, *Philadelphia, Pa.*
HENRY OLIVER, *Norwich, N. J.*
WILLIAM WATKINS, *Baltimore, Md.*

THE LIBERATOR.

In our plan, that emancipation is unpracticable, the most impudent hypocrisy and the most glaring absurdity, even unprincipled for emancipation?—On my unquestionable expediency, any denial of personal disorder, or any private advantage, justify the subjugation of conquest, the necessity of which is unqualified, or repel the holy vision in its attention? The system is an entirely wrong, that a minute of an hour had by a total and immediate abolition. For a gradual measure, there is a virtual recognition of the right, and violation the contrade of the power. If it be for its own message, it is believed by every, and it be impossible, on a day should it be tolerated.

BOSTON.

CHRISTIAN SECRETARY—COLONIZATION SOCIETY.

The following article appears in the editorial department of the last Christian Secretary, printed at Hartford; and justice seems to require that we should extract it for our own paper. It gives us pleasure to have—for we are not disposed to doubt the editor's statements—that the spiritual wants of the ministers of Hartford have been in some measure supplied by the creation of a monthly-house, and the organization of a Sabbath School. This fact, however, does not impugn the statements of our correspondent. For example, he says:

"There are three thrones of people in Hartford—the rich whites, the poor whites, and the blacks. They have all different appointments in the house of God—the poor occupy the forth seats, and the colored ones seated in a back box, like stables cheap in a separate pen."

Now, we would inquire of the editor, if there be any true in this statement? Are the blacks actually so prejudiced in occupy pews on the floor of the gallaries of the meeting-house? Is there not a separate and inconvenient place, behind the windows, allotted for them? Do they have a meeting house of their own? True—but do these fabricated negro's foster about as obvious spirit? Is there a better reason why all the blacks should belong to one denomination, and attend one place of worship, than all the whites? And if they choose to attend elsewhere, can they as an equality as to go there? That is the question.

Another correspondent has stated:—

"They know that there is such a difference between a black christian and a white one, that they cannot dwell and eat the sacrifices of the blood and body of their Redeemer together. The blacks stay behind, until they have done; for the black has fallen the cup, but the whole are pure."

Is this true or false? In administering the sacrament, are the black communicants the last to be served? Is there any respect of persons at the Lord's table? Let the editor answer.

If these things are true, they are certainly disagreeable to a christian people; but we believe they are common observation. Sometimes ago there was a great excitement among the pew-holders and church members in Park-street church in this city, because a respectable and well man purchased a pew in the broad aisle for the accommodation of himself and family. He had the pew very handsomely furnished, and was in legitimate proprietor. On the third or fourth Sabbath, however, [if we do not err,] a deacon, one of two committees men and a monthly excellent, and would not permit him to take his seat! He was finally driven away, and the pew passed into other hands.

We propose shortly to visit all our meeting-houses, and ascertain what places are provided for the accommodation of our colored people. A house dedicated to the worship of Almighty God, should be the last place for the exercise of despotic prerogative—but here is the extract:

"With deep regret we have observed some articles in the columns of the "Liberator," of Boston, apparently from this city, in which its inhabitants are misplaced; and which we believe the editor of that publication will deem very injudicious, as well as unkind, when knowing the truth in the case. So far from wishing to deprive the colored population of an opportunity to worship God, by the ordinances of the Gospel of religion with that part of the inhabitants, a good and convenient house was erected a few years since; clergymen of different denominations have often officiated, gratuitously, have Sabbath in Sabbath; and what disappointed in the labors of a Minister, by brethren have attended all at their request, and made exertions to promote the prosperity of their congregation; for many years a Sabbath School has been taught, composed entirely of colored children and adults; in addition to this, if we mistake not, in their request the public school money is given them in proportion to the number of their children, and they thus have a day school of their own.

After such avowal had been shown for this class of people, was it to be expected they an attack should be made upon that very persons who have shown such liberality? This is indeed gratifying to the enemies of benevolent exertions; and were the language of this unconscientious supporters of the feelings of a majority of the colored population, the production of the enemy would be verified, viz. that they are unworthy of the emotions paid them. As in regard to the last misrepresentation, we do not from personal knowledge, that in some cases it is not true. Whatever the writer may be, he shows himself no enemy, and not a friend, to that people for whose benefit such an interest. One word to the editor. We believe your intentions good; but the course send, and the manner in which some of the first men in community have had their motives impugned, lead us to apprehend that you will not be as useful as you might be, were a different course pursued. Our readers are for the most misconception of blacks, and for an free use of all their powers as we possess; we were more opposed to the Colonization Society—thought it of little use; our mind is changed, and are quite think it a great blessing to this country. If all who wish for the emancipation of slaves, were to unite, much more might be effected. But if the minds of such are to be distracted as in the late meeting, little will be accomplished, and years, perhaps centuries elapse, before the just bles of slavery shall be wiped from our country."

The mind of editor is somewhere to received with that acknowledgment. We agree with the editor, that "if all who wish for the emancipation of slaves were to unite, much more might be effected." But how shall they unite? In reproaching the free people of color and glorying for their removal, or in withdrawing the opinion of slavery, and breaking the fetters of the slaves? Shall they unite in apologizing for discobedience and threatening immediate abolition, or in shaking down the fabric of oppression by the founders of those soldiers? Shall they unite in opening a market for the products of free as slave labor, or unite in agreeing to withhold the rights of emancipation from free colored people, in order to give those unmerited and unjust privileges? Why say the minds of men to be distracted? in coming to a conclusion on this point? Is not the question of justice and duty a simple one? It is: but the eyes of the people are blind with subservience and, and they grope in darkness.

The editor of the Christian Secretary acknowledges his reluctance to the American Colonization Society. He [we think a great blessing to this country.' In what way the blessing is bestowed, we are not told. For our own part, we are prepared to show, that those who have entered into the compact ADVANCE ANDEAST HUMAN RIGHTS in consequence of obeying their views; sometimes in their mode of attack; sometimes in proclaiming the absurdity, that not free blacks are natives of Africa; sometimes in propagating the idea, that they cannot be elevated and improved in this country; sometimes in opposing their institution; sometimes in exciting the prejudices of the people against them; sometimes in apologizing for the crime of slavery; sometimes in concealing the right of the planters to hold their slaves in a limited bondage; sometimes in denying the expediency of emancipation, unless the liberated slaves are sent to Liberia; sometimes in their hollow pretence for colonizing, namely, to evangelize Africa; sometimes in their true motive for the measure—a terror for the blacks should rise to avenge their accumulated wrongs. It is a conspiracy to send the free people of color to Africa under a benevolent pretence, but really that the slaves may be held more securely in bondage. It is a conspiracy bound upon, fast, oppression and falsehood, which draws its element from the prejudices of the people, which is sustained by duplicity, which is impotent to its design, which really upholds the slave system, which threatens while it destroys, which endangers the safety and happiness of the country, which we prompt of the bible are justly, which is irreconcilable in its spirit, which should be annihilated or a blow.

These are our sententions; and if we fix not sufficiently them, we are willing to be covered with reproach.

In attacking the principles, and exposing the evil tendency of the Society, we wish no one to understand us as saying, that all its friends are equally guilty, or actuated by the same motives. Nor let him suppose, that we entertain any of them from reprehension. In various parts of the country, there are, doubtless, many well-meaning and really philanthropic individuals, who support the Society. We do not impeach their motives; but we blame them for their prejudices which have blinded their eyes to the real object of colonization. We blame them for taking the subject upon trust; for not perusing and repudiating the monstrous doctrines avowed by the leaders upon it in the remote; for being so indifferent to the moral and moral advancement of the free blacks in the land of their birth—their only legitimate home. They are under the same delusion that swayed Saul of Tarsus, prior to his memorable—persecuting the blacks were unto a strange country, and verily believing that they are doing God's service.

When we speak of insensibility in the language, design and assumption of the Society, we mean the general, preponderating and direct development and tendency of the institution. Private and individual opinions are but trifling exceptions to the rule.

For the Liberator.

PRODUCTS OF SLAVERY.

MR. EDITOR.—I have long felt a deep and painful interest in the condition of our unfortunate fellow beings, whose cause you have so warmly espoused, and whose rights you have so strenuously advocated. I have hoped that the "Liberator" would do much good in our community by attracting public attention to the evils of slavery; affording information in every way in its power of the nature and causes of its horrors, and awakening a benevolent sympathy for its wretched victims. Though I have always prized the above, and thought them an unhappy and injured race, and that those who held them in bondage were unjust, unmanly and wicked for so doing, I had never supposed the extent of misery on the one side, or of injustice and cruelty on the other, as extreme, as I have since found it to be. I considered it, (as every others will do) as unavoidable evil, which might be softened by the increasing existence of philanthropy, and especially by the progress of christianity; but I had formed no estimate of a probability that the whole system might be annihilated. I now feel convinced that it may, and ought to be entirely established; that the appointed means may be ascertained, and their opponents fought to know and feel the injustice and criminality of retaining them in bondage. I am convinced that no human being has a right to wrest the providing and unmerciful of his fellow mortals; to deprive them of liberty, or obstruct their advancement in knowledge and virtue. I doubt not this conviction will ultimately prevail in every community, where the obligations of religion and philanthropy are acknowledged; though the process may be slow; having to contend with much ignorance prejudice and error. The conviction, however, is but the first step towards a result so desirable as the total abolition of slavery. Every long established custom acquires a strong hold on the feelings of those who are habituated to its control; we know that in power in many cases is almost unconquerable; and this is especially the case, where a custom, however injurious in its tendencies, is a source of pecuniary emolument, or worldly aggrandizement to those interested in its continuance. It therefore becomes necessary for the advancement of this great and good object—the universal emancipation of our enslaved brethren—the complete overthrow of that abominable traffic in human flesh—to investigate the whole subject fairly and calmly; to discuss it fully and freely; to ascertain, as far as possible, what are the best means and methods for the accomplishment of the great end. On this point, I feel there is great diversity of opinion. Men of equal talents, equal piety, and equal benevolence, often differ, and almost opposite views of the whole subject: may most has been much perplexed, by hearing what seemed to me very strong arguments on both sides of the question.

With regard to the main subject, universal emancipation, as I before remarked, I have no doubt. I think it easy, and it ought to be contemplated; but with regard to the means of its accomplishment, I do not feel so decided. I wish very earnestly to obtain more light, to understand more clearly how the measures which have been suggested can operate to produce the desired effect.

In the Liberator of February 16th, I noticed an article on "Free and Slave Labor;" containing several questions, respecting the practicability of measures which have been recommended. I have been hoping those questions would receive from themselves two answers from some one well acquainted with the subject; and that my own doubts might thereby be solved. I should not then have troubled you with the communication. If it can be proved that abstinence from the products of slave labor will lead, in any considerable degree, to effect the desired object, many friends who are now unacquainted with it would unite with us in adopting the practice, immediately, without hesitation. We have been assured by one party, that such a practice would certainly produce the effect; but have not yet been told how. We have been assured by others, that the measure could do no good, and might even injure those whom we are seeking to benefit. We do not feel satisfied either, with their theory. I will briefly refer to some of their arguments. They say, 'that if we refuse to purchase the products of slave labor, and thereby lessen the demand for those articles, the surplus will send them to Europe, or elsewhere; they will remain on us, by refusing to purchase our articles, and destroying our foreign trade; the operative will only shift the difficulty, without removing it wholly. Our own manufacturers will suffer, by losing a ready market for their commodities; thus our own means will be distributed; the mechanics will be irritated, without being relieved, by our inactive measures; and the poor slaves will remain in the same unhappy condition, notwithstanding all our efforts to relieve them.' This is a considerable consideration indeed; I shall be thankful if it can be proved unfounded. If a fair and distinct reply can be given to the queries before stated, and I can be convinced of the utility of the plan which induced them; I shall be rejoiced to aid the good cause, in that way, and also in any other wherein I have ability. Positive assertions, without demonstration and bitter denunciations against the offending party, prove nothing to my mind. I have heard much of this measure in many occasions; and partial use, if I say, to the particular subject, I have been pained several times by reading articles in the 'Liberator,' which manifested an acrimonious spirit. It is acknowledge that the principal subject, I have been pained several times by reading articles in the 'Liberator,' which manifested an acrimonious spirit. It is acknowledge that the duty of christians to bear their testimony against the vices of the age; and any one whose office or situation leads him to reprove, admonish or exhort his brethren, should guard

postmasters in any State, District, or Territory "knowingly to deliver, to any person whatever, any pamphlet, newspaper, handbill, or other printed paper or *pictorial representation*, touching the subject of slavery, where, by the laws of the said State, District, or Territory, their circulation was prohibited."

30 Years' View, I: 586.

"Editorial courtesy" stood for much more in the first third of the century than it does in our day. The gratuitous publication of Mr. Garrison's prospectus may therefore have had little personal significance; but it is probable that the service was in his case something more than perfunctory. In the first place, he was already a "veteran journalist," judged by the number of newspapers which he had conducted before founding the *Liberator*, and his name must have been familiar to a large fraction of his fellow-journalists through the medium of the exchange-table. It was quite in fashion, as the first volume of the *Liberator* shows, to give a personal turn to newspaper discussion, whether friendly or otherwise. In the next place, Mr. Garrison's imprisonment had given him a fresh notoriety, and should have drawn to him those who hated slavery, however silently, or saw in him the victim of an attempt on the freedom of the press. Finally, South Carolina, by its nullification doctrine and attitude, and Georgia, by its violation of national treaties in its insolent invasion of the Cherokee State, had roused to an extraordinary degree both the constitutional and philanthropic sentiment of the North, and made it possible to welcome one manly protest against the prevailing subserviency to "Southern rights."

"By the editorial fraternity throughout the country, with hardly an exception," writes Mr. Garrison in a letter already quoted, "the *Liberator* has been received with acclamation; by the public — the white portion of it — with suspicion or apathy. Upon the colored population in the free States it has operated like a trumpet-call. They have risen in their hopes and feelings to the perfect stature of men: in this city, every one of them is as tall as a giant. About ninety have subscribed

MS. Feb. 14, 1831, to S. J. May.

CHAP. VIII. 1831.

for the paper in Philadelphia, and upwards of thirty in New York; which number, I am assured, will swell to at least one hundred in a few weeks. This, then, is my consolation: if I cannot do much, in this quarter, towards abolishing slavery, I may be able to elevate our free colored population in the scale of society."

Exceptions to this "acclamation" were not wanting in the writer's native New England, whose "time-serving, unprincipled and heartless" editors were prompt to denounce his "violent and intemperate attacks on slaveholders," and his "mawkish sentimentality." That transplanted New Englander, George D. Prentice, newly put in charge of the Louisville (Ky.) *Journal*, wrote in his issue of January 25: "Mr. Garrison knows that we are his personal friend, and that we regard him as one of the ablest writers and warmest philanthropists of the age; but, after all, some of his opinions with regard to slavery in the United States are no better than lunacy." The *American* (Washington) *Spectator* regretted "to observe the late talented and persecuted Junior Editor of the *Genius of Universal Emancipation* in the dying ranks of this opposition [to African colonization]. We hoped that his good sense would ere long withdraw him even from the side of abolitionists." Journals further south were sparing of compliments. The Camden (S. C.) *Journal*, edited by an "apostate Yankee," threatened to hand his "scandalous and incendiary budget of sedition . . . to the proper authorities, as the ground of a prosecution," in case he should venture within the State. Mr. Garrison bids him do so, "and tell them that as soon as we can make our arrangements, we intend removing the office of the *Liberator* to South Carolina, or one of the slave States, where we can meet the enemy on his own ground. This is too great a distance to fire our cannon: the South gets merely its echoes, when she ought to receive its contents."

Lib. 1:18.

Lib. 1:27.

Lib. 1:39.

Lib. 1:35, 166.

As time went on, the abuse thickened. In reply to a colored committee who had sent him a donation in

money, together with their still more precious approval, he wrote: CHAP. VIII. 1831.

"Foes are on my right hand and on my left. The tongue of detraction is busy against me. I have no communion with the world — the world none with me. The timid, the lukewarm, the base, affect to believe that my brains are disordered, and my words the ravings of a maniac. Even many of my friends — they who have grown up with me from my childhood — are transformed into scoffers and enemies." *Lib.* 1: 139.

Worse things were in store. To his readers he says presently:

"In attacking the system of slavery, I clearly foresaw all that has happened to me. I knew at the commencement that my motives would be impeached, my warnings ridiculed, my person persecuted, my sanity doubted, my life jeoparded; but the clank of the prisoner's chains broke upon my ear — it entered deeply into my soul — I looked up to Heaven for strength to sustain me in the perilous work of emancipation, and my resolution was taken. Thanks be to God, that resolution grows loftier with time, and sinks its base deeper and broader as danger approximates. The following letters infuse new blood into my veins." *Lib.* 1: 145.

Two of these letters were anonymous, and fairly illiterate; the first, from Princeton, N. J., perhaps written by a Southern student, being an incoherent stream of vulgar profanity, introduced by "You d——d scoundrel," and containing rather predictions than threats, as, "Hell is gaping for you! the devil is feasting in anticipation!" The second was signed "A Freeman," and purported to be written by a Washington slaveholder. "Your paper, sir," it began, "cannot be much longer tolerated. . . . Shame on the Freemen of Boston for permitting such a vehicle of outrage and rebellion to spring into existence among them. . . . Don't understand me," he adds, with a superfluous reminder of the prevailing estimate, North as well as South, of the free people of color, "to mean by the term 'freemen' yellow-skins or knotty heads — these I do not recognize as such, nor are they *Lib.* 1: 145.

CHAP. VIII. 1831. looked upon by men of high honor and noble feeling as in any degree elevated above a level with slaves." If Boston did not suppress the *Liberator*, the Southerners would. The third letter was from a friendly clergyman,[1] who reported to Mr. Garrison a conversation in a stage-coach on the way to Boston, of which the subject was "the recent insurrection of the blacks in Virginia." One said.

Lib. 1:145. "It was his opinion, and the opinion of many others, that Wm. L. Garrison had contributed in no small degree to the excitement among the blacks which had eventuated in that sad catastrophe; that he was inclined to think that 'Mr. Garrison would not be permitted to live long' — that he would be 'taken away, and no one be the wiser for it.' He also stated that this was the opinion of many persons at the South, where he had been living the season past; and he added, that 'he had not the least doubt if Mr. Garrison were to go to the South, he would be dispatched immediately'; and that he had heard this opinion expressed by persons at the South *repeatedly*."

Lib. 1:145. To the clergyman Mr. Garrison says: "I thank him for his friendly disclosures: they confirm the threats in the preceding epistles, but only add to my strength and stature." He is willing his life should be sacrificed, if required; it would undoubtedly "accomplish more for the anti-slavery cause than even the violent death of Morgan has done for the anti-masonic cause. This consideration is in the highest degree consolatory." As for the planters: "I would not, wittingly, harm a hair of their heads, nor injure them in their lawful property. I am not their enemy, but their friend. It is true, I abhor their oppressive acts; nor will I cease to denounce them

[1] Rev. La Roy Sunderland, of the Methodist denomination, then settled at Andover, Mass. (*Lib.* 3: [94], and p. viii. of Phelps's 'Lectures on Slavery and its Remedy,' 1834). In 1836 he founded in New York *Zion's Watchman*, a staunch anti-slavery paper (*Lib.* 6:11, and Johnson's 'Garrison,' pp. 187, 239), and published 'The Testimony of God against Slavery.' Mr. Garrison thanked him privately for his warning, in a letter dated Sept. 8, 1831, first printed in *Lib.* Sept. 18, 1857.

in terms of indignation. They will surely be destroyed if they do not repent. MEN MUST BE FREE."[1] CHAP. VIII. 1831.

As usual in this fervent time, Mr. Garrison's feelings sought expression in verse, producing the sonnet afterwards entitled

TRUE COURAGE.

Lib. 1:160; *Writings of W. L. G.*, *p.* 88.

I boast no courage on the battle-field,
Where hostile troops immix in horrid fray;
For love or fame I can no weapon wield,
With burning lust an enemy to slay:—
But test my spirit at the blazing stake,
For advocacy of the RIGHTS OF MAN,
And TRUTH — or on the wheel my body break;
Let persecution place me 'neath its ban;
Insult, defame, proscribe my humble name;
Yea, put the dagger at my naked breast;
If I recoil in terror from the flame,
Or recreant prove when peril rears its crest,
To save a limb, or shun the public scorn —
Then write me down for aye, *Weakest of woman born.*[2]

After the Virginia insurrection, which infected the whole South with panic, the menaces through the mails grew more frequent and violent:

"The Editor of the *Liberator*," we read in the issue for October 15, 1831, "is constantly receiving from the slave States letters filled with the most diabolical threats and indecent language — fair specimens of Southern courage and morality — on which is charged double or treble postage. He *Lib.* 1:167.

[1] As soon as this copy of the *Liberator* reached Arthur Tappan, he sat down and wrote as follows (MS.):

"NEW YORK, Sept. 12, 1831.

"FRIEND GARRISON: As I see your life is threatened, I feel anxious to have all the advantage of it while you live, and therefore enclose you one hundred dollars, to be applied to the distribution of your paper to the leading men in our country. I could wish to see more argument in your columns to show THE IMPOSSIBILITY *of the Colonization Society's ever effecting the entire removal of our colored slave population*, supposing the slave-owners to be willing to emancipate their slaves. This idea has got such hold of the minds of many good people that it shuts out every feeling of doing good to the colored people in any other way."

[2] See, also, the sonnet "Persecution," in *Lib.* 1:55, though in both cases the sentiment is more remarkable than the verse.

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wishes these filthy wretches to understand that the tax is promptly refunded at the Post-office, and that their maledictions only confirm him in his purpose."

Lib. 1:171.

Nor was the Northern spirit less murderous. A letter from Lowell, signed "Revenge," promised assassination by poison or the dagger if the "infamous *Liberator*" should be published one month longer.[1] This information, commented Mr. Garrison, "afflicts us less than the postage — six cents."

Niles' Register, 41:66.

Meantime, editors of respectable papers began to invoke mob violence, euphemistically called "an exer-

Lib. 1:161.

tion of *public opinion*," in Boston. The Washington *National Intelligencer* copied from the Tarboro' (N. C.) *Free Press* (!) a letter addressed to the postmaster of that town, charging Mr. Garrison with publishing an "incendiary paper," "with the avowed purpose of inciting rebellion in the South," and circulating it through "secret agents" disguised as peddlers, for whom "barbecuing" — that is, roasting alive — was recommended if caught. The *Intelligencer*, with no word of disapproval, repeated the allegation that the *Liberator* was designed to lead to "precisely such results as the Southampton Tragedy," and called upon the Mayor of Boston[2] to find some law to stop the publication of such "diabolical papers." "The crime is as great as that of poisoning the waters of life to a whole community." "We know nothing of the man: we desire not to have him unlawfully dealt with: we can even conceive of his motive being good in his own opinion,"—but the citizens of Boston are urged to step forward and "vindicate the cause of humanity, as it is outraged by the publication to which we refer." Mr. Garrison in vain sought a hearing in self-defence in the

Lib. 1:165.

columns of Messrs. Gales and Seaton:[3] "You have (I

[1] This letter has by chance been preserved.

[2] Harrison Gray Otis, the third incumbent of the office (succeeding Josiah Quincy), 1829–31.

[3] "The one an English cockney, with little to recommend him but his inflated vanity, and the other a sprig of the negro aristocracy of North Carolina" (Lundy, *Genius*, October, 1831).

hope unintentionally) calumniated my character and put my life in jeopardy." There were several reasons why the editors of the *Intelligencer* should refuse to print a letter from "this madman," telling them that their remarks on the Tarboro' extract "breathe the spirit of murder and exhibit the incoherency of madness." Yet, as he reminded them, they had "unhesitatingly published" his prospectus, in which his peace doctrine was set forth. Moreover, he had not a single subscriber, black or white, south of the Potomac. CHAP. VIII. 1831.

They could, nevertheless, be hospitable to a Virginian who suggested that the *Liberator* might be "treated as a seditious libel, *published* in the District, or any other place to which it may be sent by its author: that the fact of publication being procured by the author, he is a principal offender in the place where the publication is made, although he may never have been personally present there in his life." After citing cases, the writer proceeded: *Lib.* 1:166.

"Let the offender, then, in this case, be demanded by the President or the Governor of Virginia, and prosecuted in the place where he has procured his incendiary paper to be distributed; and I think law may be found to punish him. I will answer for the event if we lay hands upon him in Virginia. If the Governor of Massachusetts should refuse, then let the People of the South offer an adequate reward to any person who will deliver him, dead or alive, into the hands of the authorities of any State south of the Potomac."

This temper seemed to the *Intelligencer* "very natural under the circumstances," if inexpedient to act upon; the legal view it would not dispute. The "desperate proposal," exclaims Mr. Garrison, "caps the climax of Southern mendacity and folly. My contempt of it is unutterable. Nothing but my own death, or a want of patronage, shall stop the *Liberator*." When the Southern papers call him *hostis humani generis*, a "fiendish editor," the "apologist of the blacks in the recent Virginia insurrection," he replies: "Although I preach submission to *Lib.* 1:166.

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the slaves, still I am denounced as a monster. Do the planters wish me to inculcate a revengeful doctrine?"

Lib. 1 : 171.

In October the corporation of Georgetown, D. C., passed a law prohibiting any free person of color from taking the *Liberator* from the post-office, under pain of twenty dollars' fine or thirty days' imprisonment; and if fine and jail fees were not paid, directing such person to be sold as a slave for four months. It was one of the functions of the *Liberator* to remind them that this law was unconstitutional, and that they "must be prepared to answer for their conduct before the Supreme Court of the United States." The Charleston (S. C.) *Mercury* of October 4 reported that a Vigilance Association of Columbia, "composed of gentlemen of the first respectability," had offered a reward of fifteen hundred dollars for the apprehension and prosecution to conviction of any white person circulating the *Liberator* or 'Walker's Pamphlet,' "or any other publication of seditious tendency." Similar

Lib. 1 : 174.

action was taken at a public meeting in Bethesda (Richmond Co.), Georgia. In the first week of the same month there reached the post-office at Raleigh, N. C., a copy of

Lib. 1 : 171.

the *Liberator* "containing the most illiberal and cold-blooded allusions to the late supposed insurrection among our slaves" (one of the baseless frights engendered everywhere by Turner's outbreak); and, the Grand Jury being then in session, the Attorney-General submitted an indictment against William Lloyd Garrison and Isaac Knapp, for the "circulation and publication" of the *Liberator* "in this county, in contravention to the act of the last General Assembly." A true bill was found accordingly; and "so, we suppose," adds the news-writer, "the accused will be demanded by the Governor of this State. . . . The act makes the offence Felony—whipping and imprisonment for the first offence, and death, without benefit of clergy, for the second."[1]

[1] As usual, Arthur Tappan was promptly on hand with material and moral support. Under date of Oct. 18, 1831, he writes from New York (MS.): "Mr. Lundy this morning [read] me an extract from a N. C. paper, stating

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That there was no law in Massachusetts for suppressing the *Liberator*, or that any was needed, was a cause of the greatest surprise to the South. In December, Governor Hamilton, of South Carolina, sent a special message to the Legislature, accompanied by copies of the *Liberator* and of Mr. Garrison's 'Address to the Free People of Color' delivered in June in various cities of the North. In this message he referred to a letter of the Governor of Virginia which "leaves no doubt that the spirit of insubordination in that State was excited by incendiary newspapers and other publications, put forth in the non-slaveholding States and freely circulated within the limits of Virginia"; also, to a complaint made by the Savannah authorities respecting the publication and distribution of the above-mentioned incendiary documents "as inconsistent with a just regard to the obligations of the Union," and calling for their suppression with suitable punishments — a complaint which was answered by the constituted authorities of Boston "that they had no power to interfere, however justly they might reprehend the mischievous tendency of these publications." Governor Hamilton was confident that the same agencies were at work in South Carolina and throughout the South, and thought it an extraordinary fact that, "in a peaceful and united confederacy of States," it was necessary to submit without remedy to acts of hostility and annoyance from citizens of one of its members, whereas, if the States were separate, these

Lib. 1:207.

that the Grand Jury had found a bill of indictment against you and your partner 'for distributing incendiary papers in that State'; and that you would be demanded from the Governor of Mass. I do not know how much importance to attach to this, but I wish to say that if money is needed to save you from the fangs of these wretches, I will supply it. I annex a letter of credit for $1000, and authorize you to use it without hesitation, if there should be occasion, *in any way* your personal safety may require, [and] you may depend on as much more if it should be [needed], of which I hope you will not fail to advise me." In the same letter Mr. Tappan related that his house at New Haven had been stoned a few nights before by some obscene fellows, shouting "Magdalen" (see 'Life of Arthur Tappan,' p. 112) and "Immediate Emancipation." See, also, *Lib.* 1:171.

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acts would justify a suspension of pacific relations. He therefore asked for authority to communicate with the Governor of Massachusetts and call the Legislature's attention to this wrong. His view was more tersely expressed by the Columbia *Telescope* when it said: "They [the Bostonians] permit a battery to be erected upon their territory, which fires in upon us, and we should be justified in invading that territory to silence the guns."

Lib. 1: 195.

Ante, p. 238.

Niles' Register, 45: 42.

The *Intelligencer's* appeal to "the worthy Mayor of the City of Boston" for some action towards legal suppression or public disavowal of the *Liberator*, was the first intimation he had had of that paper's existence. A fortnight later (October 15) he received from "an eminent counsellor of the State of South Carolina" (no doubt, Senator Hayne) a private communication to the same end, to which Mr. Otis made a long reply.[1] He had by that time procured a copy of the *Liberator*, but had not ascertained the name of any person taking it, and concluded that "its patronage must be extremely limited":

"I am told that it is supported chiefly by the free colored people; that the number of subscribers in Baltimore and Washington exceeds that of *those in this city*, and that it is gratuitously left at one or two of the reading-rooms in this place. It is edited by an individual who formerly lived at Baltimore, where his feelings have been exasperated by some occurrences consequent to his publications there,[2] on topics

[1] First given to the public in the fall of 1833, through the Boston *Advertiser*. See, also, *Niles' Register*, 45: 42, Sept. 14.

[2] This notion, that Mr. Garrison's heat against slavery must be the passionate resentment of an injured man, was not peculiar to Mayor Otis. It is apologetically put forth in the following (MS.) letter from President Wayland of Brown University, which is also noteworthy for its perverse assumption that the editor of the *Liberator* was promoting a slave insurrection, as well as for the sophistry of the future author of the 'Elements of Moral Science.' Its date (after the Southampton rising) should not be overlooked:

'PROVIDENCE, Nov. 1, 1831.

"DEAR SIR: Having directed the paper which you have very politely sent me to be discontinued, various considerations render it proper that I should frankly state to you my reasons for having done so.

connected with the condition of slaves in this country. On these particulars I mean to seek for more exact information, which I am told will be attainable, as the editor makes no secret of his purpose, or his list of subscribers. Meanwhile, the statement must be sufficient to convince you and your friends of the insignificant countenance and support which the paper itself derives from this city. The paper which I read contained, among speculations which I consider atrocious and detestable, others compiled from essays, foreign and domestic,

"I believe as strongly as any other man that slavery is very wicked, and very destructive to the best interests both of master and slave. But this does not seem to me to decide that immediate emancipation of all the slaves in the U. S. would be either wise or just. Very much may be required to be done before liberty would be a blessing to the slave. I may have embezzled the property of a minor, and may have brought him up in misery and vice. It is wrong for me to hold this property for my own benefit, but it would be neither wise nor right to put it at once into the possession of my ward, and by so doing to expose him to temptations which his previous education had not prepared him to resist. I should first teach him how to use it, and then put him in possession of it.

"But even granting the propriety of Immediate Emancipation, there are other important questions to be settled. Shall we seek to bring about this event by enlightening, convincing, and persuading the masters, or by exciting to rebellion the slaves?

"If this desirable event can be accomplished by the first of these methods, it will prevent bloodshed; it will improve the moral character of both parties; it will bind them together by the feeling of benevolence on the one hand, and gratitude on the other; it will be permanent in its effects, and will be a glorious triumph to the cause of philanthropy by inducing man voluntarily to perform a great and noble action. Such seems to me the mode which Christianity would approve.

"If we, on the contrary, attempt to accomplish this result by exciting the slaves to rebellion, success can only be looked for after a most bloody servile war, destructive to all the better feelings of both parties, leaving them in interminable hatred, and utterly unfit for any permanently amicable adjustment; and after all, the event will be left to the mere accident of physical superiority. Whichever might succeed, neither party would be substantially better off than at present, and an ocean of blood would have been needlessly shed. Men are not often made better or happier by war, specially by servile war, the most destructive and demoralizing of all the forms of human massacre.

"Now I regret to say, my dear sir, that so far as I can judge, the tendency of your paper is to produce the latter of these results. Its attitude to the slave-owners is menacing and vindictive. The tendency of your remarks is to prejudice their minds against a cool discussion of the subject. On the contrary, the miseries of the slaves are set forth in a manner calculated to arouse their most destructive passions [and urge] them on to resistance at all hazards. Should such a catastrophe ever occur, I am sure

CHAP. VIII. 1831. upon the subject of slavery in the abstract;[1] and I am persuaded that if upon investigation it should be found that any of our citizens are among the subscribers, they are those who would sincerely disavow the horrid doctrines which openly encourage insurrection and its consequences," etc.

Lib. 18:162. What came of further inquiry is related in the letter of ex-Mayor Otis published in October, 1848,[2] in defence of the candidacy of Zachary Taylor against the sentimental objection that the Whig nominee for President was a slaveholder. In an historical digression slightly at variance with the foregoing account, he says:

"No symptom of the abolition mania, or a desire to interfere with the domestic concerns of the South, was manifested in any quarter till within a few years. The rise and progress of this fever is curious. The first information received by me of a disposition to agitate this subject in our State was from the Governors of Virginia and Georgia, severally remonstrating against an incendiary newspaper published in Boston, and, as they alleged, thrown broadcast among their plantations, inciting to insurrection and its horrid results. It appeared on enquiry that no member of the city government, nor any person of my acquaintance, had ever heard of the publication. Some time afterward, it was reported to me by the city officers that they had ferreted out the paper and its editor;[3] that his office was an obscure hole, his only visible auxiliary a negro boy, and his

that you or I would rather have lost our right hand than have written a word which should have contributed in the least degree to hasten it.

"I believe that you, my dear sir, have suffered injustice in consequence of your efforts in this cause. But let us remember the Gospel teaches us forgiveness. Let us strive to do *good to all men*—masters as well as slaves. In this course we shall be more useful, and, I think, follow more closely our Master in Heaven.

"With every sentiment of respect, I am, dear sir,

"Yours truly,

"F. WAYLAND.

"Mr. W. LLOYD GARRISON, Boston."

[1] And therefore presumably harmless. "The great mass of slaveholders," wrote Mr. Garrison, "while they profess to be opposed to slavery in the abstract (would to Heaven there was no slavery but slavery in the *abstract!*), are incurably attached to practical slavery" (*Lib.* 2:194).

[2] His last political utterance. He died on October 28.

[3] Mayor Otis might have saved the "ferreting" by handing the city officers his copy of the *Liberator*, with the publication office declared upon the first page. He had had practice in this sort of inquisition (*ante*, p. 160).

supporters a very few insignificant persons of all colors.[1] This information, with the consent of the aldermen, I communicated to the above-named governors, with an assurance of my belief that the new fanaticism had not made, nor was likely to make, proselytes among the respectable classes of our people. In this, however, I was mistaken." CHAP. VIII. 1831.

Although Mayor Otis was lawyer enough to write his brother lawyer in South Carolina: "You must perceive the intrinsic, if not insuperable, obstacles to legislative enactments made to prevent crimes from being consummated beyond the local jurisdiction," he did not refuse to help lay a possible "foundation" for some kind of Federal or inter-State action. The prying visit of his officers needed a pretext, and under the head of "Information Wanted" we read in the *Liberator* of October 29: *Lib.* 1:175.

[1] This passage inspired Lowell's elevated poem to W. L. Garrison:

"In a small chamber, friendless and unseen,
Toiled o'er his types one poor, unlearned young man;
The place was dark, unfurnitured, and mean;—
Yet there the freedom of a race began.

"Help came but slowly; surely no man yet
Put lever to the heavy world with less:
What need of help? He knew how types were set,
He had a dauntless spirit, and a press.

"Such earnest natures are the fiery pith,
The compact nucleus, round which systems grow!
Mass after mass becomes inspired therewith,
And whirls impregnate with the central glow.

"O Truth! O Freedom! how are ye still born
In the rude stable, in the manger nursed!
What humble hands unbar those gates of morn
Through which the splendors of the New Day burst!

"What! shall one monk, scarce known beyond his cell,
Front Rome's far-reaching bolts, and scorn her frown?
Brave Luther answered YES!—that thunder's swell
Rocked Europe, and discharmed the triple crown.

"'Whatever can be known of earth, we know,'
Sneered Europe's wise men, in their snail-shells curled;
No! said one man in Genoa, and that No
Out of the dark created this New World.

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"The Hon. Robert Y. Hayne, of Columbia, S. C. (through the medium of a letter), wishes to know of the Mayor of Boston who sent a number of the *Liberator* to him, a few weeks ago? The Mayor of Boston (through the medium of a deputy) wishes to know of Mr. Garrison whether he sent the aforesaid number to the aforesaid individual? Mr. Garrison (through the medium of his paper) wishes to know of the Hon. Robert Y. Hayne, of Columbia, S. C., and the Mayor of Boston, what authority they have to put such questions?"

The South was mistaken in supposing the Bostonians indifferent to the defects of their legislation. Even Hosea Biglow's "Mister Buckinum,"[1] whose liberal conduct of the *Courier* had won Mr. Garrison's admiration and gratitude, could humble himself in this fashion:

Lib. I: 183.

"It is unquestionably true, as they [the editors of abolition papers 'seldom seen here' and 'seldom mentioned but with

"Who is it will not dare himself to trust?
  Who is it hath not strength to stand alone?
Who is it thwarts and bilks the inward MUST?
  He and his works, like sand, from earth are blown.

"Men of a thousand shifts and wiles, look here!
  See one straightforward conscience put in pawn
To win a world! See the obedient sphere
  By bravery's simple gravitation drawn!

"Shall we not heed the lesson taught of old,
  And by the Present's lips repeated still,
In our own single manhood to be bold,
  Fortressed in conscience and impregnable will?

"We stride the river daily at its spring,
  Nor, in our childish thoughtlessness, foresee
What myriad vassal streams shall tribute bring,
  How like an equal it shall greet the sea.

"O small beginnings, ye are great and strong,
  Based on a faithful heart and weariless brain!
Ye build the future fair, ye conquer wrong,
  Ye earn the crown, and wear it not in vain!"

[1] The Hon. Joseph T. Buckingham. "Send it to mister Buckinum, ses he, I don't ollers agree with him, ses he, but by Time, ses he, I *dew* like a feller that ain't a Feared" ('Biglow Papers,' p. 15). But this was in 1846.

abhorrence'] will contend, that every man has a right to advocate abolition, or conspiracy, or murder; for he may do all these without breaking our laws, although in any Southern State public justice and public safety would require his punishment. But if we have no laws upon the subject, it is because the exigency was not anticipated. . . . Penal statutes against treasonable and seditious publications are necessary in all communities. We have them for our own protection; if they should include provisions for the protection of our neighbors it would be no additional encroachment upon the liberty of the press."

But all such protestations went for nothing: the South had no patience to wait for their translation into censorship, or even into mobs. At Milledgeville, Georgia, in the State Senate, the practical Mr. Nesbit introduced, on the 29th of November, 1831, a resolution offering a reward of ——— dollars for the apprehension of Mr. Garrison, which finally took the following shape:

"IN SENATE, November 30, 1831.

Laws of Georgia for 1831, p. 255; Lib. 3: 123.

"*Resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives of the State of Georgia, in General Assembly met.* That the sum of five thousand dollars be, and the same is hereby, appropriated to be paid to any person or persons who shall arrest, bring to trial and prosecute to conviction, under the laws of this State, the editor or publisher of a certain paper called the *Liberator*, published in the town of Boston and State of Massachusetts; or who shall arrest, bring to trial and prosecute to conviction, under the laws of this State, any other person or persons who shall utter, publish or circulate within the limits of this State said paper called the *Liberator*, or any other paper, circular, pamphlet, letter or address of a seditious character.

"And that his Excellency the Governor is hereby authorized and requested to issue his warrant upon the Treasurer, for said sum of five thousand dollars, in favor of any person or persons who shall have arrested and brought to trial and prosecuted to conviction, under the laws of this State, the editor or publisher of the *Liberator;* or who shall have arrested and brought to trial or prosecuted to conviction, under the laws of this State, any other person or persons who shall utter, publish or circulate within the limits of this State said paper called the *Liberator*,

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or any other paper, circular, pamphlet, letter or address of a seditious character.

"And that these resolutions be inserted in the appropriation act.

"*And resolved further*, That his Excellency the Governor cause the foregoing resolutions to be published in the public journals of this State, and such other papers as he may think proper, and pay for the publication thereof, out of the contingent fund.

"Read and agreed to.

"THOMAS STOCKS, President.

"Attest, I. L. HARRIS, *Secretary*.

"In the House of Representatives.

"Concurred in, Dec. 24, 1831.

"ASBURY HULL, Speaker.

"Attest, W. C. DAWSON, *Clerk*.

"Approved, Dec. 26, 1831.

"WILSON LUMPKIN, Governor."

Lib. 1 : 203.

These resolutions were justly described by Mr. Garrison as a "bribe to kidnappers," a "reward for the abduction of our persons":

"Scarcely," he continued, "has a proposition of so monstrous a nature ever been submitted to any public body in any country. Yet, we presume, so indifferent or servile are nineteen-twentieths of the newspapers that it will elicit scarcely a single editorial rebuke. Of one thing we are sure: all Southern threats and rewards will be insufficient to deter us from pursuing the work of emancipation. As citizens of the United States, we know our rights and dare maintain them. We have committed no crime, but are expending our health, comfort and means for the salvation of our country, and for the interest and security of infatuated slaveholders, as well as for the relief of the poor slaves. We are not the enemies of the South because we tell her the truth."

N. Y. Sun, Oct. 24, 1879.

The proposition was, in fact, so monstrous that in our day an ill-informed chief magistrate of Georgia, Governor Colquitt, has publicly hazarded the belief that the tradition of it was "an utterly unfounded slander on the State." Happily for him he was able to express this

"incendiary" sentiment at a time when the abolition of slavery had made it perfectly safe to do so on the soil of Georgia—thanks to the editor who wrote further, on the news of the passage of the resolution: CHAP. VIII. 1831.

"A price set upon the head of a citizen of Massachusetts — for what? For daring to give his opinions of the moral aspect of slavery! Where is the liberty of the press and of speech? where the spirit of our fathers? where the immunities secured to us by our Bill of Rights? Are we the slaves of Southern taskmasters? Is it treason to maintain the principles of the Declaration of Independence? Must we say that slavery is a sacred and benevolent institution, or be silent? — Know this, ye Senatorial Patrons of kidnappers! that we despise your threats as much as we deplore your infatuation; nay, more — know that a hundred men stand ready to fill our place as soon as it is made vacant by violence. The *Liberator* shall yet live — live to warn you of your danger and guilt — live to plead for the perishing slaves — live to hail the day of universal emancipation!" *Lib.* 1: 207.

The Northern, and especially the New-England, press, which had resented the North Carolina indictment and proposed demand for the extradition of Garrison and Knapp, seasoned its indignation at the Georgia offer with a humor still more fatal to Southern pretensions. Mr. Garrison wanted no better vindication than he found in the events succeeding the 22d of August, 1831, the bloody Monday on which Nat Turner and his fellow-slaves attacked some dozen white families in the neighborhood of Southampton, shot or otherwise murdered them outright — but without plunder or outrage — and threw not only Virginia but every slaveholding State into the wildest excitement. Of the whites fifty-five thus perished; the blacks, quickly dispersed and hunted, yielded at least a hundred victims, of whom many were doubtless innocent. The deluded "prophet," more fortunate than some of his followers, was hung: *their* flesh was burnt with red-hot irons, their faces mutilated, their "jaws broken asunder and then set up as a mark to shoot at," their hamstrings cut, their bodies stuck like hogs, their

Lib. 1: 175, 191.

Lib. 2: 3, 7.

Niles' Register, Aug. 27, 1831, *p.* 455.

Ibid., Sept. 24, 1831, *p.* 67; *Oct.* 15, *pp.* 130, 131. *Lib.* 1: 155, 162, 170, 174, 190; 2: 6.

Lib. 1: 159.

CHAP. VIII. 1831. heads spiked to the whipping-post. When the first news of the outbreak reached the North, Mr. Garrison wrote: *Lib.* 1:143. "What we have so long predicted — at the peril of being stigmatized as an alarmist and declaimer — has commenced its fulfilment." Was it not his warning, only eight months ago —

> "Wo if it come with storm, and blood, and fire"?

As for those who were joining in the outcry against the revolt:

> "Ye patriotic hypocrites! ye panegyrists of Frenchmen, Greeks, and Poles! . . . Cast no reproach upon the conduct of the slaves, but let your lips and cheeks wear the blisters of condemnation! Ye accuse the pacific friends of emancipation of instigating the slaves to revolt. Take back the charge as a foul slander. The slaves need no incentives at our hands. They will find them in their stripes, . . . in your speeches, your conversations, your celebrations.[1] . . .
>
> "For ourselves, we are horror-struck at the late tidings. We have exerted our utmost efforts to avert the calamity. We have warned our countrymen of the danger of persisting in their unrighteous conduct. We have preached to the slaves the pacific precepts of Jesus Christ. We have appealed to Christians, philanthropists and patriots for their assistance to accomplish the great work of national redemption through the agency of moral power — of public opinion — of individual duty. How have we been received? We have been threatened, proscribed, vilified and imprisoned — a laughing-stock and a reproach. . . . IMMEDIATE EMANCIPATION! . . . "

In December the prison confessions of Nat Turner were printed in Baltimore in an edition of fifty thousand *Lib.* 1:202. copies, whereupon Mr. Garrison advises "the Grand Juries in the several slave States to indict Mr. Gray [the recipient of the confessions] and the printers of the

[1] Just a fortnight after the Southampton rising there was a "consecration" of Polish standards in Faneuil Hall, the Rev. Dr. Beecher making the "consecrating" prayer — "a successfully ridiculous farce," as it appeared to the editor of the *Liberator*, who "observed in the immense multitude a considerable number of persons of color, . . . apt learners of the art of war and the *glory* of dying in defence of liberty" (*Lib.* 1:151).

pamphlet forthwith; and the legislative bodies to offer a large reward for their apprehension." He also points out that it does not appear that Turner, who could both read and write, "ever saw a copy of the 'infernal *Liberator*' or of 'Walker's Pamphlet.'" A great marvel remained to be noticed: a Quaker petition, "praying for some attention to the evils of slavery," was received and respectfully referred in the Virginia Legislature; and the Richmond *Whig*, using a liberty of speech only too short-lived, announced in December that "The question of remote and gradual abolition is under the consideration of the General Assembly. Circumstances have subdued the morbid sensitiveness which disallowed even a public allusion to the topic. Public opinion can now act out its wishes" in regard to "an evil which all men confess to be the sorest which ever a nation groaned under." In its ardor, the *Whig* could even imagine the day when this subject was taken up for discussion being celebrated by posterity like another Fourth of July.

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Lib. 1:207.

The Virginia debates of 1831–2, which, unlike those at the close of the year 1800 concerning Gabriel's conspiracy, were public, had, indeed, all the marvellousness of a sudden utterance by a dumb man — who never lisps again! Copious extracts from them occur in the second volume of the *Liberator*. The fair promise of the resolution reported by Mr. Faulkner to the House of Delegates, favoring a scheme of gradual emancipation with compensation — which Mr. Garrison ironically held up as an "incendiary procedure" — was unfulfilled. In vain Mr. Moore spoke of slavery as a "curse" — "the heaviest calamity which has ever befallen any portion of the human race"; of its "irresistible tendency . . . to undermine and destroy everything like virtue and morality in the community"; of its disastrous effects on the general prosperity by making agriculture degrading for the whites; of its check upon population, its danger in case of invasion. In vain did the Richmond *Enquirer*

Niles' Register, Jan. 21, 1832, *p.* 378.

Lib. 2:7.

Lib. 2:17.

Lib. 2 : 18. endorse the speech, and the *Whig* ask: "What is the question of who shall be President — of Banks, of Roads and Canals, of Tariffs[1] — to this?" The Select Committee reported it inexpedient to make any legislative enactments at present, but declared the removal of the free blacks the first step to be taken. The debates have
Lib. 2 : 19. ended, said Mr. Garrison, "precisely as we have expected — in a refusal to act upon any proposition for the
Niles' Register, Jan. 14, 1832, *pp.* 368–9. gradual emancipation of the slaves, and in a recommendation to expel the free colored population from the South." The gain lay in those admissions on the part of slaveholders which could never be obliterated. Many of the speeches were "as *inflammatory* and *dangerous* as any remarks ever published in the *Liberator*. Query — Where is the Columbia Vigilance Association? where the Legislature of Georgia? where the Grand Jury of North Carolina? Incendiaries are multiplying rapidly — why do they pause? Let them magnify their rewards and multiply their indictments! If our humble persons be worth kidnapping, surely the Legislature of Virginia is a more valuable prey."

Lib. 2 : 18, 23. The same Mr. Broadnax who boldly asked: "Is there one man in Virginia who does not lament that there was ever a slave in the State?" reported a measure to effect the compulsory removal of the free and freed blacks by means of annual appropriations.[2] He was reputed one
Lib. 1 : 167, 197, 199; 2 : 19, 26, 34, 35, 59, 60, 62; *Niles' Register*, 42 : 93. of the pillars of the Colonization Society, and nothing could have been more gratifying to that body than the impulse in the border free as well as in the slave States, after the Virginia rising, to get rid of the free colored

[1] So the *Whig*: "But for its [slavery's] existence, we should never have heard a murmur against the tariff. . . . It is not a political, but a moral, cause, which is at the bottom of Southern decline" (Quoted, and heartily endorsed, by Niles in his *Register*, Feb. 18, 1832, p. 445, and reaffirmed in *Register*, 42 : 61).

[2] This bill passed the House (*Niles' Register*, 41 : 472), but failed to pass in the Senate (*ibid.*, 42 : 78), on the ground of its interfering with the arrangement for slave representation between the eastern and western sections of the State (*cf. ante*, p. 154).

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population. In their fifteenth annual report (1832) they speak of the "great movements" then going on in Maryland and Virginia, and continue: "Indeed, the whole American community appears to be awakened, as by one powerful spirit, to the consideration and adoption of measures for the more complete accomplishment of the great objects of the American Colonization Society." The *spirit* was worth more to them than the stringent and persecuting legislation, which was nugatory when passed. It was the spirit which everywhere at the North, either by statute or by custom, denied to a dark skin civil, social and educational equality — which in Boston forbade any merchant or respectable mechanic to take a colored apprentice; kept the colored people out of most public conveyances, and permitted any common carrier by land or sea, on the objections of a white passenger, to violate his contract with a "nigger," however cultivated or refined; in Park-Street Church (March, 1830) forbade the black owner (the accidental black owner) of a pew on the lower floor to occupy it, and actually took possession of it and let it (the deacons being reënforced by a constable), and in all the churches provided negro pews in remote corners of the building.[1] "I never," says Mr. Garrison, "can look up to these wretched retreats for my colored brethren without feeling my soul overwhelmed with emotions of shame, indignation, and sorrow"; and almost he believes "that in Boston we have merely the form of religious worship, without the substance." Even in towns, like the Quaker New Bedford, where pupils of both colors were admitted to the public schools, "the black boys were seated by themselves, and the white offenders were punished by being obliged to sit with them." In a word, the free

Lib. 2:63.

Lib. 1:69.

Lib. 1:11, 199; 2:109, 127; 3:123, 172, 207.

Lib. 1:65; *Abdy's Journal of a Residence in U. S.*, 1:133.

Lib. 1:81.

Congdon's Reminiscences of a Journalist, p. 38.

[1] In the old Baptist meeting-house at Hartford, Conn., the negro pews were boarded up in front, so that only peep-holes gave an outlook (*Lib.* 1:129); truly a "human menagerie" (*Lib.* 1:87). In Stoughton, Mass., the floor was cut from under a colored member's pew by the church authorities (Mrs. Child's 'Oasis,' p. 54).

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colored people were looked upon as an inferior caste, to whom their liberty was a curse, and their lot worse than that of the slaves, with this difference — that while the latter were kept in bondage "for their own good," it would have been very wicked to enslave the former for *their* good.[1]

Lib. 1:10, 5.

To aggravate their wretched condition by fostering white prejudice was the manifest policy of the Colonization Society; to protest against and relieve it was the logical beginning of Mr. Garrison's agitation against slavery. No white American before him had convened this despised population to listen to appeals to their manhood and citizenship like those which he delivered on his way North from Baltimore jail; or like that address in Boston (December 10, 1830) for which his grateful hearers pathetically assured him: "We cannot sufficiently express our feelings; for nothing was ever uttered more important and beneficial to our color. Your remarks were full of virtue and consolation, perfect in explanation, and furnished a rule to live by and to die by." He had the courage, in the second number of the *Liberator*, to hold up for repeal an old Massachusetts statute imposing a penalty of fifty pounds for marrying a white person and a negro, Indian or mulatto, and declaring all such marriages "absolutely null and void." Against insinuations that he was seeking the repeal for his own benefit, he persisted in the demand from week to week; and, before the close of the session of the Legisla-

Lib. 1:26.

Lib. 1:7.

Act of June 22, 1786.

Lib. 1:35; *Niles' Register*, 41:448.

[1] The inhuman treatment of this class acted, even more than slavery itself, as a deterrent on Heinrich Heine, when tempted to seek a home in America. His poetic imagination gave him, on this subject, a truer moral insight than was to be found in pulpit or pew in the Northern United States. In his letters from Heligoland, under date of July 1, 1830, he writes: "Die eigentliche Sklaverei, die in den meisten nordamerikanischen Provinzen abgeschafft, empört mich nicht so sehr wie die Brutalität womit die freien Schwarzen und die Mulatten behandelt werden. Wer auch nur im entferntesten Grade von einem Neger stammt, und wenn auch nicht mehr in der Farbe, sondern nur in der Gesichtsbildung eine solche Abstammung verräth, muss die grössten Kränkungen erdulden, Kränkungen die uns in Europa fabelhaft dünken."

ture, saw the prohibition of intermarriage readily abandoned by the House, although the bill was finally rejected on other grounds, and without reference to the preposterous objection raised in the press that "we have no right [by sanctioning intermarriage in Massachusetts] to interfere with the internal regulations of other States"!

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Lib. 1:43, 47. [93].

The *Liberator* speedily became the mouthpiece of the more intelligent colored people. They contributed to its columns praise of the editor's opposition to colonization, comments upon passing events, reports of their meetings, literary essays.[1] They received in return from Mr. Garrison courteous consideration without patronage, reiterated asseverations of the encouragement which their approval gave him ("outweighing mountains of abuse from other sources"), and the most practical advice. To obtain the peaceful recognition of their rights they should respect themselves, for their good example must break many fetters: their temperance, industry, peaceableness and piety would prove the safety of emancipation. They should be better than white men — a not difficult task. They should put their children to school and get as much education as possible themselves. They should form societies for moral improvement, and "let the women have theirs — no cause can get along without the powerful aid of women's influence." They should put aside jealousies, support each other in trade-dealings, and maintain an organization manifested by an annual national convention in some great city. Superior to revenge, they should maintain their rights in all cases and at whatever expense, raising a fund to carry to the Supreme Court cases of unconstitutional oppression,— such as disfranchisement without exemption from taxa-

Lib. 1:43.

[1] "I am much pleased," writes James Forten (MS., March 21, 1831) from Philadelphia, "to see how all the people of color, subscribers to the *Liberator*, speak in praise of it. It has roused up a spirit in our young people that had been slumbering for years, and we shall produce writers able to vindicate our cause." Mr. Forten's own children, as well as himself, wrote frequently for the paper.

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tion,[1] liability to imprisonment as runaways while travelling in the South and to be sold as slaves for jail fees, disability as witnesses against white criminals at the South, restrictions upon their right of residence and removal and of instruction.

Address before Free People of Color, June, 1831, p. 15.

"There is, my countrymen and friends, a remedy for such injustice. The Constitution of the United States knows nothing of white or black men; it makes no invidious distinction with regard to the color or condition of free inhabitants; it is broad enough to cover your persons; it has power enough to vindicate your rights. Thanks be to God that we have such a Constitution! Without it, the liberty of every man,—white as well as colored,—would be in jeopardy. There it stands, firm as the rock of Gibraltar, a high refuge from oppression."

The State Laws which disfranchise are unconstitutional:

Ibid., p. 16.

"I say that if they fall upon the Constitution they will be dashed in pieces. I say that it is your duty to carry this question up to the Supreme Court of the United States and have it settled forever. You have everything to gain, and nothing to lose, by the trial. . . . Once get yourselves acknowledged by that august tribunal as citizens of the United States, and you may walk abroad in majesty and strength, free as the air of heaven, sacred as the persons of kings."

He exhorted them, further, wherever they were allowed to vote, to have their names put on the poll-list and to go to the polls, voting for those friendly to their cause, and, if possible, for intelligent and respectable men of their own color. They should, besides, exercise constantly their right of petition — "if your prayer is refused seven times, send it seventy times seven." All thought of colonizing themselves as a people, whether in Africa, Hayti, Upper Canada, or elsewhere, should be abandoned, and every intelligent man won over by the

[1] When, in consonance with this advice, the colored citizens of Providence, R. I., petitioned to be exempted from the tax on real estate, or allowed the suffrage and the privilege of free schools, their prayer was refused, on the ground of the difficulty of telling who was and who was not colored, which might lead some whites to swear falsely! (*Lib.* 1:18, 38.)

Colonization Society be regarded as a traitor to their cause — not losing sight, however, of a just discrimination among the supporters of that Society: "Of the benevolent and disinterested intentions of many individuals, especially in the free States, we ought not to doubt." They should sustain according to their means the periodicals devoted to their cause, and multiply those conducted by colored men. "I speak on this subject pointedly, not with any selfish feelings, but because I know that without the powerful energies of the press every cause must languish." Finally, "Make the Lord Jesus Christ your refuge and exemplar. . . . If ever there were a people who needed the consolations of religion to sustain them in their grievous afflictions, you are that people." Acting upon the recommendation of the General Convention of Colored Delegates in Philadelphia, they should observe the Fourth of July as a day of fasting and prayer in all their churches. "Prayer will forward the work faster than all the pens in the land: we can do nothing without it."

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Address before Free People of Color, June, 1831, p. 23.

Ibid., p. 9.

Ibid., p. 7.

Ibid., p. 8.

Ibid., p. 9.

He cheered them with the assertion that the progress of their cause was a part of the "signs of the times," in harmony with the French and Belgian revolutions of the previous year, the actual Polish uprising, the agitation over the Reform Bill in England, the "rise in elevation" of their brethren "in the Danish, Portuguese, French and British Colonies." "The whole firmament is tremulous with an excess of light."

Ibid., pp. 4, 9, 18.

"I believe, as firmly as I do my own existence, that the time is not far distant when you and the trampled slaves will all be free — free in the spirit as well as in the letter — and enjoy the same rights in this country as other citizens. Every one of you shall sit under your own vine and fig-tree, and none shall molest or make you afraid."

Ibid., p. 4.

"I lose sight of your present situation, and look at it only in futurity. I imagine myself surrounded by educated men of color, the Websters, and Clays, and Hamiltons, and Dwights, and Edwardses of the day. I listen to their voice as Judges, and Representatives, and Rulers of the people — the whole people."

Ibid., p. 13.

Address before Free People of Color, June, 1831, p. 16.

"I do not despair of seeing the time when our State and National Assemblies will contain a fair proportion of colored representatives."[1]

Behind this prophecy was Mr. Garrison's dedication of himself to the redemption of the blacks:

Ibid., p. 3.

"I never," he says, in the beginning of the 'Address to the Free People of Color,' from which we have been chiefly quoting, "I never rise to address a colored audience without feeling ashamed of my own color; ashamed of being identified with a race of men who have done you so much injustice, and who yet retain so large a portion of your brethren in servile chains. To make atonement, in part, for this conduct, I have solemnly dedicated my health, and strength, and life, to your service. I love to plan and to work for your social, intellectual, political, and spiritual advancement. My happiness is augmented with yours: in your sufferings I participate.

"Henceforth I am ready on all days, on all convenient occasions, in all suitable places, before any sect or party, at whatever perils to my person, character, or interest, to plead the cause of my colored countrymen in particular, and of human rights in general. For this purpose, there is no day too holy, no place improper, no body of men too inconsiderable to address. For this purpose I ask no church to grant me authority to speak — I require no ordination — I am not careful to consult Martin Luther, or John Calvin, or His Holiness the Pope. It is a duty which, as a lover of justice, I am bound to execute; as a lover of my fellow-men, I ought not to shun; as a lover of Jesus Christ, and of his equalizing, republican and benevolent precepts, I rejoice to meet."

Lib. 1: 191.

Small wonder that there were some who took Mr. Garrison for a black man. For those who knew the contrary, he had these words in the Introduction to the pamphlet edition of the Address:

"It is not probable that I shall be able to satisfy the great body of the people of my own color otherwise than by entirely abandoning the cause of emancipation. They who do not hesi-

[1] In fact, Mr. Garrison lived to see Edwin G. Walker, son of the author of 'Walker's Appeal,' not only admitted to the Suffolk Bar (March Term, 1864), but a member of the Massachusetts Legislature (January Session, 1867). Later, in October, 1883, Mr. Walker was nominated judge of the Charlestown District Court by Gov. Benjamin F. Butler.

tate to call me a madman, a fanatic, a disturber of the peace, a promoter of rebellion,—among other charitable epithets,—for vindicating the rights of the slaves, will naturally be offended if I presume to stand up in behalf of the free people of color, or to address them on a subject appertaining to their welfare. I am determined, nevertheless, to give slaveholders and their apologists as much uneasiness as possible. They shall hear me, and of me, and from me, in a tone and with a frequency that shall make them tremble. There shall be no neutrals: men shall either like me or dislike me." CHAP. VIII. 1831.

The immediate occasion of the Address was a visit to Philadelphia during the month of June, 1831, which gave Mr. Garrison a temporary rest from the exhausting labors of the printing-office. In that city the First Annual Convention of the Colored People of the United States had been called; and at the earnest solicitation of the Rev. Simeon S. Jocelyn, of New Haven, and of Arthur Tappan (who characteristically engaged to pay his travelling expenses), he gladly consented to attend it in company with them, in order to strengthen their contemplated appeal for coöperation in a scheme for establishing a colored college in New Haven—an enterprise which owed its inception to Mr. Jocelyn, and which had been slumbering for nearly two years,[1] though in the meantime a colored primary school had been opened. The proposed college was to combine the usual literary courses with instruction in the mechanic arts, agriculture and horticulture; and New Haven was selected because of its existing educational advantages, as well as on account of its trade with the West Indies, in the British portion of which emancipation was evidently impending. Mr. Tappan had purchased land for the proposed building, and had agreed at the outset to contribute one thousand dollars out of ten which the white friends of the institution should provide; and the Philadelphia Convention was depended upon to raise another ten thousand among the colored people. No

Cf. ante, p. 149.

Lib. 1 : 169.

[1] "More than eighteen months ago," as Mr. Jocelyn wrote in the letter of May 28, 1831, in which he conveyed his invitation to Mr. Garrison.

Lib. 1:98. opposition was dreamed of. Indeed, Mr. Garrison wrote from New Haven that, thanks to Mr. Jocelyn's unselfish ministry for six years, in no place in the Union were the prejudices of the community against the blacks weaker; and it was recommended to the Convention by himself, together with Messrs. Jocelyn and Tappan, on the ground
Lib. 1:169. that its inhabitants were "friendly, pious, generous and humane," and its laws "salutary and protecting to all, without regard to complexion."

How much Nat Turner, and how much the mere name of "college," was responsible for the popular explosion in September, can perhaps not now be determined.[1] On
Lib. 1:151, 154. the 10th of that month, at a city meeting expressly called by the mayor and aldermen, notice was given that the manual-labor college would not be tolerated in New Haven; the pretext being that it was auxiliary to the agitation against the municipal institution of slavery, and "incompatible with the prosperity if not the existence" of Yale College, then largely frequented by South-
Niles' Register, 41:88; *Life of Arthur Tappan, pp.* 146–152. ern students. It was accordingly resolved, with only the dissenting votes of Mr. Jocelyn and three other citizens (one a Virginian), "by the Mayor, Aldermen, Common Council, and Freemen of the City of New Haven," "that we will resist the establishment of the proposed College in this place by every lawful means." Before this "respectable" opposition the flattering estimate of the humanity of the inhabitants fell, together with all hope of making their city the seat of the college.

On his way back to Boston Mr. Garrison delivered in
Thoughts on Colonization, p. 149. New Haven ("the hot-bed of African Colonization") an address "inimical to the Colonization Society," which was
Lib. 1:109. officially replied to immediately after his departure. At this time (July 11) he writes to his friend Ebenezer Dole, who had called upon him in his absence:

[1] "We have touched the very *quick* of oppression simply by calling the institution a *College*. Our enemies all over the country start at the name. Why? Because it carries the assurance of equality with it. We would not lose the name on any account" (MS. Sept. 20, 1831, S. S. Jocelyn to W. L. G.)

"I am truly rejoiced to learn that you are no colonizationist. I say rejoiced — because, after the most candid and prayerful investigation, I am persuaded the Colonization Society is based upon wrong principles; and, as for its leading doctrines, my judgment tells me they are abhorrent. Like many other good people, I was myself, for a time, deceived with regard to its character and tendency. I took the scheme upon trust; but my eyes are now open. I find, wherever I go, that thorough-going abolitionists do not support the Society. Great changes are taking place on this subject. The Society is fast losing many of its most worthy supporters; and by and by, I trust, none but slave-owners will be found in its support. Among those who have left it is Arthur Tappan, who is a host in himself." *MS.*

In February, 1831, Mr. Garrison attended a meeting, in the Boston State-house, whose object was to form a State Colonization Society, but he was denied permission to speak; nor did he meet with much success in inviting the friends of colonization to defend it in the columns of the *Liberator*. Meantime, the Massachusetts Legislature was induced to pass resolutions approving the Society, and favoring the annual appropriation by Congress of $240,000 to effect the removal of the entire free black population in twenty-eight years. Lyman Beecher, pastor of the Bowdoin-Street Church (and Mr. Garrison's pastor if he had any), was taking up Fourth of July collections for the Society (whose opponents, he said, were only "a few foolish whites"), and advocating colonization on the curious ground that "The blacks are justly entitled to the whole Southern territory; and how shall we liquidate their claim? By sending them to Africa"—"unquestionably," as Mr. Garrison remarked, "a New Way to pay Old Debts." Even his warm and admiring friend S. J. May took alarm at the *Liberator's* tone towards a movement which seemed at least "introductory to more efficient measures," and entreated with him at length, saying:[1] "I cannot go along with you in your opposition *Lib.* 1:27. *Lib.* 1:43. *Lib.* 1:67. *Lib.* 1:111.

[1] MS. March 26, 1831, and again, July 18. Mr. May was then and for some time afterwards a member of the Colonization Society. To him wrote Henry E. Benson, Aug. 4, 1831: "I should think that he [Mr. Garrison]

CHAP. VIII. 1831. to the Colonization Society. You have gone too far. Your language has been too severe — your censures too indiscriminate. I fear you have already injured greatly the cause." It was high time that a decisive attack should be made on this "conspiracy against human rights." On the 30th of July the *Liberator* contained a formal announcement that the editor intended to prepare shortly for the press a pamphlet entitled 'Thoughts on Colonization':

Lib. 1:65.

Lib. 1:123. "Upon this pamphlet I shall be willing," he said, "to stake my reputation for honesty, prudence, benevolence, truth, and sagaciousness. If I do not prove the Colonization spirit to be a creature without heart, without brains, eyeless, unnatural, hypocritical, relentless, unjust, then nothing is capable of demonstration."

Lib. 1:126. "It can be demonstrated," he wrote subsequently, "that the Society has inflicted a great injury upon the free and slave population; first, by strengthening the prejudices of the people — secondly, by discouraging the education of those who are free — thirdly, by inducing the passage of severe legislative enactments — and, finally, by lulling the whole country into a deep sleep."

This demonstration, amid daily cares, could not be hastened. In November, Mr. Garrison succeeded in obtaining from Washington complete files of the Society's organ, the *African Repository*, to the study of which he diligently applied himself. He was also stimulated by the receipt from England of Captain Charles Stuart's[1] exposure of the Colonization Society, which he reprinted in full. But his own publication was delayed till the following year. In the interval his denunciations in

MS. Nov. 12, 1831.

Lib. 1:158.

paid little regard to the seven pages you wrote him in regard to African colonization, by the perusal of three or four of his last numbers; for his opposition grows stronger, he says, the more he reflects upon it." And again, Sept. 2, after a visit to Boston: "Mr. Garrison says he shall write you soon, and has no doubt that, as you are such an unprejudiced man, he shall soon make you a convert to his views of the Colonization Society."

[1] A retired officer, on half-pay, formerly in the East India service, styled by James Cropper "one of the most devoted Christians I have ever known" (monthly *Abolitionist*, p. 40).

the *Liberator* observed their usual frequency and measure. "In attacking the principles, and exposing the evil tendency, of the Society, we wish no one to understand us as saying that all its friends are equally guilty, or actuated by the same motives. Nor let him suppose that we exonerate any of them from reprehension." When it was reported that certain persons, in a distant part of the State, scrupled to subscribe for the *Liberator* because they favored gradual emancipation with transportation to Liberia, "We are glad to learn," he said, "that some have even a perverted conscience in that place; for on the subject of slavery we feared they had none at all."

Lib. 1:65.

Lib. 1:117.

The Quaker mode of extinguishing slavery by abstaining from its products still commended itself to Mr. Garrison. "The free States," he says, in the second number of the *Liberator*, "receive and consume the productions of slave labor! The District of Columbia is national property; slavery exists in that District! Yet the free States are not involved in the guilt of slavery!" In subsequent discussions of the subject he urged that the receiver was as bad as the thief; that "a merchant who loads his vessel with the proceeds of slavery, does nearly as much at helping forward the slave trade as he that loads his vessel in Africa with slaves." Slaves are held in bondage "because they are profitable to their owners," and the reasons for giving up the use of what they produce "affect the very existence of slavery — none can possibly be more solemn and conclusive. The people of New England are daily fastening new and heavier fetters upon the slaves, and putting an immense bribe into the hands of the planters, by consuming those articles which have been raised at the expense of the bodies and souls of two millions of their fellow-beings." "*Entire abstinence* from the products of slavery is the duty of every individual." He desired the multiplication of free-produce societies to "strike at the root of slavery," and one of the objects of an American Anti-Slavery Society should be "to encourage planters to cultivate their lands

Lib. 1:5.

Lib. 1:66.

Lib. 1:29.

Lib. 1:121.

Lib. 1:49.

Lib. 1:121.

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by freemen, offering large premiums." He commended to the patronage of abolitionists the free groceries of Charles Collins, in New York, and of Lydia White,[1] in Philadelphia, and allowed C. Peirce, of the latter city, to advertise that orders on his grocery would be gladly received at the office of the *Liberator*, and the goods procured without extra charge. Logically there seemed no flaw in the argument based on the half-truth that slaves are kept because they are profitable; practically, Mr. Garrison regarded the free-produce movement as only a subordinate instrumentality. All appeals to the Northern conscience were blows at "the root of slavery," and he welcomed this among others. He never proposed to make it his sole weapon, and in time it came to seem to him one of the least effective.

Lib. 1:173.

Lib. 1:88.

A dim prefiguring of the axe whose strokes were to make the tree tremble to its crown, is to be found in the first volume of the *Liberator*. Mr. Garrison had a perfectly just understanding of the pro-slavery guarantees of the United States Constitution, and of the powers of the Federal Government over the institution of slavery. His incessant demand for emancipation in the District of Columbia, which he was amazed that John Quincy Adams, then a member of the House of Representatives, should refuse to countenance; his proposal to agitate for the abrogation of the slave-representation clause of the Constitution; his conviction that the Constitution had only to be invoked through the Supreme Court to secure the free people of color against the oppressive enactments of the Southern States; his mention, with only moral censure, of the employment of Federal troops to suppress slave insurrections at the South—all show his strict construction of rights and obligations under the law of the land, for reformers as well as for

Lib. 1:207.

Lib. 1:121.

Lib. 1:66, *and passim.*

Lib. 1:34.

[1] From a letter of Lydia White's of May 9, 1831 (partly printed in *Lib.* 1:87), it would appear that Mr. Garrison was desirous to clothe himself with free-labor fabrics. See, also, *Lib.* 1:93. Part of the severe plainness of fare of the partners while living in Merchants' Hall was due to a conscientious abstinence from coffee and sugar at least, as slave-labor products.

the oppressed. From time to time, nevertheless, his vision embraced a larger view — partly philosophic, partly revolutionary, but not unpatriotic. In his second issue he notices with pleasure the failure to call a secession convention in South Carolina, but points out the fatal result, to any or all of the slave States, of separation, and adds: "In process of time, one thing is certain: they must either give up their slaves or the Union. . . . The people of the free States . . . are weary of the load of guilt which is imposed upon them by the compact." Months afterwards, as it appeared to him: "The bond of our Union is becoming more and more brittle, not by any attempts to enfranchise the slaves, but by the rapid, deadly, unobstructed growth of slavery. It may be safely affirmed that unless there be a speedy abolition of the system, a separation between the free and slave States will be unavoidable. He who would see our country united, must use his utmost efforts to hasten the progress of emancipation." And finally: "If the bodies and souls of millions of rational beings must be sacrificed as the price of the Union, better, far better, that a separation should take place."

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Lib. 1:7.

Lib. 1:123.

Lib. 1:165.

Upon the religious sentiment of the country and the sacred books which inspired it, Mr. Garrison hopefully relied for the most powerful assistance in his crusade against slavery. "Religious professors, of all denominations," he declared, "must bear unqualified testimony against slavery. . . . Consequently, no slaveholder ought to be embraced within the pale of a Christian church." Yet he was well aware that "to doubt the religious vitality of a church which is composed of slaveholders, is the worst species of infidelity," and that he must begin by censuring those whose support he should ultimately win. "Considering their influence and the force of their example, undoubtedly the worst enemies of the people of color are professors of religion." Let them be slave-owners, and "undoubtedly the most abominable and surprising spectacle which the wicked-

Lib. 1:121.

Lib. 1:5.

Lib. 1:115.

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ness of man presents, in the sight of Heaven, is a reverend slavite preying upon the lambs of God, and trafficking in the souls of men." Their delinquency could not, however, shake his faith in the anti-slavery potency of the Bible. "The Bible Society is doing more to break the fetters of oppression and scatter the mists of delusion than all the patriotic associations and military orders in the world." Still another incendiary ally he found in the New York General Tract Depository, which, as he learned "with lively sensations of joy," had issued in October, 1830, no less than thirty thousand copies of the Scriptures, most of which were intended as donations for the Mississippi Valley:

Lib. 1:54.

> "The cause of emancipation will receive an immense benefit from this liberal distribution of the 'Word of Life.' THE BIBLE — THE BIBLE! how shall we subdue the obdurate heart, and awaken the seared conscience, and successfully impeach the criminal conduct of slave-owners; — how shall we operate upon public opinion, and call into vigorous exercise the moral energies of the nation, and establish justice throughout our borders, and break down the middle walls of partition which separate man from his fellow-man; — how shall we preach deliverance to the captive, and the opening of the prison-doors to them that are bound, and transform the benighted and suffering slave into an enlightened and happy freeman, and the haughty master into a familiar friend — how shall we accomplish this, and more, without THE BIBLE? Human legislation — what is it? It is incoherent and contrarious; it justifies in one state or country what it punishes in another; it holds no jurisdiction over the hearts of men; it is capable of disastrous perversion; it is governed by worldly policy; it alters with the fluctuations of society. Take away THE BIBLE, and our warfare with oppression, and infidelity, and intemperance, and impurity, and crime, is at an end: our weapons are wrested away — our foundation is removed — we have no authority to speak, and no courage to act."

Not less orthodox were Mr. Garrison's views of fasting and prayer, to which he frequently exhorted the colored people; and of the Sabbath and Sabbath-schools. He urges colored parents, "as they value the temporal and

Lib. 1:73.

Lib. 1:115.

eternal welfare of their children, to send them where they can obtain instruction on the Sabbath." "If thou wert blotted out, our moral sun," he says in a sonnet to the day,[1] earth would "resemble hell." With the Puritan respect for Sabbath eve he notices what he believes to be the first instance of opening a ball in Boston on Saturday evening, hopes it will be the last, and calls it an "outrage . . . upon the moral sense of this community." In April, he remarks with gratification on the prevailing "extraordinary excitement on the subject of religion," and the unusual solemnity and increased attendance in Boston; defends revivals against the charge of being "the wildness of fanaticism," but holds religious conversions to be rational occurrences, not requiring "special grace or a miraculous interposition of the spirit"; looks to "extensive revivals of pure religion" to save the country from great plagues and sudden destruction; asserts that emancipation of the slaves must be the work of Christianity and of the churches; hopes the present revival may prove to be animated by the Holy Spirit, and bids the mourning slaves take courage, "for your redemption is at hand"![2] The May anniversaries

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Lib. 1:64.

Lib. 1:47.

Lib. 1:57.

[1] "What a most conscientious and devout 'legalist' I was when I wrote it," he writes to Oliver Johnson, May 25, 1874. "In my blindness I adopted Dr. Beecher's preposterous figure of speech, as applied to the first day of the week, that 'the Sabbath is the moral sun of the universe,' and so logically predicted that chaos would come again if it were blotted out — *i. e.*, not observed in an orthodox fashion — a fashion, however, not according to Luther, Melanchthon, Calvin, or any of the great lights of the Reformation, of which fact I was then ignorant." Dr. Beecher's use of this figure, however, at Pittsburgh, in the summer of 1836, called forth a protest from Mr. Garrison against such "extravagant and preposterous language" (*Lib.* 6:118).

[2] To a multitude, indeed, both before and behind the scenes, who connected this deep excitement with the revolutionary upheavals of the Old World, the millennial day of judgment seemed very near. An extract from the Rev. Lyman Beecher's discourse on the preservation of the Sabbath, copied into the *Liberator* (1:172) for its characteristic "glowing eloquence and startling solemnity," reads like a fragment of Millerite oratory, and shows how the way was paved for the Second-Adventist delusion of the next decade. (Compare Goodell's 'Slavery and Anti-Slavery,' p. 387, and the prospectus of the *Liberator* printed on the cover of the 'Thoughts on Colonization,' June, 1832.)

of this memorable revival year were peculiarly refreshing
Lib. 1:87. to Mr. Garrison. "It has been," he writes, "the happiest week of our existence. We cannot discriminate between the excellence and importance of the different societies: *every one of them was the best.* Only one thing was wanting — the anniversary of a National Anti-Slavery Society. Such a society must be organized forthwith." Worthy of special praise seemed the Rev. Leonard Withington's election sermon, "an apology for the clergy, and a defence of their character." On the Fourth of July he
Lib. 1:111. attended the celebration at Park-Street Church, his feelings outraged by the sight of colored boys restricted to pews one-quarter way up the side-aisle, while the girls were kept near the door as usual; and his reason offended by the Rev. Dr. Wisner's specious attempt to prove that infant sprinkling was baptism.

"You are," wrote a gentleman from the District of
Lib. 1:33. Columbia to Mr. Garrison, "not only breaking the chains of the black slave, but also of the *white* slave." As this latter effect was incidental to the former, so the *Liberator's* warfare upon slavery was an incident, if the main one, in the universal philanthropy of its editor. "Human rights in general," to use his own phrase, commanded his services at all seasons; and all his earlier testimonies were renewed in the *Liberator*. His feelings on the subject of intemperance were scarcely surpassed
Lib. 1:9. in intensity by those in regard to slavery. He looked upon "every distiller or vender of ardent spirits" as "a poisoner of the health and morals of community"; and could even say, in his address in 1832 before the second annual Convention of the People of Color in
Lib. 2:101. Philadelphia: "God is my witness that, great as is my detestation of slavery and the foreign slave trade, I had rather be a slaveholder — yea, a kidnapper on the African coast — than sell this poison to my fellow-creatures for common consumption. Since the creation of the world there has been no tyrant like INTEMPERANCE, and no

slaves so cruelly treated as his."[1] Abhorring war, he declared his belief that "every man who kills another, either in a duel or battle, is, in the eye of God, guilty of his blood." He had scruples, over and above the prior claims of the slaves, against publishing an appeal to raise money in aid of the revolted Poles: "Ours is the patriotism of Jesus Christ, not of this world. We justify no war. The victories of liberty should be bloodless, and effected solely by spiritual weapons. If we deemed it pleasing in the sight of God to kill tyrants, we would immediately put ourselves at the head of a black army at the South, and scatter devastation and death on every side." For, "surely if a man can be justified in fighting for a foreign people — the Greeks and Poles, for example — how much more can he be justified in fighting for his own brethren! Yet I am for leaving vengeance to God." Nevertheless, when, as in Hayti, "the battle for liberty is begun, we pray that the injured party may in all cases be victorious." Not yet had Mr. Garrison carried his peace doctrine so far as to disfranchise himself rather than, by voting, to sustain a government resting on force. Capital punishment he naturally held to be "unauthorized." The penitentiary "should become a place of just yet merciful correction, and of the means of moral reform." We see him attending a public meeting in Faneuil Hall, presided over by Mayor Otis, and addressed by the Rev. John Pierpont, for the abolishment of imprisonment for debt; and leaving it with a poem[2] running in his head "to illustrate the barbarity of a system which, *as far as it goes*, is scarcely surpassed by African slavery" — the difference being that the people had the remedy in their own hands.

CHAP. VIII. 1831.

Lib. 1:75.

Lib. 1:113.

Lib. 1:127.

Lib. 1:55, 71.

Lib. 1:63.

Lib. 1:7.

Lib. 1:23.

Lib. 1:28.

Lib. 1:6.

[1] At the Rev. Moses Thacher's lectures on Intemperance in Park-Street Church, in August, Mr. Garrison "joined most heartily in the anathema" pronounced on "the use of tobacco, either in chewing, smoking, or snuffing" (*Lib.* 1:135).

[2] "The Poor Debtor"; poetically estimated, not above the mediocrity of occasional verse.

Niles' Register, Aug. 27, 1831, p. 460.
Lib. 1: 112, 127, 167.

It was both as an abolitionist and as a Christian that Mr. Garrison reported with indignation the successive details of the brutal treatment of the white missionaries among the Cherokees, who had been ordered by the State of Georgia to leave a Territory over which it had no jurisdiction — arrested — chained like runaway slaves to the horses of their guards — and imprisoned at hard labor for four years. But he could ask, on reading the comments of the religious press, North and South, "Has the 'madman Garrison' ever committed himself in the use of stronger invective against the oppressors of the slaves than appears in the following language? His insanity is really growing contagious, and fanatics are multiplying on every side!" With the Cherokees themselves, of course, in their hopeless struggle with a rapacious oligarchy, he was no less in sympathy than with the missionaries.[1] Charity for the Indians was then and has ever since been a conspicuous element of Boston philanthropy. When John Ridge, the Cherokee chief, came to that city in March, 1832, to present the grievances of his people, the Old South was thrown open to him, Leverett Saltonstall spoke from the same pulpit, and Mr. Pickering[2] announced the latest intelligence, that the Supreme Court had decided the law under which the missionaries had been imprisoned to be unconstitutional — news which Mr. Garrison, as an eye-witness, says was "received with the most enthusiastic applause. Indeed, it may safely be affirmed that no event since the organization of the government, except perhaps the treaty of peace, has created a livelier sensation of joy in Boston and its vicinity than this decision of the Supreme Court." But joy was soon drowned by Georgia's

Niles' Register, 42: 25, 40.
Lib. 2: 39.
1815.

[1] See, again, the trampled Indian treaties in the pictorial heading of the *Liberator*.

[2] John, son of Colonel Timothy Pickering, and an eminent lawyer and scholar, then the city solicitor. In 1836 he published 'Remarks on the Indian Languages of North America.'

nullification of the decision, with President Jackson's tacit approval.[1] CHAP. VIII. 1831.

Mr. Garrison's anti-masonic views had undergone no change: he was still "utterly and irreconcilably opposed to the institution of masonry." But he had a ready touchstone for pro-slavery anti-masons who prated of the anti-republican tendencies of secret orders. For himself he needed neither signs nor grips to recognize the claims of a fellow-being in distress: his countrymen were mankind, his philanthropy could not be less broad. His patriotism was yet real and intense; his love of his native New England ingrained. "Tyrants and slaves may exist at the South, but they are unknown in New England. . . . 'Doughfaces' we have among us, and men lost to every honorable feeling — time-servers, apologists, traitors, and cowards; but think not," he warns the editors of the *National Intelligencer*, "that the great body of the descendants of the Pilgrims sanction Southern oppression." The abuse of a South Carolina journal he meets by holding up the editor as "a renegade from New England, who also advocates the rebellious doctrine of nullification." When informed that "the late Judge Lowell,[2] who was born in Newburyport, was the first individual in Massachusetts who freed a slave," "this fact," he says, speaking both for himself and for his partner, "is peculiarly gratifying to us, being ourselves natives of the same place."

Lib. 1:83.

Lib. 1:165.

Lib. 1:9.

Lib. 1:21.

[1] "One Indian hanged, some missionaries imprisoned, the writ of the Supreme Court disregarded, the Indians removed: and the political and pseudo-philanthropic intermeddlers left to the reflection of having done much mischief, in assuming to become the defenders and guardians of a race which the humanity of our laws and people were treating with parental kindness" (Benton, 'Thirty Years' View,' 1:166).

[2] John Lowell, the grandfather of the poet. This humane jurist, a member of the Constitutional Convention of 1780, is the reputed author of the clause in the Massachusetts Bill of Rights — "All men are born free and equal," etc. — which was designed to abolish slavery, and did in fact; and he offered his services gratuitously to any slave wishing to claim his freedom under it.

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Of jealousy or a selfish love of notoriety in the anti-slavery cause the first volume of the *Liberator* shows no trace. Mr. Garrison publishes the prospectus of the *Genius* after its removal to Washington; likewise, with special approval, the prospectus of the *African Sentinel*, to be published at Albany by John G. Stewart, a colored man, for which he subsequently offers to act as agent.[1] "To Benjamin Lundy, the veteran advocate of negro emancipation," he dedicates this sonnet:

Lib. 1:95.

Lib. 1:146.

Lib. 1:43; *Writings of W. L. G.*, p. 283.

Self-taught, unaided, poor, reviled, contemned—
Beset with enemies, by friends betrayed;
As madman and fanatic oft condemned,
Yet in thy noble cause still undismayed!
Leonidas thy courage could not boast;
Less numerous were his foes, his band more strong;
Alone, unto a more than Persian host,
Thou hast undauntedly given battle long.
Nor shalt thou singly wage th' unequal strife;
Unto thy aid, with spear and shield, I rush,
And freely do I offer up my life,
And bid my heart's blood find a wound to gush!
New volunteers are trooping to the field—
To die we are prepared—but not an inch to yield!

Of Isaac Knapp he speaks in these terms:

Lib. 1:139.

"I am pleased to have an opportunity of bestowing a well-deserved eulogy upon my partner in business. He is willing, for the love of the cause, to go through evil as well as good report; to endure privation, and abuse, and the loss of friends, so that he can put tyrants to shame and break the fetters of the slaves. He has been of essential service to me; and his loss would not be easily made up."[2]

[1] Lundy and Stewart in turn acted as agents for the *Liberator* (*Lib.* 1:73, 145, etc.)

[2] This testimony is repeated in a letter of March 1, 1874, to Oliver Johnson: "From the beginning to the close of our partnership he [Knapp] had the management of the finances, making all contracts with the paper-makers, and seeing all liabilities discharged. . . . In this respect, particularly, he was essential to the success of our undertaking, and deserves honorable remembrance. He never flinched, and never once grew disheartened."

Walter Knapp

In reviewing at its close the busy, eventful year, Mr. Garrison could look back on a flattering increase in the subscription list of the *Liberator*, with a prospect of enlarging the paper with the new volume; on the sale of three editions of his 'Address to the People of Color' in two months; and on a thousand evidences of the effect of his writings, his public discourse and his daily conversation on the friends and the foes of human freedom. His office was a rendezvous to which came men of all grades and professions — fellow-editors like David Lee Child,[1] John G. Whittier,[2] William J. Snelling,[3] Moses Thacher,[4] and Oliver Johnson;[5] lawyers like Samuel E. Sewall ("a man full of estimable qualities") and Ellis Gray Loring; schoolmasters like "the Lynn bard" Alonzo Lewis, and Joshua Coffin; the Quaker hatter, Arnold Buffum; "the distinguished advocate of peace," William Ladd; from Maine, the generous merchant, Ebenezer Dole; from Rhode Island, the young wool-dealer, George William Benson; from Connecticut, the Rev. Samuel J. May, whose genial sympathy and bold support had won Mr. Garrison's instant affection, so that in the second number of the *Liberator* appeared this tribute to one then unnamed:

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MS. Feb. 14, 1831.

Lib. 1:39.

> Friend of mankind! for thee I fondly cherish
> Th' exuberance of a brother's glowing love;
> And never in my memory shall perish
> Thy name or worth — so time shall truly prove!

Lib. 1:6; *Writings of W. L. G.*, *p.* 200.

[1] *Massachusetts Journal and Tribune*, Boston; [2] *New-England Weekly Review*, Hartford, as George D. Prentice's successor; [3] The *Amateur*, Boston; [4] The Boston *Telegraph*; [5] The *Christian Soldier*, Boston, printed on the *Liberator* press. These editors, again, were lawyers, ministers, and *littérateurs*. Oliver Johnson, who was four years younger than Mr. Garrison, was a native of Peacham, Vt., of Massachusetts parentage. He became an apprentice in the office of the Vermont *Watchman*, at Montpelier, where he read the *Journal of the Times*. Already, July 4, 1828, he had delivered in that town an address against slavery, from the colonization point of view. Like Mr. Garrison, he strove as early as possible to edit a paper of his own, and the first number of his *Christian Soldier* was issued in Boston within a week of the first number of the *Liberator*. It opposed the rising "heresy" of Universalism.

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Thy spirit is more gentle than a dove,
Yet hath an angel's energy and scope;
Its flight is towering as the heaven above,
And with the outstretched earth doth bravely cope.
Thou standest on an eminence so high
All nations congregate around its base;
There, with a kindling soul and piercing eye,
The wrongs and sufferings of thy kind dost trace:
Thy country is the world — thou know'st no other —
And every man, in every clime, thy brother!

No friendship, indeed, was to prove more pure or more lasting; and none had a greater influence on Mr. Garrison's life. In the twenty-eighth number of the *Liberator* appeared among the list of agents the name of Henry Egbert Benson, of Providence, R. I. He was the younger brother of the Mr. Benson mentioned above, and it was at the suggestion of Mr. May, then the Unitarian pastor of the Connecticut village of Brooklyn, in which their father resided, that Mr. Garrison inserted Henry Egbert's name, and immediately wrote to beg his acceptance of the commission. Mr. Benson needed no urging, for he had already interested himself in the success of the paper. The time was coming when that interest would be something more than philanthropic, and more than friendly — even brotherly. To him Mr. Garrison writes, under date of Boston, August 29, 1831:

MS. July 18, 1831.

MS. July 30, 1831.

MS.

"I have had the pleasure of taking your brother by the hand, and of holding an interesting *tête-à-tête* with him on the subject of slavery. My only regret is, on account of his short tarry, which has prevented me from paying him that attention which would be desirable. He is, I am glad to find, sound in the faith, not having in the least degenerated from his parent stock. Would to Heaven there were a host of such men enlisted in the glorious cause of universal emancipation! But we shall muster an army, by and by. The cause of freedom is onward; and the day is not far distant, I trust, when a black skin will not be merely endurable, but *popular*. For, be assured, favors are to be heaped, in due time, upon our colored countrymen, as thickly as have been sorrow and abuse. I have no despondency — no doubt: the triumph of truth is as sure as the light of heaven.

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"I wish that the colored people of Providence, if they feel on the subject as their brethren do elsewhere — and I presume they do — would immediately call a public meeting, and express their disapprobation of the colonization scheme. Safety and self-respect require this measure at their hands. Now is the time for the people of color to act — fearlessly, firmly, understandingly."[1]

Again, to the same, October 19: *Henry E. Benson. MS.*

"Permit me to introduce to you my worthy friend, Mr. Joshua Coffin, whom you will find an agreeable and intelligent person. He is a warm friend of the anti-slavery cause, and has correct views relative to the Colonization Society. He is about opening a school in this city for the instruction of free colored persons, and I have no doubt will be very successful. . . .

"The disturbances at the South still continue. The *Liberator* is causing the most extraordinary movements in the slave States among the whites, as you are doubtless already aware. I am constantly receiving anonymous letters, filled with abominable and bloody sentiments. These trouble me less than the wind. I never was so happy and confident in my mind as at the present time. The slaveholders are evidently given over to destruction. They are determined to shut out the light — to hear none of the appeals of justice and humanity. I shudder when I contemplate their fate."

To the same, November 12: *Henry E. Benson. MS.*

"You may soon expect to hear of the formation of an anti-slavery society in this city, on principles steadfast as the pillars of truth. There are some stanch abolitionists here who are ready for action, and whom no dangers or scoffs can frighten. We can do comparatively little without a concentration of moral strength. With physical force we have, you know, nothing to do."

We close this chapter, whose expansion will not appear excessive to those who pursue this narrative to the end, with an episode which belongs here, so far as its date can now be defined. In an editorial notice of Parton's 'Life of Aaron Burr,' in the *Liberator* of January 8, 1858, occurs the following passage:

"It is certainly to his [Burr's] credit that, while he was a member of the New York Legislature in 1784, a bill having *Lib.* 28:6.

[1] The meeting was held on Oct. 31. (See "A Voice from Providence" in *Lib.* 1:178.)

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been introduced for the gradual abolition of slavery in that State, 'he was in favor of a speedier extinction of the anomaly, and moved to amend the bill so as to totally abolish slavery after a certain day.' His amendment having been rejected, he voted for the original bill, which was lost.

"Probably," continues Mr. Garrison, "it was his last effort in that direction; for, in 1831–2, I cannot now determine the precise date, but not long after the publication of the *Liberator* was commenced,—Aaron Burr visited Boston, and sent me a special request to have an interview with him at the Marlboro' Hotel. Curious to see so noted a man, and especially to know what could be his object in soliciting an acquaintance, I at once complied with his request, and had a free conversation with him on the subject of slavery. He received me with the suavity and politeness for which he was so remarkable, and with great adroitness undertook to dissuade me from prosecuting the anti-slavery cause, and continuing to publish the *Liberator* — skilfully setting forth the hopelessness of my object, the perils to which I should be subjected, the dangers of a general emancipation of the slaves, the power and spirit of the slave oligarchy, etc., etc. His manner was patronizing, and, with his strong and plausible representations of the dangers and difficulties in the case, well calculated to make a deep impression on my then youthful mind. He had a remarkable eye, more penetrating, more fascinating than any I had ever seen, while his appearance was truly venerable. But he was baffled in his purpose, and soon found that he was dealing with one who occupied a very different plane from his own; whose trust was not in man, but in the living God; who was not to be intimidated or discouraged by any portrayal of consequences, whether real or imaginary; who was animated by a love of impartial liberty, and could not stoop to any considerations of worldly policy. As he revealed himself to my moral sense, I saw that he was destitute of any fixed principles, and that unyielding obedience to the higher law was regarded by him as credulity or fanaticism. Yet I do not remember that he undertook to argue the rightfulness of slavery — his aim being, rather, to convince me both of the folly and danger of attempting to struggle with the Slave Power for its overthrow.

"We parted — he courteous and plausible to the last, and I firm and uncompromising — and we never met again. What other object brought him to Boston, I could not learn: the next day, he returned to New York."

CHAPTER IX.

ORGANIZATION: NEW-ENGLAND ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.—THOUGHTS ON COLONIZATION.—1832.

THE first step towards the formation of an anti-slavery society in accordance with the doctrines advocated by the *Liberator* was taken in Boston on Sunday, November 13, 1831, when fifteen persons assembled in Mr. Sewall's office on State Street, on the understanding "that if the apostolic number of twelve should be found ready to unite upon the principles that should be thought vital, and in a plan of operations deemed wise and expedient," an association should then and there be organized. Among them were Mr. May and Mr. Oliver Johnson, who have both given an account of the proceedings. Mr. Garrison took the initiative, by describing "what the Abolitionists of Great Britain had done, since, under the inspiration of Elizabeth Heyrick, they had put their movement on the ground of immediate, in distinction from gradual, emancipation. He wanted societies formed in America upon the same principle, and could not be satisfied with any scheme of gradualism." For two hours the question was discussed, not whether immediate emancipation was right and safe, but whether on the one hand popular prejudice would not be unduly excited, and on the other the friends of gradual emancipation be repelled from the new society, by its positive committal to immediatism. "Mr. Garrison was firm in the conviction that the vitality of the movement depended upon a frank avowal of fundamental principles, however unpopular they might be;

Johnson's Garrison, pp. 82-89; *May's Recollections*, pp. 30-32.

CHAP. IX. 1832.

and the vote upon the question showed that nine were in favor of organizing upon his plan, while six were opposed." Mr. May was consequently obliged to return home without witnessing the completion of the organization.

Nevertheless the attempt was not abandoned. On Friday, December 16, another meeting was held at the same place, with ten present,[1] and, "after considerable discussion, David Lee Child, Samuel E. Sewall, William Lloyd Garrison, Ellis Gray Loring, and Oliver Johnson were appointed a committee to draft a constitution for an Anti-Slavery Society, to be reported January 1, 1832." Then for the first time Mr. Garrison gave public intimation of the movement, and, in the *Liberator* of the following day, called for the names of those who were ready to join it. On Sunday evening, the first of January, 1832, the draft of the constitution was reported to a meeting containing some new faces; among them, Alonzo Lewis, William Joseph Snelling, Dr. Gamaliel Bradford,[2] Dr. Abner Phelps, and the Rev. Abijah Blanchard, editor of an anti-masonic religious paper, who opened the meeting with prayer. The body of the constitution was adopted, "with a few unimportant alterations and additions," as the records read, but also with one highly significant of the conservative influences against which Mr. Garrison had had to contend in committee: "Voted, that 'Philo-African' be struck out [of the first article, denoting the Society's title], and 'New-England Anti-Slavery' be substituted." The choice marked the dominance of the same positive and aggressive spirit that put the *Liberator* and not the *Safety-Lamp* at the head of the movement for immediate emancipation. The preamble was referred for revision to another committee,[3] to be

Lib. 1 : 201.

[1] Namely, according to the records, David Lee Child, Ellis Gray Loring, Isaac Child, W. L. Garrison, Robert Bernard Hall, John Cutts Smith, Oliver Johnson, Isaac Knapp, Joshua Coffin, and Samuel E. Sewall.

[2] Dr. Bradford was a graduate of Harvard College (1814), and from 1833 to the close of his life in 1839 was Superintendent of the Massachusetts General Hospital.

[3] Consisting of Messrs. Sewall, Garrison, Blanchard, and Snelling.

reported to an adjourned meeting appointed for the evening of Friday, January 6, in the school-room under the African Baptist Church, in Belknap Street. CHAP. IX. 1832.

"Of that adjourned meeting," says Mr. Johnson, "my recollections are very vivid. A fierce northeast storm, combining snow, rain and hail in about equal proportions, was raging, and the streets were full of slush. They were dark, too, for the city of Boston in those days was very economical of light on 'Nigger Hill.'[1] It almost seemed as if Nature was frowning upon the new effort to abolish slavery. But the spirits of the little company rose superior to all external circumstances."

Mr. Child presided, and the preamble, as drawn by Mr. Snelling, was read as follows:

"We, the undersigned, hold that every person, of full age and sane mind, has a right to immediate freedom from personal bondage of whatsoever kind, unless imposed by the sentence of the law, for the commission of some crime. We hold that man cannot, consistently with reason, religion, and the eternal and immutable principles of justice, be the property of man. We hold that whoever retains his fellow-man in bondage is guilty of a grievous wrong. We hold that a mere difference of complexion is no reason why any man should be deprived of any of his natural rights, or subjected to any political disability. While we advance these opinions as the principles on which we intend to act, we declare that we will not operate on the existing relations of society by other than peaceful and lawful means, and that we will give no countenance to violence or insurrection." *Lib.* 2:25.

This declaration manifestly disregarded the point of expediency raised at the first meeting, which was again the cause of much earnest discussion without unanimity being reached; Messrs. Child, Loring and Sewall withholding their signatures from the perfected instrument.[2] *Lib.* 5:3.

[1] The north side of Beacon Hill, and the colored settlement of Boston *par excellence*.

[2] Their scruples could not long keep them aloof from a work in which their hearts were enlisted. At the monthly meeting in July, Mr. Sewall was appointed one of the Board of Managers to take the place of Mr. John Stimson, in August to succeed Mr. John S. Williams as Treasurer; and at

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The twelve persons, all white, who accepted the preamble and affixed their names, were William Lloyd Garrison, Oliver Johnson, Robert B. Hall, Arnold Buffum, William J. Snelling, John E. Fuller, Moses Thacher, Joshua Coffin, Stillman B. Newcomb, Benjamin C. Bacon, Isaac Knapp, and Henry K. Stockton[1]—not more than one or two of whom, says Mr. Johnson, "could have put a hundred dollars into the treasury without bankrupting themselves," whereas two at least of those not in perfect accord with them had hitherto been the pecuniary mainstay of the *Liberator*. What, however, must have seemed most discouraging to Mr. Garrison was his failure, after a year of argument in public and in private, to convince his truest and most necessary friends of the high expediency of immediatism. Nevertheless, "as the little company . . . were stepping out into the storm and darkness from the African school-house where their work was accomplished, Mr. Garrison impressively remarked: 'We have met to-night in this obscure school-house; our numbers are few and our influence limited; but, mark my prediction, Faneuil Hall shall ere long echo with the principles we have set forth. We shall shake the Nation by their mighty power.'"

Johnson's Garrison, p. 88.

the annual meeting in January, 1833, to succeed Mr. Garrison as Corresponding Secretary, while Messrs. Child and Loring were elected Counsellors. Mr. Sewall, however, only became a life member (by the payment of $15) in November, 1833 (*Lib.* 3:187).

[1] Of these only three were natives of Boston (*Lib.* 7:53). Five at least were still living in 1874, namely, Messrs. Garrison, Johnson, Fuller, Thacher, and Bacon (MS. Feb. 1, 1874, W. L. G. to O. Johnson, remarking on the longevity of the "apostles"). All but Mr. Johnson had died when Mr. Garrison passed away. From a later letter, Feb. 24, 1874, the following tributes are extracted. Of Benjamin C. Bacon: "You remember how early, faithfully, yet unobtrusively, he espoused the anti-slavery movement in Boston, and what excellent service he rendered as office-agent and secretary of the Anti-Slavery Depository. Ever of a meek and quiet spirit, not all the pro-slavery tumult of those times could disturb his serenity for a moment. He was equally serviceable to our cause after his removal to Philadelphia, and well appreciated by our friends and co-workers in that city." Of Moses Thacher: "He rendered important service and deserves honorable mention." Every one of the twelve was strongly Orthodox, while the three dissenters were Unitarians by conviction or affiliation. They were also the only lawyers.

The first publication of the Constitution of the New-England Anti-Slavery Society was made in the *Liberator* of February 18, 1832, together with a list of officers (including Arnold Buffum,[1] President, Joshua Coffin, Secretary, and W. L. Garrison, Corresponding Secretary), and an expository Address from the pen of the Rev. Moses Thacher, one of the Counsellors. The second article of the Constitution was as follows: *Lib.* 2:25. *Lib.* 2:43.

"The objects of the Society shall be to endeavor, by all means sanctioned by law, humanity and religion, to effect the abolition of slavery in the United States, to improve the character and condition of the free people of color, to inform and correct public opinion in relation to their situation and rights, and obtain for them equal civil and political rights and privileges with the whites."

Regular meetings were provided for on the last Monday of every month,[2] and an annual meeting on the second Wednesday in January; and the Board of Managers were authorized to appoint agents to be employed in any part of the United States, "in obtaining or communicating intelligence, in the publication or distribution of tracts, books or papers, or in the execution of any measure which may be adopted to promote the objects of the Society." Auxiliary societies contributing to its funds, and sending delegates to its meetings, would be recognized in any part of New England. The Address was occupied with a de-

[1] Arnold Buffum, a member of the Society of Friends, and son of a member of the Providence Society for Promoting the Abolition of Slavery (*Lib.* 3:138), was a native of Smithfield, R. I., where he was born in 1782. In 1824 he visited England, and there made the acquaintance of Clarkson and the leading abolitionists of his own sect. He made a second anti-slavery visit to England in April, 1843, when a clerical fellow-passenger described him as "an Old Hickory Quaker Abolitionist," a "tall, gray-headed, gold-spectacled patriarch" ('Life of Dr. Wm. A. Muhlenberg,' p. 163). He died March 13, 1859. See p. 94 of 'Proceedings of the American Anti-Slavery Society at its Third Decade, 1863.' Mr. Buffum possessed much mechanical ingenuity, which he applied in the line of his business — the manufacture of hats — and otherwise, and had dreams of liberally endowing the cause from his profits (MS. Mar. 27, 1835, Henry E. to Geo. W. Benson).

[2] May 28, 1832, "Voted, that hereafter meetings of the Society shall be opened by prayer."

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fence of the doctrine of immediate emancipation, and, as a corollary, with a denunciation of the aims and methods of the Colonization Society; and concluded with a warning to those who would temporize with slavery, of the danger of slave insurrections.

Of the seventy-two names appended, mostly in autograph, to the Constitution in the Society's records, perhaps a quarter were those of colored men, some of whom were barely able to write. The local membership was at the outset considerably smaller than the total just given. Such was the body pitted against the American Colonization Society, against (as events proved) the American Church, against the American Union. Its first action, at a meeting held in the *Liberator* office, was to instruct the Board of Managers to memorialize Congress for the abolition of slavery "in the District of Columbia and in the Territories of the United States under their jurisdiction," and to begin the work of popular agitation by preparing the Address above cited and procuring the delivery of another by its president, Arnold Buffum. In due course it had standing committees to assist in placing colored lads at trades, and to endeavor to get colored children into the public schools; to improve the existing schools for colored children and to build up others; and to inquire into all cases of inhabitants of New England who might be kidnapped, and take the necessary steps to procure their liberation at the Society's expense.[1] It considered a memorial for the repeal of § 7 of the Act of 1786, prohibiting the intermarriage of blacks and whites; sought to find support for a free-produce grocery in Boston; and resolved to undertake to raise $50,000 toward establishing a manual-labor school for colored youth, through solicitations "both in England and America." Mr. Garrison's motions, as preserved in the

Ante, p. 254.

Lib. 2:155.

[1] See, for an account of the Society's suit for the freedom of Francisco before Judge Shaw, *Lib.* 2:194. Mr. Sewall acted as the Society's counsel; and the anti-kidnapping committee, of which he was a member, was doubtless formed on his motion.

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records, looked to the preparation for the annual meeting in 1833 of reports on the foreign and domestic slave trade, on colonization, on the condition of the free people of color at large, on slavery in the United States and in the District; and to the despatch of an agent through the New England towns to deliver addresses and make collections on behalf of the Society. By his motion, too, Wilberforce and Clarkson were elected honorary members of the Society. On several of the important committees already enumerated, and on others pertaining to practical management and efficient propagandism, his name is to be found; and when the Society, which had begun by declaring the *Liberator* its official organ, towards the close of the year concluded that a monthly publication would better serve that purpose, he was one of three nominated by the Board to superintend the publication of it. In these and in other ways to be considered presently, he helped justify the Society's declaration in the first number of the *Abolitionist*, that, "probably, through its instrumentality, more public addresses on the subject of slavery, and appeals in behalf of the contemned free people of color, have been made in New England, during the past year [1832], than were elicited for forty years prior to its organization."

P. 2.

At the monthly meeting in May, Mr. Garrison was appointed a delegate to represent the Society at the second annual Convention of the People of Color, to be held in Philadelphia during the next fortnight; and having accepted an invitation to be the guest of Robert Purvis[1] during his stay in that city, he set out on the first of June, leaving his paper in the friendly charge of Messrs. Lewis and Coffin. His part in the Convention consisted chiefly in opposition to colonization; Mr. Gurley, the Secretary of the Colonization Society, having made a speech on the second day, to which Mr. Garrison made an immediate and effective rejoinder. Fragments of an address which the latter delivered at the close of the Con-

MS. May 30, 1832.

Alonzo Lewis, Joshua Coffin.

Lib. 2: 150.

[1] A son-in-law of James Forten.

Lib. 2 : 101. vention were published by request in the *Liberator*. The strain was singularly solemn, fervent, and hopeful.

His social experience was memorable:

MS. June 29, 1832. "I have had," he writes to Ebenezer Dole, "a most delightful visit to Philadelphia. . . . The delegates were generally men of large, sound sense and quick discernment — some of them able debaters, and all animated by a kindling, towering spirit of improvement. The people of color now begin to hope for a better state of things: this hope is filling their breasts with motives to exertion, and the consequence is, they are rising fast in moral and literary improvement. I sincerely wish you had been at the Convention. I wish you had been with me in Philadelphia, to see what I saw, to hear what I heard, and to experience what I felt, in associating with many colored families. There are colored men and women, young men and young ladies, in that city, who have few superiors in refinement, in moral worth, and in all that makes the human character worthy of admiration and praise."

And to Mr. Purvis himself he writes, immediately upon his return home:

MS. June 22, 1832. "The very generous and unremitted exertions made by yourself and your accomplished lady, to promote my happiness and comfort during my residence in Philadelphia, have left an indelible impression upon my memory, and opened in my breast a fountain of gratitude which only death can close. I know you do not need a profusion of thanks, but when the heart is full, the tongue must speak. . . . Never could I have anticipated such a change as has taken place in my feelings. I have constantly said of Boston, until now, with regard to my affection for it, that every stone in its streets was a magnet of attraction. And now — will you credit the confession? — I am — yes, *sighing* to return to the 'city of brotherly love.'"

In the letter to his friend Dole he continues:

MS. June 29, 1832. "The mockery of mockeries is at hand — the Fourth of July! By many, the day will be spent in rioting and intemperate drinking — by others, in political defamation and partisan heat — by others, in boasting of the freedom of the American people and unhazardous denunciations of the mother country. The waste of money, and health, and morals, will be immense. Another party will seize the occasion (many of

them with the best motives) to extol the merits of the Colonization Society, and increase its funds. Mistaken men! A very small number will spend the day in sadness and supplication, on account of the horrible oppression which is exercised over the bodies and souls of two millions of the rational creatures of God, in this boasted land of liberty.

"I have been appointed, by the New-England Anti-Slavery Society, to deliver an address in this city on the 4th of July, on the subject of slavery. Although the most strenuous exertions have been made by a committee to procure a meeting-house in which to have the address delivered, up to this hour they have not been able to succeed, and probably we must resort to a hall. Tell it not at the South! Publish it not in the capital of Georgia!"

The address was in fact delivered in Boylston Hall, and afterwards on the same day at Lynn. It was remarked that, contrary to the usage of the time, the Rev. Joshua N. Danforth, an agent of the Colonization Society, who officiated on the previous Sunday at the Essex-Street Church, refused to read the printed notice of the address. Twelve days later, in the one church sure to open its doors to him, the Baptist Church in Belknap Street, Mr. Garrison delivered another address, on the "Progress of the Abolition Cause," before the African Abolition Freehold Society, in commemoration of the Act of Parliament, in 1807, making the slave trade piracy. In this discourse, afterwards printed by request, occurs a striking apostrophe to Clarkson and Wilberforce, and the following personal passages:

Lib. 2 : 107.

P. 8.

"Last year, I felt as if I were fighting single-handed against the great enemy; now I see around me a host of valiant warriors, armed with weapons of an immortal temper, whom nothing can daunt, and who are pledged to the end of the contest. The number is increasing with singular rapidity. The standard which has been lifted up in Boston is attracting the gaze of the nation, and inspiring the drooping hearts of thousands with hope and courage."

P. 21.

"As for myself, whatever may be my fate — whether I fall in the spring-time of manhood by the hand of the assassin, or be immured in a Georgia cell, or be permitted to live to a ripe old age — I know that the success of your cause depends

P. 24.

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nothing upon my existence. I am but as a drop in the ocean, which, if it be separated, cannot be missed. My own faith is strong — my vision, clear — my consolation, great. 'Who art thou, O great mountain? Before Zerubbabel thou shalt become a plain: and he shall bring forth the headstone thereof with shoutings, crying, Grace, grace unto it.'"

Towards the latter part of August the Board of Managers of the New-England Anti-Slavery Society appointed Mr. Garrison an agent "to deliver addresses, etc., for a period not exceeding three months," with compensation at the rate of one hundred dollars for that period, and his expenses. In accordance with this commission he began a tour which embraced the central and eastern parts of Massachusetts, the northern part of Rhode Island, and Maine from Portland to Bangor — the last a region wholly new to him. In a series of letters to the *Liberator* he described his experiences from week to week. Explaining at the outset his motives in going about, he placed first justice to himself:

Lib. 2: 158, 162, 165, 166, 170, 175.

Lib. 2: 158.

"My enemies have had a long indulgence, until they begin to think they are safe from retribution. What libels have they not put forth, what caricatures have they not drawn, what calumnies have they not industriously propagated, from Maine to Missouri, respecting my motives and principles! . . . Such phrases as these — '*the madman Garrison*,' '*the fanatic Garrison*,' '*the incendiary Garrison*' — have extensively become as familiar as household words. Nothing amuses me more than to witness the unaffected and agreeable surprise which many strangers manifest in their countenances on a personal introduction to myself. They had almost imagined me to be in figure a monster of huge and horrid proportions; but now finding me decently made, *without a single horn*, they take me cordially by the hand, and acknowledge me 'a marvellous proper man.'"

An instance in point occurred at the house of the venerable Moses Brown, in Providence,[1] on Mr. Garrison's return from the Philadelphia Convention:

[1] About June 21. "We had," writes H. E. Benson to S. J. May, June 26, "a short though delightful visit from Mr. Garrison last week. If I had formed a very high opinion of him from what I had heard about him, that opinion was certainly not lessened when I became personally acquainted with him."

"During my visit at his dwelling, an individual from New York was introduced, named ——, (a relative of the patriarch, and a member of the Society of Friends,) whose deportment was somewhat pedantic and lofty — acquired, no doubt, in the school-room, as he was a teacher.[1] The subjects of slavery and colonization being introduced, he instantly avowed himself hostile to immediate abolition, and (of course) friendly to the Colonization Society. He then began, (ignorant all the while of my name,) in unmeasured terms to denounce 'one *Garrigus*, or Garrison, or some such name — a madman, a fanatic, and a radical, who was calling for the immediate liberation of all the slaves in this country,' etc., etc. This personal assault was exceedingly diverting to all the company, nor could I refrain from laughter. Assuming as much gravity as possible, I asked him whether he knew Mr. Garrison personally? He replied, No. Are you familiar with his sentiments? I again inquired. Yes — he had seen two or three numbers of a paper which he published, called the *Liberator*. Did you ever see any principles advocated in it by him which are not held in common by the Society of Friends? Oh, his memory was not sufficiently tenacious to enable him to cite particular passages. I then inquired whether he understood the doctrines and principles of the Colonization Society? Yes, he did. Taking up a copy of my 'Thoughts,' which happened to lie on the table, I read a few passages from the Reports of the Society, for his edification. These seemed to stagger him, till, taking the book from my hands, he discovered on the title-page that I was its author, on which he sneeringly remarked, 'Oh, this is by that radical Garrison! I don't believe his statements!' — and he was again commencing a tirade against me when he was checked by Friend Brown (who could no longer suppress his pleasant humor) in the following quaint and pithy manner: 'Thee does not know to whom thee has been talking — this is William Lloyd Garrison!' *Lib.* 2 : 162.

"The effect of this annunciation upon the gentleman was ludicrous in the extreme: he apologized for his plainness of speech, confessed that he had read very few of my writings, and that he had heard many allegations against me which he *supposed* were true, etc., etc. I told him that I hoped he would continue to speak as frankly as he had spoken before the disclosure of my name; that I had taken offence at nothing which he had advanced except his impeachment of my veracity; and

[1] This was none other than Goold Brown, the grammarian.

CHAP. IX. 1832. I could easily forgive that, on the supposition that it was hastily made to avoid a defeat. A long and spirited conversation ensued, in which nearly all the company participated; and on parting, I gave him a copy of my 'Thoughts,' for his harmless traducement,—persuaded that our interview had not been altogether unprofitable, and that henceforth the 'madman Garrigus, or Garrison, or some such name,'[1] would not rank quite so low in his estimation."

Worcester was the first place visited by Mr. Garrison, his choice being influenced by the fact that an Anti-Masonic Convention was to be held there, on September 5, to which he had been appointed delegate for Suffolk County.[2] Though heartily in sympathy with its objects,[3] he appears to have taken no active part in its proceedings; and having spoken on slavery in the Town Hall, after a church had been refused him, he drove through the beautiful scenery of the Blackstone Valley to Providence. The sight of the numerous factory villages on the way confirmed his traditional views on the tariff: "Although I have long since withdrawn from the field of politics, I feel a strong interest in the perpetuity of that system which fosters and protects the industry of the American people." So, later, at Hallowell, Maine, he found "an intelligent, clear-headed, and industrious population, whom it is not easy to mislead by any political impostures, and who are fully aware that the protection of American industry is the life-blood of the nation." In Providence he renewed his visit to Moses Brown, enjoyed the companionship of Henry Benson, and made several addresses to the colored people, whom he helped form a temperance society.

Lib. 2: 158.

Ante, p. 75.

Lib. 2: 162.

Lib. 2: 162.

[1] Goold Brown's blundering was not so far out of the way. In the south of France (Tarn-et-Garonne) Garrigues and Garrison (or Garrisson) are regarded as variations of the same name. The latter signifies "little oak."

[2] A pamphlet report of the "Proceedings of the Third Anti-Masonic Convention at Worcester," in the Mass. Historical Society's Library, contains an address to the people of Massachusetts, signed by the delegates. Mr. Garrison's name figures among the sixty-one from Suffolk Co.

[3] "I go for the immediate, unconditional, and total abolition of Freemasonry" (*Lib.* 2: 158).

In Portland, which he reached by boat from Boston, he was the guest of Nathan Winslow, "one of the most thoroughgoing friends of the abolition cause in our land,"[1] and was also the object of marked attentions from the colored citizens. His public addresses were well attended and respectfully listened to. Among his converts was General Samuel Fessenden, a man of fine presence, a lawyer of the highest standing, and one of the pillars of the Colonization Society in Maine. He had been induced to listen to Mr. Garrison's discourse on the subject from the Rev. Dr. Nichols's[2] pulpit, and was so much affected as to be moved to tears by it. With eyes still suffused, he awaited the speaker on his exit from the church, and accompanied him to Mr. Winslow's, where conversation lasted till past midnight.[3] In Hallowell, writes Mr. Garrison, "the first individual upon whom, as in duty bound, I called, was Mr. Ebenezer Dole, a philanthropist whose name is familiar to the readers of the *Liberator* — the first life-member of the New-England Anti-Slavery Society — the friend of the poor and needy, and supporter of the various benevolent operations of the times — whose interest in the abolition cause is unsurpassed — and to whom I labor under very onerous obligations. Our meeting was a cordial one." On his return from Bangor, he stopped at Waterville, where he was entertained by the President of the College,

Lib. 2: 166.

Lib. 2: 166.

[1] The same might have been said of his brother Isaac Winslow, who shortly afterwards lent timely and generous assistance to the struggling firm of Garrison & Knapp. Nathan had subscribed to the *Liberator* from its first number, and took it to the day of his death in 1861 — "more than once preventing its suspension by his liberal assistance, and authorizing us to draw upon him at any time, in case of emergency, for the means to continue it" (*Lib.* 31: 151). Both of these excellent men, who were members of the Society of Friends, took part in the formation of the American Anti-Slavery Society (*Lib.* 3: 202). Nathan Winslow subsequently made his home in Massachusetts, and became the father-in-law of Samuel E. Sewall.

[2] Ichabod Nichols, a prominent member of the Unitarian denomination.

[3] Related by Mr. Garrison to his son F. J. G. General Fessenden presided at the formation of a State anti-slavery society in the spring of the following year (*Lib.* 3: 75, 79). He was father of the distinguished Senator, Wm. Pitt Fessenden.

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Lib. 2:167.

Lib. 2:87. In the *Liberator* announcing the editor's departure for Philadelphia appeared the first advertisement of an octavo pamphlet of 240 pages, of which the full title read: 'Thoughts on African Colonization: or an impartial exhibition of the doctrines, principles and purposes of the American Colonization Society. Together with the resolutions, addresses and remonstrances of the free people of color. By Wm. Lloyd Garrison.' For a motto it bore these two texts: "Out of thine own mouth will I condemn thee." "Prove all things: hold fast that which is good." The preface opened with these words:

P. iii. "I dedicate this work to my countrymen, in whose intelligence, magnanimity and humanity I place the utmost reliance. Although they have long suffered themselves to be swayed by a prejudice as unmanly as it is wicked, and have departed widely from the golden rule of the gospel, in their treatment of the people of color, to suppose that they will always be the despisers and persecutors of this unfortunate class is, in my opinion, to libel their character. A change in their feelings and sentiments is already visible — a change which promises, ere long, to redeem their character from the bloody stains which slavery has cast upon it, and to release the prisoner from his chains. . . .

"To impair the force of this exposition, the ardent advocates of the Colonization Society will undoubtedly attempt to evade the ground of controversy, and lead incautious minds astray in a labyrinth of sophistry. But the question is not, whether the

[1] Formerly of Danvers, Mass. (See vol. viii. Coll. Maine Hist. Soc., p. 178.) Mr. Chaplin's wife, Eunice Stickney, was a distant relative of Mr. Garrison's, though neither host nor guest was aware of the fact. (See the Stickney Genealogy, pp. 87, 146, 458.)

[2] The refutation was effectual, for a second attempt the next year in the same place by Pearl, during Mr. Garrison's absence in England, proved an even worse failure. The latter's tour at this time also embraced the towns of Newburyport, Lowell, and Salem (*Lib.* 2:167, 183, and MS. letters of Arnold Buffum, Oct. 23, 24, 1832).

THOUGHTS

ON

AFRICAN COLONIZATION:

OR

AN IMPARTIAL EXHIBITION

OF THE

DOCTRINES, PRINCIPLES AND PURPOSES

OF THE

American Colonization Society.

TOGETHER WITH THE

RESOLUTIONS, ADDRESSES AND REMONSTRANCES

OF THE

FREE PEOPLE OF COLOR.

'Out of thine own mouth will I condemn thee.'
'Prove all things; hold fast that which is good.

BY WM. LLOYD GARRISON.

BOSTON:
PRINTED AND PUBLISHED BY GARRISON AND KNAPP.
NO. 11, MERCHANTS' HALL.

1832.

climate of Africa is salubrious, nor whether the mortality among the emigrants has been excessive, nor whether the colony is in a prosperous condition, nor whether the transportation of our whole colored population can be effected in thirty years or three centuries, nor whether any slaves have been emancipated on condition of banishment; but whether the doctrines and principles of the Society accord with the doctrines and principles of the gospel, whether slaveholders are the just proprietors of their slaves, whether it is not the sacred duty of the nation to abolish the system of slavery now, and to recognize the people of color as brethren and countrymen who have been unjustly treated and covered with unmerited shame. *This is the question — and the only question.*"

There follow thirty-eight pages of "Introductory Remarks," in which Mr. Garrison defends the sincerity of his opposition to the Society; tells how he was converted from a favorable opinion of it by examining its reports for himself; cites all the specifications he has brought against it in the *Liberator* and in his 'Address to the Free People of Color' in 1831; declares his friendliness to voluntary colonization, whether in Liberia or elsewhere, but shows, by a review of the history of Liberia, that the boasted evangelization of Africa has been neglected — that forts and murderous wars, on the one hand, and rum and tobacco, on the other, have formed the basis of propagandism among the natives, while the colony itself is left in intellectual darkness, so that there are "*two* ignorant and depraved nations to be regenerated instead of *one*":

"One of these nations is so incorrigibly stupid, or unfathomably deep in pollution, (for such is the argument,) that although surrounded by ten millions of people living under the full blaze of gospel light, and having every desirable facility to elevate and save it, it never can rise until it be removed at least three thousand miles from their vicinage! — and yet it is first to be evangelized in a barbarous land, by a feeble, inadequate process, before it can be qualified to evangelize the other nation!" [1] *Thoughts, p.* 33.

[1] Fifty years later (1881) a friend of colonization and Liberia, after reviewing the deplorable condition of the republic, concludes: "We shall be wise if we accept the condition imposed upon us, and do not persist in

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Further extracts will convey the general tenor of the "Introductory Remarks." After alluding to his deliberate espousal of the anti-slavery cause, Mr. Garrison continues:

Thoughts, p. 1. "In opposing the American Colonization Society, I have also counted the cost, and as clearly foreseen the formidable opposition which will be arrayed against me. Many of the clergy are enlisted in its support: their influence is powerful. Men of wealth and elevated station are among its contributors: wealth and station are almost omnipotent. The press has been seduced into its support: the press is a potent engine. Moreover, the Society is artfully based upon and defended by *popular prejudice:* it takes advantage of wicked and preposterous opinions, and hence its success. These things grieve, they cannot deter me. 'Truth is mighty and will prevail.' It is able to make falsehood blush, and tear from hypocrisy its mask, and annihilate prejudice, and overthrow persecution, and break every fetter. . . .

Ibid, p. 2. "In the progress of this discussion I shall have occasion to use very plain and sometimes very severe language. This would be an unpleasant task, did not duty imperiously demand its application. To give offence I am loath, but more to hide or modify the truth. I shall deal with the Society in its collective form — as one body — and not with individuals. While I shall be necessitated to marshal individual opinions in review, I protest, *ab origine*, against the supposition that indiscriminate censure is intended, or that every friend of the Society cherishes similar views. He to whom my reprehension does not apply, will not receive it. It is obviously impossible, in attacking a numerous and multiform combination, to exhibit private dissimilarities, or in every instance to discriminate between the various shades of opinion. It is sufficient that exceptions are made. My warfare is against the AMERICAN COLONIZATION SOCIETY. If I shall identify its general, preponderating and clearly developed traits, it must stand or fall as they shall prove benevolent or selfish. . . .

Ibid, p. 9. "The denunciations which I am now hurling against slavery and its abettors, — which seem to many so violent and unmerited, — will be considered moderate, pertinent and just,

crowding upon the shores of Liberia ship-loads of poor, ignorant, and improvident negro laborers, to die or to degenerate to a state very nearly approaching their original barbarism, in the vain hope that we shall thus evangelize Africa" ('The Liberian Republic as It Is,' by George R. Stetson, p. 26. Boston: A. Williams & Co.)

when this murderous, soul-destroying system shall have been overthrown. . . . CHAP. IX. 1832.

"To measure the propriety of language, we must first examine the character of the system, or the nature of the object, against which it is directed. If we see a person wilfully abusing the goods of an individual, we may reprehend him, but with comparative mildness. If we see him maiming, or in any way maltreating another man's cattle, we may increase the severity of our rebuke. But if we see him violating all the social and sacred relations of life, — daily defrauding a number of his fellow-creatures of the fruits of their toil, calling them his property, selling them for money, lacerating their bodies, and ruining their souls, — we may use the strongest terms of moral indignation. Nor is plain and vehement denunciation of crime inconsistent with the most benevolent feelings towards the perpetrators of it. We are sustained in these positions by the example of Christ, and the apostles, and the prophets, and the reformers. . . . *Thoughts*, *p.* 15.

"I should oppose this Society even were its doctrines harmless. It imperatively and effectually seals up the lips of a vast number of influential and pious men, who, for fear of giving offence to those slaveholders with whom they associate, and thereby leading to a dissolution of the compact, dare not expose the flagrant enormities of the system of slavery, nor denounce the crime of holding human beings in bondage. They dare not lead to the onset against the forces of tyranny; and if *they* shrink from the conflict, how shall the victory be won? I do not mean to aver, that, in their sermons, or addresses, or private conversations, they never allude to the subject of slavery; for they do so frequently, or at least every Fourth of July. But my complaint is, that they content themselves with representing slavery as an evil,—a misfortune,—a calamity which has been entailed upon us by former generations,[1]— *and not as an individual* CRIME, embracing in its folds robbery, cruelty, oppression and piracy. *They do not identify the criminals;* they make no direct, pungent, earnest appeal to the consciences of men-stealers. . . . *Ibid.*, *p.* 19. *i. e., the Union.*

"Singular enough, I have been almost as cruelly aspersed by ministers of the gospel and church-members as by any *Thoughts*, *p.* 9.

[1] "The present generation [at the South] are no more responsible for the existence of slavery than for swamps, pine barrens, or any other physical blemish of soil or local insalubrity" (Harrison Gray Otis, in letter of Oct. 17, 1831, cited above, p. 242).

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other class of men. Unacquainted with me, and ignorant of my sentiments, they have readily believed the accusations of my enemies. The introduction of my name into conversation has elicited from them contemptuous sneers or strong denunciations. I have a right to complain of this treatment, and I do strongly protest against it as unchristian, hurtful, and ungenerous. To prejudge and condemn an individual, on vague and apocryphal rumors, without listening to his defence or examining evidence, is tyranny. Perhaps I am in error — perhaps I deserve unqualified condemnation; but I am at least entitled to a privilege which is granted to the vilest criminals, namely, the privilege of a fair trial. I ask nothing more. To accuse me of heresy, madness, and sedition, is one thing; to substantiate the accusation, another."

P. 40.

The formal arraignment of the Colonization Society is divided in the 'Thoughts' into ten sections. The first aims "to show, first, the original design of the Society; secondly, that it is still strictly adhered to; and lastly, that the Society is solemnly pledged not to interfere with the system of slavery, or in any manner to disturb the repose of the planters." The second section convicts the Society of being the apologist of slavery and slaveholders. The third proves that it recognizes slaves as property; and the fourth, that it actually increases the value of slaves, and adds strength and security to the system. The fifth section denounces it as the enemy of immediate abolition:

Thoughts, p. 78.

"This, I am aware, in the present corrupt state of public sentiment, will not generally be deemed an objectionable feature; but I regard it with inexpressible abhorrence and dismay. . . .

Ibid., p. 80. *Cf. First Annual Report N. E. A. S. Society, p.* 17.

"Immediate abolition does not mean that the slaves shall immediately exercise the right of suffrage, or be eligible to any office, or be emancipated from law, or be free from the benevolent restraints of guardianship. We contend for the immediate personal freedom of the slaves, for their exemption from punishment except where law has been violated, for their employment and reward as free laborers, for their exclusive right to their own bodies and those of their own children, for their instruction and subsequent admission to all the trusts, offices, honors and emoluments of intelligent freemen. . . .

"Nor does immediate abolition mean that any compulsory power, other than moral, should be used in breaking the fetters of slavery."

The sixth section contends that the Colonization Society is nourished by fear and selfishness — "an irrepressible and agonizing fear of the influence of the free people of color over the slave population," in breeding discontent and insubordination; and the instinct of self-preservation against "the corroding evil of this numerous caste," these "alien enemies," "by necessity anything rather than loyal citizens." In section seven the utter expulsion of the blacks, on the pretence of sending the "exiles" back to "their own country," "their native land," is shown to be the aim of the Society, which, nevertheless, has forgotten to make provision for the mulattoes. As "white blood in Africa would be as repugnant to Nature as black blood is in this country," their case can only be settled by a resort to phlebotomy. In section eight Mr. Garrison vindicates the character of the free colored population of the North against the disparagement of the Society, declaring it superior to that of equally indigent whites or foreign immigrants. In section nine the Society is accused of denying the possibility of elevating the blacks in this country. Hereupon, says Mr. Garrison, "The detestation of feeling, the fire of moral indignation, and the agony of soul which I have felt kindling and swelling within me, in the progress of this review, under this section reach the acme of intensity"; and he cries out against such unrepublican and unchristian sentiments. He concludes his arraignment with the proposition that the Society deceives and misleads the nation as to its actual achievements in removing the blacks, and the cost thereof, and as to its ability to transport them all in less than thirty years; while its pretence that only through Liberia, Sierra Leone, and similar colonies can the slave trade be abolished, conceals the truth that the only way is to *break up the market*. The number of slaves annually smuggled into

Thoughts, p. 95.

Ibid., pp. 98, 99, 101.

Ibid., p. 119.

Ibid., p. 121.

Ibid., p. 134.

the South is seven times that actually transported to Africa by the Society in fifteen years. "By letting the system of slavery alone, then, and striving to protect it, the Society is encouraging and perpetuating the foreign slave trade."

Thoughts, p. 160.

All these positions were overwhelmingly sustained by extracts from the Society's organ (the *African Repository*), its annual reports, and the speeches and writings of its well-known supporters, including, of course, Henry Clay, the open apologist of slavery, but also such men as Gerrit Smith, who bore witness that "Our Society has nothing to do directly with the question of slavery"; John A. Dix, who equally disclaimed for it any abolition purpose; W. B. O. Peabody, the Unitarian divine, who did not doubt that "the slaves are happier than they could be if set free in this country"; Eliphalet Nott, the Presbyterian President of Union College, who held that the free people of color, having been degraded by slavery, were "still further degraded by the mockery of nominal freedom"; Mathew Carey,[1] whose dictum was: "We may, therefore, fairly conclude the object of imme-

Ibid., p. 44.

Ibid., p. 49.

Ibid., p. 62.

Ibid., p. 143.

Ibid., p. 83.

[1] Author of 'Letters on the Colonization Society, and of its Probable Result,' etc. (Philadelphia, 4th ed., June 19, 1832), in which he designates Mr. Garrison as the Society's most formidable antagonist. The two opponents had met (*Lib.* 2:143): "We have had a personal interview with Mr. C., and we know that his prejudices against the people of color are active and inveterate. His notions of justice and pleas of expediency are utterly abhorrent to our moral sense. He persisted in saying that the condition of the slaves was better than that of the laboring classes in Great Britain!!—an assertion which makes his own countrymen a servile and brutish race, and which any man who knows the difference between black and white should blush to advance." Carey, it will be remembered, was a native of Ireland. Compare Dr. Channing's letter to Miss Aikin of Dec. 29, 1831 (p. 113 of 'Correspondence'): "But do you know how slaveholders reconcile themselves to their guilt? . . . 'Our slaves subsist more comfortably than the populace and peasantry of Europe.' . . . I acknowledge the sophistry, but mourn that it should have so much foundation." Notice also that Mathew Carey had published in 1796 St. George Tucker's 'Dissertation on Slavery; with a Proposal for the Gradual Abolition of it in the State of Virginia,' bearing this epigraph from Montesquieu: "Slavery not only violates the Laws of Nature and of Civil Society, it also wounds the best forms of government: in a Democracy, where all men are equal, slavery is contrary to the spirit of the Constitution."

diate, universal emancipation wholly unattainable, or, if attainable, at too high a price"; and even the "apostle of peace," William Ladd, who "knew" that immediate emancipation "would be a curse to all parties." These names manifest the Society's strength among the intellectual and moral as well as political leaders of public opinion. Moreover:

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Thoughts, *p.* 84.

"Of the whole number of individuals constituting the officers of the Society, nearly three-fourths, I believe, *are the owners of slaves*, or interested in slave property; not one of whom, to my knowledge, has emancipated any of his slaves to be sent to Liberia!! The President of the Society (Charles Carroll) owns, I have understood, nearly *one thousand slaves!* And yet he is lauded, beyond measure, as a patriot, a philanthropist, and a Christian! The former President (Judge Bushrod Washington), so far from breaking the fetters of his slaves, actually while holding his office offered a large reward for a runaway female slave, to any person who would secure her by putting her into any jail within the United States!"

Ibid., *Part* II., *p.* 76.

To complete the effectiveness of his assault, Mr. Garrison gathered in a second part of his volume the protestations of the people of color against colonization, proving them to be "as unanimously opposed to a removal to Africa as the Cherokees from the council-fires and graves of their fathers." Some of these, like the Richmond (Va.) resolutions of January, and the Philadelphia resolutions of January and August, 1817 (with James Forten in the chair), were the earliest possible remonstrances against the professed objects of the Society; the rest, from all parts of the country, had been printed in the *Liberator*, which was naturally charged with creating the adverse sentiments for which in fact it merely served as a mouthpiece. "It is my solemn conviction," wrote Mr. Garrison, "that I have not proselyted a dozen individuals; for the very conclusive reason that no conversions were necessary."

Ibid., *p.* 5.

Ibid., *p.* 9.

Ibid., *p.* 8.

Such was the scheme of the 'Thoughts on Colonization,' of which, at the present day, no abstract, however summary, could escape being dull. The Society still lives,

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but its existence is hardly known to one in ten thousand of our population, and the pamphlet which unmasked it, paralyzed it, and reduced it to insignificance, has, by its very success, lost a larger measure of its readableness than commonly happens to polemic literature. Its historic importance, however, can never diminish. If we could imagine in our time a 'Thoughts on the Bible Society,' which should, with the same eloquence and cogency, maintain that this organization was the greatest obstacle to science, and one which must be removed at all hazards, we should have some idea of the consternation produced by the 'Thoughts on Colonization.' "This book," its author correctly anticipated, "will doubtless increase the rage of my enemies;[1] but no torrent of invective shall successfully whelm it, no sophistry impair its force, no activity destroy its influence, no misrepresentation defeat its usefulness. I commend it particularly to the candid attention of the two most powerful classes in this country — editors of newspapers and the clergy. It is not a light matter for either of them to propagate false doctrines and excite delusive hopes on the subject of politics or religion." One[2] to whom the book came as a revelation has described its effect in the following graphic passage:

Thoughts, p. 38.

"Fifty years ago, it is no exaggeration to say, this nation, in church and state, from President to bootblack — I mean the white bootblack — was thoroughly pro-slavery. In the Sodom there might have been a Lot or two here and there — some profound thinker — who wished justice to be done though the heavens should fall, but he was despondent. It seemed as though nearly the whole business of the press, the pulpit, and

[1] At a meeting of the Massachusetts Colonization Society in Boston, the Rev. William Hague was present "when the great pamphlet of Mr. Garrison, fresh from the press, was brought in and placed upon the table. . . . The Hon. Alexander H. Everett was thoroughly incensed, and said that the author should be indicted for libel" (Boston *Watchman*, June 7, 1883).

[2] Elizur Wright, Jr., the first Corresponding Secretary of the American Anti-Slavery Society (*Lib.* 3:1). The extract is taken from remarks made at a memorial service in honor of Mr. Garrison, held, just after his death, in the church of the Rev. Wm. C. Gannett, at St. Paul, Minn., June 1, 1879. They were afterwards published in the Chicago *Unity*.

the theological seminary, was to reconcile the people to the permanent degradation and slavery of the negro race. The church had its negro pew, and caste was as strictly enforced between the African and European complexions as it ever was between Pariah and Brahmin. Biblical scholars justified the slavery of Ham's descendants from the Bible. And, what was worst of all, the humanity and philanthropy which could not otherwise be disposed of, was ingeniously seduced into an African Colonization Society, whereby all slaves who had grown seditious and troublesome to their masters could be transplanted on the pestiferous African Coast. That this wretched and seemingly transparent humbug could have deluded anybody, must now seem past belief: but I must with shame confess the fact that I for one was deluded by it. And that fact would put me in doubt of my own sanity at the time if I did not know that high statesmen, presidents of colleges, able editors, and that most undoubted of firm philanthropists, Gerrit Smith, shared the same delusion. Bible and missionary societies fellowshipped that mean and scurvy device of the kidnapper, in their holy work. It was spoken of as the most glorious of Christian enterprises, had a monthly magazine devoted to itself, and taxed about every pulpit in the land for an annual sermon in its favor.

"It was early in 1832, I think, that Mr. Garrison struck the greatest blow of his life — or any man's life — by publishing in a thick pamphlet, with all the emphasis that a printer knows how to give with types, his 'Thoughts on Colonization.' His *Liberator* editorials and this tremendous pamphlet at once struck the thinking minds of the country with wonderment and awe. Old politicians of both parties bit their lips, if they did not gnash their teeth, and, in the absence of any other defence, invoked the mob. It was in vain. The fire was kindled. When such men as the Tappans, Alvan Stewart, Gerrit Smith, General Fessenden, Theodore D. Weld, N. P. Rogers, President Storrs, Beriah Green, William Goodell, Joshua Leavitt, Amos A. Phelps, dropped the Colonization Society,[1] a moral victory

[1] Not all those mentioned by Mr. Wright waited for the publication of the 'Thoughts' to discontinue their support of the Society. See, for Arthur Tappan, *ante*, p. 261, and particularly *Lib.* 3:55, where Mr. Tappan, after stating that the first thing which shook his "confidence in the Society was the fact that ardent spirits were allowed to be sold at the colony" (compare *Niles' Register*, 47:73), goes on to acknowledge the influence of "the arguments of that most distinguished and fearless philanthropist, W. L. Garrison, in the *Liberator*," in convincing him of the single

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was certain. Hundreds and thousands of men who might never agree with Mr. Garrison in their mode of action in behalf of the slave, were thoroughly aroused to act, each in his own way, and they never ceased and never will cease to honor and revere the man whose brave words dispelled their day-dreams."

If Mr. Garrison was right in his belief that the Colonization Society had lulled the public conscience into a fatal slumber on the subject of slavery, to expose and discredit it was clearly the first step towards emancipation.[1] The iniquitous system had concealed itself behind a hypocritic bulwark of charity and piety, to carry which by assault was the instinct of true generalship; and this assault, conducted for a year and a half in the *Liberator*, reached in the 'Thoughts' the climax of weight and destructiveness. So that, although the debate still raged for years, and though the 'Thoughts' was promptly "riddled" by the reviewers[2] and by the agents and sup-

motive of the Society—"to get rid of the free colored people." Immediately on receiving the 'Thoughts' he wrote to the author (MS. June 30, 1832): "I have read your pamphlet with much satisfaction. . . . I wish it could be extensively read, but it will take a long time to get into circulation through the book-stores. If you will circulate 90 copies and send me 10, I will pay for the 100, and you may draw on me for the amount. You will send the 90 to whomsoever you think best. A part of them will be [well] placed in the hands of presidents and professors of colleges and seminaries, and in the reading-rooms of those institutions." On the other hand, Gerrit Smith's change was sudden, and not till 1835. (See, in Frothingham's 'Life,' pp. 162–170, and *Lib.* 6:23, 26.) The list, too, would bear extension. For example, the 'Thoughts' determined the life-work of the Rev. James Miller McKim, of Pennsylvania, and secured in him one of the most efficient and judicious advocates of the anti-slavery cause. (See p. 656 of Still's 'Underground Railroad,' and pp. 32, 33 of Proceedings of the American Anti-Slavery Society, Third Decade.) Its effect on George Thompson, of England, will be related hereafter. At the time of the appearance of the 'Thoughts,' Mr. Wright was Professor of Mathematics and Natural Philosophy in the Western Reserve College at Hudson, O., and so a colleague of President Storrs and Professor Green (*Lib.* 3:2). It should be mentioned here that it was owing exclusively to the liberality of Isaac Winslow, of Portland, that Mr. Garrison was enabled to publish his 'Thoughts' (MS. Aug. 20, 1867, to Samuel May, Jr.)

[1] See, in *Lib.* 4:29, James Cropper's "The Extinction of the American Colonization Society the First Step to the Abolition of Slavery."

[2] For example, in the *African Repository* for November, 1832, the *Methodist Magazine and Quarterly Review* for January, 1833, and the *Quarterly Christian Spectator* for March, 1833. The two latter articles were also pub-

porters of the Society in their addresses, this pamphlet marks the first success in the agitation which ended in the abolition of slavery by civil war.[1] Viewed in this light, and not merely as literature, it might not extravagantly be ranked as the most important work ever produced in America; to which Paine's 'Common Sense' affords the nearest parallel, without (in the nature of the case) approaching it in disinterestedness and moral fervor. The author himself said of it on the eve of a second edition, a year and a half after its appearance: CHAP. IX. 1832.

"This work has excited extraordinary interest, both in this country and in England. 'It has probably created more *sensation*,' says an able reviewer, 'than any other pamphlet, except one, ponderous or light, which has issued from the modern press. To say nothing of its secret influence, it has brought many of the best friends of the Colonization Society to avow a *suspense of judgment* in regard to the merits of the scheme which they had patronized without misgiving for fifteen years; and it has raised up against it some uncompromising and by no *Lib.* 3:207.

lished separately; the last — written by the Rev. Leonard Bacon — by A. H. Maltby, New Haven. (See *Lib.* 3:27, 39, 43, 201.) "Your 'Thoughts on Colonization' have arrived," writes S. S. Jocelyn to Mr. Garrison, July 12. "Bacon is reading one. Prof. Silliman had read Mr. Tappan's previous to his delivering his colonization address on the 4th. I handed him everything which I thought would moderate his zeal in that cause" (MS.)

[1] "I look upon the overthrow of the Colonization Society as the overthrow of slavery itself — they both stand or fall together." So wrote Mr. Garrison to Henry Benson, July 21, 1832, adding: "Thus far my 'Thoughts on African Colonization' have been noticed by various newspapers and literary magazines in terms of high approbation; and I am gratified to find that they make a powerful impression wherever they are perused." The impression and the favorable comment were not confined to this country. Extracts from the 'Thoughts' were freely made "in the most respectable periodical publications" of England (*Lib.* 3:99). A formal review of it appeared in the British *Eclectic Review*, the organ of the Nonconformists, for Feb., 1833, p. 138. The work was eagerly greeted by the English philanthropists who had already begun to unmask and to thwart the Colonization agent, Elliott Cresson. It furnished the basis of Charles Stuart's 'Prejudice Vincible' (Liverpool: printed by Egerton Smith & Co., 1832), reprinted with other matter in a pamphlet published by Garrison & Knapp in 1833, called 'British Opinions of the American Colonization Society.' The preface to this pamphlet states that some 2750 copies of the 'Thoughts had been disposed of in nine months. For a British reply, see Dr. Thomas Hodgkin's 'An Inquiry into the Merits of the American Colonization Society,' etc. (London: J. & A. Arch, 1833).

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means contemptible enemies.' Its potency consists in this, — that, discarding every accusation or objection which is urged against that Society by its assailants, it condemns it *out of its own mouth;* the proofs are in every instance furnished by its managers, by its organ, by its official reports, by its most distinguished supporters, and by the concurrent testimony of auxiliary associations. All that sophistry or misrepresentation could effect, to overthrow its integrity, has been attempted in vain. The work, as a whole, stands irrefutable." [1]

Johnson's Garrison, 94-115; *Lib.* 2: 191.

The practical use of the 'Thoughts' was as an arsenal of facts for the public speakers engaged in exposing the pretensions of the Colonization Society. This task had been the immediate concern of the New-England Anti-Slavery Society, both in its regular and special meetings, and through its president, Arnold Buffum, and other appointed lecturers, who went from town to town delivering addresses on the subject of slavery. It was now made comparatively easy, and wherever the Colonization agents moved they were liable to be confronted by irrefragable proofs of the duplicity of their employers. These in their turn were made to realize that the individual opposition of a "fanatical" journalist had been converted into organized antagonism, all the more formidable because not denominated an Anti-Colonization, but (the greater including the less) an Anti-Slavery Society.

[1] Both the logical and the moral weight of it for the best minds may be inferred from the following extract from a letter of Gen. Samuel Fessenden to Mr. Garrison, dated Portland, Dec. 14, 1832 (MS.): "Last Monday evening was our Law-Club meeting, and I had the great satisfaction of hearing Judge Mellen, our Chief Justice, say he had read your 'Thoughts,' was a thorough convert to your views, and was ready to do all in his power to promote them. Mr. Longfellow was present also, and with equal warmth and clearness expressed himself also in favor of your views. This is getting the two first men in the State for talents and influence in benevolent effort. I have no doubt they will head the list of those who will subscribe to form here an anti-slavery society. Mr. Greenleaf, also, will cordially come in, and I need not say he is one of the first [men] in the State, for his character is known." The reference here is to the Hon. Stephen Longfellow, father of the poet, who had been a delegate to the Hartford Convention, and a Representative from Maine in the 18th Congress (1823-25); and to Simon Greenleaf, the eminent jurist, shortly to be law professor at the Harvard School, and eventually the successor of Story.

This was all the harder to bear because the Southampton insurrection had not produced for the Colonization Society precisely the fruits which it anticipated. The year opened (amid the gratifying enactment of panic legislation in both sections concerning the colored population, bond and free) with its annual meeting in Washington, at which letters were read from Marshall and Madison, and speeches made by Edward Everett — "the same benevolent gentleman who, a few years since, declared on the floor of Congress that, in the event of a negro rebellion at the South, he would promptly put on his knapsack and shoulder his musket to put the slaves down"; and by the Rev. Leonard Bacon, of New Haven, whose theme was "the strictly *benevolent* character of the Society," and who had already elsewhere publicly pledged the Vermont and Connecticut militia to the same noble mission which Mr. Everett assumed for himself.[1] Clarkson, now almost blind, was reported to have listened with enthusiastic delight to the details of the Society's operations as related by Elliott Cresson, its Quaker travelling agent in England. In April, a memorial purporting to come from its British membership, and supported and forwarded by the same Cresson, asking national aid for the Society, was presented in the House of Representatives; but in this the Society overreached itself. Polk, of Tennessee, denounced it as the first foreign effort to intermeddle with the subject of slavery in Congress, and as an act of impertinence; and its reading was opposed by all the Southern members except General Blair, of South Carolina, who professed entire indifference. "A disposition to tamper with the slave question had been

Lib. 2:15; 6:175; *ante*, *p.* 64.

Lib. 2:23.

Lib. 2:59; *Niles' Register*, 42:97, 98.

Lib. 2:61.

[1] Mr. Bacon alluded pointedly to Mr. Garrison as one of those "men whom nature has endowed with such talents as equip a demagogue, and with whom it seems an object worth ambition to lead the free people of color, and to receive the homage of their applause." Mr. Garrison had also his word for Mr. Bacon (*Lib.* 3:201): "No writer in the United States, no slaveholder in the South, has uttered or published more excusatory, corrupt, and blasphemous sentiments as regards slavery than this individual." Citations follow.

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manifested, and he cared not how soon gentlemen played the game out. . . . He could tell gentlemen that when they moved that question seriously, they from the South would meet it elsewhere. It would not be disputed in that House but in the open field, where powder and cannon would be their orators, and their arguments lead and steel." The memorial was withdrawn, and the Society found itself willy-nilly in the category of dangerous agitators of what its friends were accustomed to style an "important and delicate question," an "interesting and fearful subject." On the heels of this unexpected discomfiture, Mr. Garrison flung down his gage, which the Society dared not pick up for the space of six months.

Thoughts on Colonization, 43, 45.

Lib. 2 : 193.

The *Liberator*, on the other hand, gave every outward sign of prosperity. The last number of the first volume had gathered up, for a parting broadside, all the selected testimonials, domestic and foreign, against slavery which had been published in weekly instalments during the year. The new volume exhibited an enlargement by nearly two-thirds, with five columns to the page instead of four, and these both broader and longer, but with no change in the subscription price.[1] The pictorial heading remained unaltered, and, probably derived from an English source, a series of woodcuts illustrating the iniquities of slavery began to be interspersed with the text. One of these represented a kneeling female slave, surmounted by the familiar legend, "Am I not a Woman and a Sister?" and was made the occasion, in the first number, of opening a "Ladies' Department" (after the example of the *Genius*), as likely to enhance the interest of the *Liberator*, "and give a new impetus to the cause of emancipation." The editor could not believe his countrywomen to be less philanthropic or less influential than their British sisters, who were heartily engaged in

Ante, *p.* 145.

Lib. 2 : 2.

[1] "I think the *Liberator* one of the handsomest papers I have seen," wrote S. J. May, March 16, 1832, who accordingly closely followed it as a model in founding at that date his *Christian Monitor*.

the effort to abolish slavery in the colonies. To this subject he returned later in the following language: CHAP. IX. 1832.

"Two capital errors have extensively prevailed, greatly to the detriment of the cause of abolition. The first is, a proneness on the part of the advocates of immediate and universal emancipation to overlook or depreciate the influence of woman in the promotion of this cause; and the other is, a similar disposition on the part of the females in our land to undervalue their own power, or, through a misconception of duty, to excuse themselves from engaging in the enterprise. These errors, we repeat, are capital, and should no longer be suffered to prevail. The cause of bleeding humanity is always, legitimately, the cause of WOMAN. Without her powerful assistance, its progress must be slow, difficult, imperfect. *Lib.* 2: 110.

"A million females, in this country, are recognized and held as property — liable to be sold or used for the gratification of the lust or avarice or convenience of unprincipled speculators — without the least protection for their chastity — cruelly scourged for the most trifling offences — and subjected to unseemly and merciless tasks, to severe privations, and to brutish ignorance! Have these no claims upon the sympathies — prayers — charities — *exertions* of our white countrywomen? . . .

"'*When woman's heart is bleeding,*
Shall woman's voice be hushed?'"[1]

The most important extraneous feature of the second volume of the *Liberator* was the republication of 'Letters on American Slavery, addressed to Mr. Thomas Rankin, merchant at Middlebrook, Augusta Co., Va., by John Rankin, Pastor of the Presbyterian Churches of Ripley and Strait Creek, Brown County, Ohio,' of which the first edition was published at Ripley, in the latter State, in 1826.[2] Mr. Garrison pronounced them "among the most faithful and thrilling productions we have read on *Lib.* 2: 133-[181].

[1] Not long after this, Oct. 14, 1832, the Boston Female Anti-Slavery Society was founded by twelve ladies ('Right and Wrong in Boston,' 1 (1836): 4, 9).

[2] The letters themselves appear to have been written in 1824, when their author was about 31 years of age. Following the reprint in the *Liberator*, an edition in book form was put forth by Garrison & Knapp in 1833, and a fifth edition was published by Isaac Knapp as late as 1838. Still another edition bears the imprint of Charles Whipple, Newburyport, 1836.

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the subject of slavery." They were privately addressed by the writer to his brother, and are full of fraternal concern and tenderness, while unsparing in their exhibition of the essentially sinful, unchristian and cruel nature of slavery. Long residence in Tennessee and Kentucky[1] had made him familiar with the system against which his heart revolted. No more forcible argument resting upon common morality, the Scriptures, and political economy, could have been framed for the time, or perhaps for all time, while some of the well-authenticated instances of slaveholding atrocity could be surpassed only in the dreams of a Nero.[2] The 'Letters' became at once a powerful addition to the weapons of the abolitionists, and never ceased to be cited. Mr. Garrison's knowledge of Mr. Rankin appears to have begun at the time of their republication in the *Liberator*. It was also the beginning of personal acquaintance and friendship, as witnessed by the following inscription in a copy of his works presented by the former to Mr. Rankin in Cincinnati in 1853—"With the profound regards and loving veneration of his anti-slavery disciple and humble co-worker in the cause of emancipation."[3]

Lib. 1:1, *and MSS. Sept.* 13, 1830, *July* 11, 1831, *to E. Dole.*

The 'Letters' had that "Scriptural pungency" which Mr. Garrison found lacking in Evan Lewis's[4] prize tract on 'The Duties of Ministers and Churches of all Denominations to avoid the Stain of Slavery,' etc., but which so abounded in the Rev. George Bourne's 'The Book and Slavery Irreconcilable' (1815), to which, next after the Bible itself, Mr. Garrison confessed his indebtedness for his views of the institution.[5] Perhaps no

[1] Rankin was born in Tennessee (*Lib.* 5:69).

[2] Yet one of these, and the most shocking, involved a nephew of Thomas Jefferson. See Letter viii.

[3] See, also, p. 14 of Proceedings of the Am. A.-S. Society at its Third Decade.

[4] Editor of a Quaker anti-slavery journal called the *Advocate of Truth*.

[5] Like Rankin, Osborn, and other early emancipationists, Bourne had seen slavery face to face (in Virginia). For tributes to his zeal and courage from Garrison and Lundy, see *Lib.* 2:35, 43, 133; 3:182.

sight was more gratifying to him than that of a minister of the gospel appealing to "the Book" against African bondage. For this he could overlook theological differences as great as those which separated him from his Unitarian friend Mr. May, and which are measured by his eulogy of a 'Dissertation on the Subject of Future Punishment, by Oliver Johnson, Editor of the *Christian Soldier*' — "a logical, persuasive and solemn treatise, clearly establishing the desperate folly and absurd philosophy of the doctrine of universal salvation." CHAP. IX. 1832. *Lib.* 2:67. *Lib.* 2:40.

Besides his formal discourses to the free people of color, Mr. Garrison addressed to them, on the eve of their Philadelphia National Convention, an editorial article counselling them to continue firm in their resistance to the Colonization Society, and cheering them with the assurance — "I tell you fearlessly and truly that you ought rather to rejoice than despond. *Your cause is on the advance* — notwithstanding the sombre aspect of the times, it is, I say, ON THE ADVANCE! . . . It is the purpose of God, I am firmly persuaded, to humble the pride of the American people by rendering your expulsion impracticable, and the necessity for your admission to equal rights imperative." "Be your rallying cry — UNION AND OUR COUNTRY!" By "Union" he, of course, meant harmonious action among the colored people themselves; not that Union, and less and less every day that Constitution, for which Webster went as they were[1] — slave representation and all — saying: "It is the original bargain, the compact; let it stand." At the close of the year his sentiments in regard to the unholy alliance between freedom and slavery were unmistakably expressed in these terms: *Lib.* 2:83.

"There is much declamation about the sacredness of the compact which was formed between the free and slave States, on the adoption of the Constitution. A sacred compact, forsooth! We pronounce it the most bloody and heaven-daring *Lib.* 2:207.

[1] "I go for the Constitution as it is, and for the Union as it is" (Second speech on Foot's Resolution, Jan. 26, 1830).

CHAP. IX. 1832. arrangement ever made by men for the continuance and protection of a system of the most atrocious villany ever exhibited on earth. Yes—we recognize the compact, but with feelings of shame and indignation; and it will be held in everlasting infamy by the friends of justice and humanity throughout the world. It was a compact formed at the sacrifice of the bodies and souls of millions of our race, for the sake of achieving a political object—an unblushing and monstrous coalition to do evil that good might come. Such a compact was, in the nature of things and according to the law of God, null and void from the beginning. No body of men ever had the right to guarantee the holding of human beings in bondage.

"Who or what were the framers of our Government that they should dare confirm and authorize such high-handed villany—such a flagrant robbery of the inalienable rights of man—such a glaring violation of all the precepts and injunctions of the gospel—such a savage war upon a sixth part of our whole population? They were men, like ourselves—as fallible, as sinful, as weak, as ourselves. By the infamous bargain which they made between themselves, they virtually dethroned the Most High God, and trampled beneath their feet their own solemn and heaven-attested Declaration, that all men are created equal, and endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights—among which are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness. They had no lawful power to bind themselves or their posterity for one hour—for one moment—by such an unholy alliance. It was not valid then—it is not valid now. Still they persisted in maintaining it—and still do their successors, the people of Massachusetts, of New England, and of the twelve free States, persist in maintaining it. A sacred compact! a sacred compact! What, then, is wicked and ignominious?"

"It is said that if you agitate this question you will divide the Union. Believe it not; but should disunion follow, the fault will not be yours. You must perform your duty, faithfully, fearlessly and promptly, and leave the consequences to God: that duty clearly is, to cease from giving countenance and protection to Southern kidnappers. Let them separate, if they can muster courage enough—and the liberation of their slaves is certain. Be assured that slavery will very speedily destroy this Union *if it be let alone;* but even if the Union can be preserved by treading upon the necks, spilling the blood, and destroying the souls of millions of your race, we say it is

not worth a price like this, and that it is in the highest degree criminal for you to continue the present compact. Let the pillars thereof fall — let the superstructure crumble into dust — if it must be upheld by robbery and oppression."

"The domestic slavery of the Southern States," Mr. Webster had said in the speech already cited, "I leave where I find it, — in the hands of their own governments. It is their affair, not mine." Quite otherwise Mr. Garrison, in the first number of the volume, reaffirming the guilt of slaveholders over and above their inheritance, and the guilt of New Englanders with reference (1) to the maintenance of slavery in the District of Columbia, and (2) to their obligation to suppress slave insurrections, declared:

Lib. 2:1. "So long as we continue one body — a union — a nation — the compact involves us in the guilt and danger of slavery. . . . What protects the South from instant destruction? OUR PHYSICAL FORCE. Break the chain which binds her to the Union, and the scenes of St. Domingo would be witnessed throughout her borders. She may affect to laugh at this prophecy; but she knows that her security lies in Northern bayonets.[1] Nay, she has repeatedly taunted the free States with being pledged to protect her. . . . How, then, do we make the inquiry, with affected astonishment, 'What have we to do with the guilt of slavery?'"

This inquiry rested much less heavily with Mr. Garrison's townsmen, especially the respectable and then ruling portion, than this other: "How shall we justify ourselves to our Southern brethren for tolerating the *Liberator*?" Accordingly, at the opening of the March term of the Municipal Court in Boston, Judge Thacher charged the Grand Jury that it "is an offence against *Lib.* 2:55. the peace of the Commonwealth, and that it may be prosecuted as a misdemeanor at common law, . . . to publish books, pamphlets, or newspapers, designed to be

[1] "What madness in the South to look for greater safety in disunion! It would be worse than jumping out of the frying-pan into the fire. It would be jumping into the fire from a fear of the frying-pan [*i. e.*, Northern meddling with slavery]" (Ex-President Madison to Henry Clay, June, 1833, in Colton's 'Private Correspondence of Clay,' p. 365).

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circulated here and in other States of the Union, and having a direct and necessary tendency to excite in the minds of our own citizens deadly hatred and hostility against their brethren of other States, and to stimulate the slave population there to rise against their masters, and to effect by fire and sword their emancipation." If allowed to be published and circulated freely here, "may not the citizens of those States well imagine that such publications are authorized by our laws?" Judge Thacher found the law of libel elastic enough to suit his purpose:

Lib. 2: 118.

"In that country from which we drew our principles of jurisprudence, it is laid down by the highest judicial authority, that every publication which has a tendency to promote public mischief, whether by causing irritation in the minds of the people that may induce them to commit a breach of the public peace, or whether it be more public and specific, extending to the morals, the religion, or magistracy of the country, is a libel. Any publication which tends to degrade, revile and defame persons in considerable situations of power and dignity in foreign countries, is taken to be and treated as a libel; and particularly where it has a tendency to interrupt the pacific relations between the two countries. If the publication contains a plain and manifest incitement and persuasion addressed to others, to assassinate and destroy the persons of such magistrates, as the tendency is to interrupt the harmony of the two countries, the libel assumes a still more criminal character."

An extract from this charge was copied into the *Liberator* without comment from Mr. Garrison, who some time afterwards makes a single allusion to it as "absurd and dangerous," and notices that it "has been hailed with joy by the whole tribe of Southern men-stealers and their insane apologists at the North." "Such doctrines," exclaimed the Milledgeville (Ga.) *Journal*, "will stand the test of all time." But Mr. Garrison did not underrate their value: they were obsolete as soon as uttered. Protests were raised against the charge in the Boston *Commercial Gazette*, and, after its appearance in full in the quarterly *American Jurist*, in the newly-founded Boston *Atlas*; the former writer pointing out that if a mere

Lib. 2: 119.

Lib. 2: 69.

tendency, apart from *intent*, was sufficient to make a misdemeanor, the same doctrine was applicable to the tariff discussion and even to the Massachusetts Bill of Rights. The writer in the *Atlas*, who signed himself "Z. Z.," and was, we are told, a "highly estimable and intelligent member of the bar," dissected the charge in five well-considered articles, which were successively reproduced in the *Liberator*. In conclusion it was shown why the North might lawfully examine the subject of slavery, by which it was affected in so many ways—as, in its liability to help put down revolt, its exposure to kidnapping, its share in the regulation of the District of Columbia, its right to oppose the admission of slave States, etc.

Lib. 2: 118.

Lib. 2: 118, 122, 125, 130, 149.

Little did Governor Floyd of Virginia, recommending the Legislature in December to protect the sovereignty of the State against publications in Boston, New York and other places "calculated and tending [Judge Thacher's word] to inflame the slave population of the United States, and incite them to insurrection"; little did the Colonization Society, dream that the thunderbolts forged against itself had nearly cost the *Liberator* its life:

Lib. 2: 199.

"It was with much delicacy of feeling," writes Mr. Garrison to Robert Purvis, Dec. 10, 1832, "and a strong reluctance, that we addressed our Circular to some of our Philadelphia friends, conscious how much they had done to give stability to the *Liberator*. But we had but this hard alternative — either to suffer the paper to die, or make known the embarrassments into which the publication of our 'Thoughts' had unavoidably plunged us. The idea of the suppression of the *Liberator* was to us as dreadful almost as the cutting off a right hand, or plucking out a right eye. How would Southern kidnappers and their apologists shout! What a prodigious shock would be given to the lively sensibilities of the friends of humanity in every part of the nation! What extensive injury would be done to the abolition cause! With what exultations would its overthrow be hailed by the Colonization leaders!

MS.

"I am happy to inform you that the appeal we put forth to our friends will not be in vain. Already we are enabled to assure you that there is no cause for apprehension in regard to

CHAP. IX. 1832. *Joseph Cassey.* the continuance of the *Liberator*. The extraordinary purchase of so large a number of copies of our 'Thoughts' in Philadelphia as has been ordered by our friends Cassey, Forten, and yourself, has given us material assistance; and the response in other places is beginning to come back in a very encouraging manner. The entire edition will probably soon be taken up, the distribution of which, I am confident, will, more than anything else, put an end to the Colonization mania. You will please to convey to your noble father-in-law, for me and my partner, all that hearts filled with gratitude, and keenly susceptible, may be supposed to utter." [1]

James Forten.

MS., Dec. 10, 1832. Similar details are contained in a letter of the same date addressed to George W. Benson, of Providence, who, together with his brother and other friends, had in response to the Circular ordered two hundred copies of the 'Thoughts':

"I am sure it will give you true satisfaction to be informed that the prospects of the *Liberator*, which, three weeks ago, were dark and discouraging, are now bright and cheering! The appeal which we put forth to our friends, in various places, has been answered in a manner that shows a deep attachment for the *Liberator*.[2] . . . The distribution of these [remaining]

[1] Two days later, Dec. 12, 1832, Arthur Tappan writes: "What progress is made in the sale of your 'Remarks'? The free colored people should be urged to effort to relieve you. If you can find purchasers for 900 of those now on hand, I will pay for the *remaining* 100 of a thousand, but the 900 must first be disposed of, as I cannot do this in addition to those I have previously paid for unless the relief is effectual. I shall want a part of the 100 for my own distribution, and shall expect that the balance will be distributed soon." At the same time he orders two copies of the *Liberator* to be sent to Lane Seminary and Western Reserve College respectively, at his expense.

[2] This was nowhere more strongly manifested than in Portland. Nathan Winslow writes, Nov. 24, 1832: "I am authorized by thy friends here to say the amount needful shall be forthcoming when wanted. . . . I have shown thy circular to several of thy friends, all of whom are zealous in the cause. Thou mayst rank Gen. Fessenden among the first. . . . Thy female friends would forego many of their comforts, rather than the *Liberator* should go down." Isaac Winslow's response was equally characteristic (Dec. 6): "Enclosed you have an order on the Bank of the U. S. at one day's sight for $500, dated Dec. 5th, 1832, No. 904, for which amount you may forward me your note when convenient." This note has been preserved, and is endorsed: "4 mo. 11, 1840. Received payment in full of W. L. G. I. Winslow."

copies [of the 'Thoughts'] cannot fail to open the eyes of many good people, who through ignorance are giving their influence and money to aid the Colonization Society. The deathlike silence which has reigned among the leaders of the crusade since the appearance of the work, very plainly shows that they are unable to disprove its allegations. Surely six months furnish a space amply sufficient to make a reply; and I know if they could, by any possibility, put me down, they would do so. The book, then, being a just exposition of Colonization principles, it behooves every lover of truth, every friend of humanity, every disciple of Jesus Christ, to read it carefully, and understand the nature and design of the Colonization Society. You will have seen, by the last *Liberator*, the weak and beggarly manner in which R. R. Gurley attempts to invalidate the work. I will not leave him till I have shown that every position he has assumed is utterly untenable."

Lib. 2 : 193.

A few more extracts from Mr. Garrison's private correspondence will fitly close the present chapter. In his June letter to Mr. Purvis, reference is made to a project partly fulfilled by the subsequent tour along the New England seaboard:

"It is possible that I may succeed in making arrangements by and bye to travel through the free States, for the purpose of vindicating the rights of the free people of color, and forming anti-slavery societies. I am persuaded that I can do more to advance the cause by this method in a few months than by any other for a series of years. I suggested the enterprise to Arthur Tappan and the Rev. Peter Williams, of New York City, and they highly approved of it. The only difficulty is, the procurement of means wherewith to pay my travelling expenses. Mr. Williams said he could be responsible for $100, and I presume Mr. Tappan will be disposed to contribute for the same purpose. Mr. Tappan thought I might do a great deal to promote education among colored children and youth, by addressing the people of color, giving them advice and encouragement, examining their schools, and endeavoring to establish others, &c., &c. Should I go on such a mission, (and I earnestly desire to prosecute it,) I shall aim first at the great cities, and thus have the pleasure of seeing my Philadelphia friends in the course of a few months. I can leave the *Liberator* in excellent hands."

MS. June 10, 1832.

To Henry Egbert Benson, July 21, 1832:

MS. "Start, if you can, an auxiliary Anti-Slavery Society in Providence. And why may you not? There are at least friends Brewer, Chace, your brother and yourself, all seeing, thinking, acting alike. You need no more *to begin with*. Four men may revolutionize the world. Besides, the mere fact that such a society has been formed will help us here in Boston hugely."

To Samuel J. May, December 4, 1832:

MS. "Our cause goes on prosperously. Indeed, when I consider the brevity of the period in which we have been engaged, and the nature and number of the obstacles which towered in our path, I am surprised to observe the impression we have made upon the nation.

"Our coadjutors in England are fighting most manfully, with spiritual weapons, against sin and cruelty. I have just received from them a large bundle of anti-slavery pamphlets, tracts, circulars, &c., the perusal of which is almost too much for my poor nerves. The British abolitionists waste no ammunition — every shot tells — *they write in earnest* — they call, as did old John Knox, a fig a fig, and a spade a spade. When I see what they are doing, and read what they write, I blush to think of my own past apathy, and mourn in view of my poverty of thought and language."

To Robert Purvis, December 10, 1832:

MS. "This is my twenty-eighth birthday![1] I am startled at the hurricane speed of time. My life seems to me to have been a blank. The older I grow, the less do I seem to accomplish. Days and weeks vanish like flashes of light upon a sombre sky, and seem to diminish to the duration of moments. I am twenty-eight! Infancy passed away unheedingly — passively; childhood in frolic and sports, in smiles and tears; boyhood in the school-room, and abroad in the fields, and in venturesome but forbidden excursions upon the river; youth in mechanical toil, assisted by dreams of future happiness and cheered by the phantom Hope; and now — what! has it come to this? — Yes, *now* I have struck deep into manhood! Well, then, manhood shall be my most serviceable stage; and, being so, the happiest of the whole!"

[1] See *ante*, p. 57.

CHAPTER X.

PRUDENCE CRANDALL.—1833.

IN the third week of January, 1833, Mr. Garrison received the following letter from a country village in Windham County, Connecticut:

Prudence Crandall to W. L. Garrison.

CANTERBURY, Jan. 18th, 1833. *MS.*

MR. GARRISON: I am to you, sir, I presume, an entire stranger, and you are indeed so to me save through the medium of the public print. I am by no means fond of egotism, but the circumstances under which I labor forbid my asking a friend to write for me; therefore I will tell you who I am, and for what purpose I write. I am, sir, through the blessing of divine Providence, permitted to be the Principal of the Canterbury (Conn.) Female Boarding School. I received a considerable part of my education at the Friends' Boarding School, Providence, R. I. In 1831 I purchased a large dwelling-house [1] in the centre of this village, and opened the school above mentioned. Since I commenced I have met with all the encouragement I ever anticipated, and now have a flourishing school.

Now I will tell you why I write you, and the object is this: I wish to know your opinion respecting changing white scholars for colored ones. I have been for some months past determined

[1] Sold in consequence of the recent death of its owner, Luther Paine. It stood on the southwest corner of the Norwich and Worcester turnpike, at the crossing of the Hartford and Providence turnpike, and overlooked Canterbury Green. On the opposite (northwest) corner stood the handsome new house of Andrew T. Judson. See p. 1 of the Providence *Evening Bulletin*, Dec. 30, 1880, and Vol. 2, p. 490, of Larned's 'History of Windham County.'

CHAP. X. 1833. if possible during the remaining part of my life to benefit the people of color. I do not dare tell any one of my neighbors anything about the contemplated change in my school, and I beg of you, sir, that you will not expose it to any one; for if it was known, I have no reason to expect but it would ruin my present school. Will you be so kind as to write by the next mail and give me your opinion on the subject; and if you consider it possible to obtain 20 or 25 young ladies of color to enter this school for the term of one year at the rate of $25 per quarter, including board, washing, and tuition, I will come to Boston in a few days and make some arrangements about it. I do not suppose that number can be obtained in Boston alone; but from all the large cities in the several States I thought perhaps they might be gathered.

I must once more beg you not to expose this matter until we see how the case will be determined.

Yours, with the greatest respect,

PRUDENCE CRANDALL.

The response must have been favorable, for ten days later a note was placed in Mr. Garrison's hands, which ran thus:

Prudence Crandall to W. L. Garrison.

MS. BOSTON, January 29th, 1833.

MR. GARRISON: The lady that wrote you a short time since would inform you that she is now in town, and should be very thankful if you would call at Mr. Barker's Hotel[1] and see her a few moments this evening at 6 o'clock.

Yours, with the greatest respect,

P. CRANDALL.

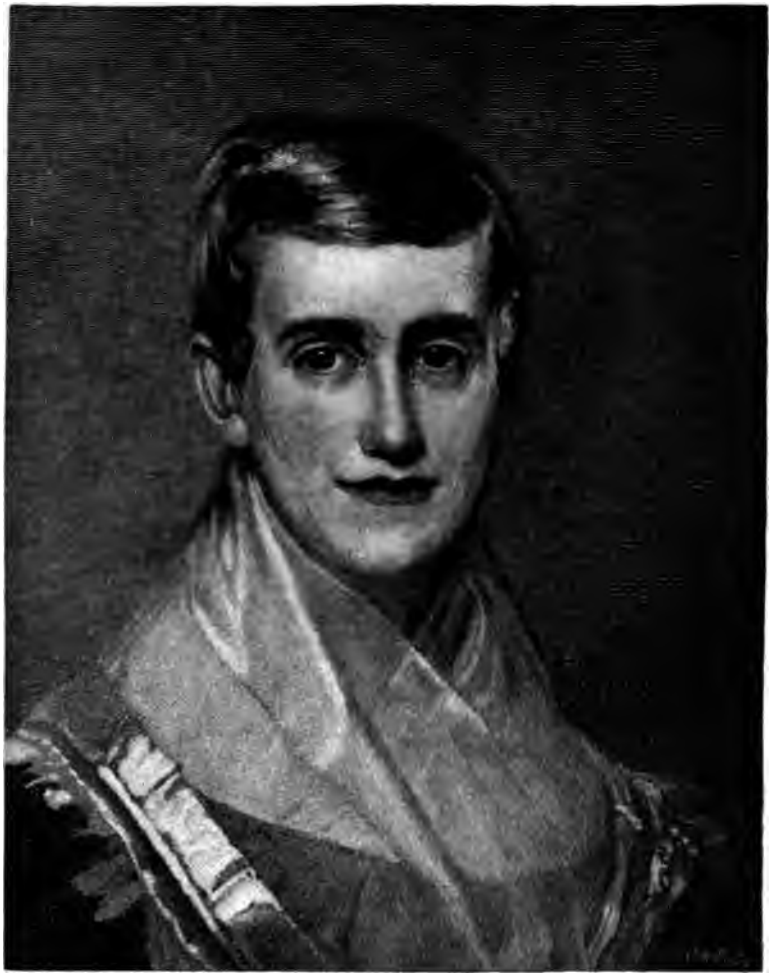
The nature of this interview may be inferred from a third letter:

Prudence Crandall to W. L. Garrison.

MS. CANTERBURY, February 12th, 1833.

MR. GARRISON: I can inform you that I had a very pleasant *Feb.* 2. passage home. Arrived here Saturday evening about 8 o'clock;

[1] The Marlboro' Hotel, 229 Washington Street, kept by Mr. James Barker, from which the Providence stages took their departure.



Prudence Crandall

saw Mr. Packer[1] on Monday; told him the object of my visit to Boston. He said he thought the object to be praiseworthy, but he was very much troubled about the result. He is fearful that I cannot be supplied with scholars at the close of one year, and therefore he thinks I shall injure myself in the undertaking.

If you have not yet sent on to New York the information you intend, I would thank you if you would do it immediately, for I am expecting to take the next boat for New York[2] and shall be in the city early on Friday morning. I have not the least acquaintance there, but a friend of mine will give me an introductory letter to Mr. Miller, one of the colored ministers in the city.

The evening after I left Boston I called on Mrs. Hammond,[3] who soon collected some of her friends, among whom were Mr. George [W.] Benson and a brother of his, who appeared to possess hearts warmed with fellow-feeling and awake to the cause of humanity. They engaged to do all for me in their power, and I have no doubt they will.[4] Saturday morning, called on Mrs. H. again, and she walked with me to the residence of three families of color, with whom I was much pleased. They seemed to feel much for the education of their children, and I think I shall be able to obtain six scholars from Providence. When I return from N. Y., I think I shall be able to lay the subject before the public.

H. E. Benson.

Yours, &c., P. CRANDALL.

[1] Capt. Daniel Packer, one of the board of visitors of Miss Crandall's white school, and a man of great prominence as a manufacturer, a temperance advocate, and the founder of a Baptist church at Packerville, in which "Miss Crandall was received with her troop of colored girls when the First Church was closed against them"; "they being to occupy the back pews in the gallery near the door" (MS. July 9, 1833, Almira Crandall to G. W. Benson. And see Vol. 2, pp. 488–506, Larned's 'History of Windham County').

[2] The service was semi-weekly—Tuesdays and Thursdays from Providence, Wednesdays and Fridays from New York.

[3] *I. e.*, in Providence. Mrs. H. was the mother of Ann Eliza Hammond, "a fine girl, aged seventeen years," who became one of Miss Crandall's colored pupils, and was made the object of the revival of an obsolete vagrant law, of which the final penalty was to be "whipped on the naked body not exceeding ten stripes" (May's 'Recollections,' p. 51; *Lib.* 3:78).

[4] "The lady who was at your office last week to see about a school for colored females, passed through here Friday. We had a pleasant interview with her on that evening. She is, I should think, exactly the one for that purpose, and I hope she may meet with perfect success" (MS. Providence, Feb. 8, 1833, Henry E. Benson to W. L. G.)

CHAP. X. 1833.

Why did Miss Crandall contemplate so revolutionary a step, and why did she seek counsel, before all others, of William Lloyd Garrison? Her own account, given in 1869, is as follows:

Larned's Windham County, Vol. 2, p. 491. See also Fruits of Colonization-ism, p. 9.

"The reason for changing my school of white pupils for a school for colored pupils is as follows: I had a nice colored girl, now Mrs. Charles Harris, as help in my family, and her intended husband regularly received the *Liberator*. The girl took the paper from the office and loaned it to me. In that the condition of the colored people, both slaves and free, was truthfully portrayed, the double-dealing and manifest deception of the Colonization Society were faithfully exposed, and the question of Immediate Emancipation of the millions of slaves in the United States boldly advocated. Having been taught from early childhood the sin of slavery, my sympathies were greatly aroused. Sarah Harris, a respectable young woman and a member of the church (now Mrs. Fairweather, and sister to the before-named intended husband), called often to see her friend Marcia, my family assistant. In some of her calls I ascertained that she wished to attend my school,[1] and board at her own father's house at some little distance from the village. I allowed her to enter as one of my pupils. By this act I gave great offence. The wife of an Episcopal clergyman who lived in the village told me that if I continued that colored girl in my school, it could not be sustained. I replied to her, *That it might sink, then, for I should not turn her out!* I very soon found that some of my school would leave not to return if the colored girl was retained. Under these circumstances I made up my mind that if it were possible I would teach colored girls exclusively."

Lib. 3:35.

The first publication of the intended change was made in the *Liberator* of March 2, 1833, when the editor announced, "with a rush of pleasurable emotions," the insertion of "the advertisement of Miss P. Crandall (a

[1] In order to teach her own color (*Lib.* 3:82; 'Fruits of Colonizationism,' p. 9). This was as early as September, 1832. Another pupil, Mary Harris, who afterwards became Mrs. Williams, was in 1881 engaged with her husband in "teaching colored persons, old and young, in Greensburg, La.," their home being in New Orleans, "where their oldest son is teaching, with six teachers under him" (Mrs. Philleo [Miss Crandall], MS. May 5, 1881).

white lady), of Canterbury, Conn., for a High School for young colored Ladies and Misses. This is," he continued, "a seasonable auxiliary to the contemplated Manual Labor School for Colored Youth. An interview with Miss C. has satisfied us that she richly deserves the patronage and confidence of the people of color; and we doubt not they will give her both." CHAP. X. 1833.

Already, however, the town of Canterbury had been thrown into an uproar by the news not only that Miss Crandall would not dismiss Sarah Harris, but would practically dismiss her white pupils instead, and make Canterbury the seat of the higher education of "niggers." "The good people of Canterbury," writes Arnold Buffum from Providence, on March 4, "I learn, have had three town meetings last week to devise ways and means to suppress P. Crandall's school, and I am informed that the excitement is so great that it would not be safe for me to appear there. George [W.] Benson, however, has ventured and gone there on Saturday afternoon last, to see what can be done in the case." Mr. Benson found that Miss Crandall had already been visited by a committee of gentlemen, who represented "that by putting her design into execution she would bring disgrace and ruin upon them all." They "professed to feel a real regard for the colored people, and were perfectly willing they should be educated, provided it could be effected *in some other place!* — a sentiment," adds Mr. Benson, "you will say, worthy of a true colonizationist." He also learned of the calling of another town meeting for the 9th instant, at which S. J. May, of the adjacent village of Brooklyn, had promised to be present as Miss Crandall's attorney,[1] and his own services in the same capacity were gladly accepted. They were subsequently reinforced by Arnold Buffum. On the eve of the meeting, Mr. Garrison wrote from Boston to Mr. Benson:

MS. to W. L. G.

Lib. 3:39.

[1] Mr. May had first heard of the trouble on Feb. 27 ('Recollections,' p. 42). In his autobiographic narrative of the subsequent events he properly figures much more prominently than is possible here.

W. L. Garrison to George W. Benson.

MS. BOSTON, March 8, 1833.

Although distracted with cares, I *must* seize my pen to express my admiration of your generous and prompt defence of Miss Crandall from her pitiful assailants. In view of their outrageous conduct, my indignation kindles intensely. What will be the result? If possible, Miss C. must be sustained at all hazards. If we suffer the school to be put down in Canterbury, other places will partake of the panic, and also prevent its introduction in their vicinity. We may as well, "first as last," meet this proscriptive spirit, *and conquer it.* We—*i. e.*, all true friends of the cause—must make this a common concern. The *Ante, p. 260.* New Haven excitement has furnished a bad precedent—a second must not be given, or I know not what we can do to raise up the colored population in a manner which their intellectual and moral necessities demand. In Boston, we are all excited at the Canterbury affair. Colonizationists are rejoicing, and abolitionists looking sternly.

Canterbury. The result of the meeting to be held in C. to-morrow will be waited for by us with great anxiety. Our brother May deserves much credit for venturing to expostulate with the conspirators. If any one can make them ashamed of their conduct, he is the man. May the Lord give him courage, wisdom, and success!

Lib. 3:42. The result of the meeting was reported to the *Liberator* of March 16, by Henry E. Benson, in a letter to which Mr. Garrison gave the caption, "Heathenism Outdone," and prefixed a brief comment, saying: "We put the names of the principal disturbers in black letter—black as the infamy which will attach to them as long as there exists any recollection of the wrongs of the colored race. To colonize these shameless enemies of their species in some desert country would be a relief and blessing to society. This scandalous excitement is one of the genuine flowers of the colonization garden." The meeting, refusing to allow Messrs. May and Buffum to be heard on Miss Crandall's behalf, on the ground of *Lib.* 3:54. their being foreigners and interlopers, voted unanimously their disapprobation of the school, and pledged the town to oppose it at all hazards.

The story of this remarkable case cannot be pursued here except in brief. It has been fully related in easily accessible works, and from this point Mr. Garrison's connection with the progress of events ceased from force of circumstances. It will be enough to say that the struggle between the modest and heroic young Quaker woman[1] and the town lasted for nearly two years; that the school was opened in April; that attempts were immediately made under the law to frighten the pupils away and to fine Miss Crandall for harboring them; that in May an act prohibiting private schools for non-resident colored persons, and providing for the expulsion of the latter, was procured from the Legislature, amid the greatest rejoicing in Canterbury (even to the ringing of church bells);[2] that, under this act, Miss Crandall was in June arrested and temporarily imprisoned in the county jail, twice tried (August and October), and convicted; that her case was carried up to the Supreme Court of Errors, and her persecutors defeated on a technicality (July, 1834), and that pending this litigation the most vindictive and inhuman measures were taken to isolate the school from the countenance and even the physical support of the townspeople. The shops and the meeting-house were closed against teacher and pupils;[3] carriage in the public conveyances was denied them; physicians would not wait upon them; Miss Crandall's own family and friends were forbidden under penalty of heavy fines to visit her; the well was filled with manure, and water from other sources refused; the house itself was smeared with filth, assailed with rotten eggs and stones, and finally set on fire.

May's Recollections, pp. 39–72; Oasis, p. 180; Life of A. Tappan, pp. 152–158; Larned's Windham County, 2: 490–502; Report of Arguments of Counsel, etc.; Fruits of Colonisationism; Providence Bulletin, Dec. 30, 1880, Jan. 22, 1881; Abdy's Journal of a Residence in U. S., 1: 194–213; Jay's Inquiry, pp. 30–41.

Lib. 3: 99, 107, 114, 130, 151, 175.

[1] "Unequalled woman in this servile age," Mr. Garrison calls her, in an acrostic "addressed to her who is the ornament of her sex" (*Lib.* 4: 47). Miss Crandall was his senior by two years. August 12, 1834, she married the Rev. Calvin Philleo, a Baptist clergyman of Ithaca, N. Y., and removed to Illinois. After his death in 1874 she removed with her brother Hezekiah to Southern Kansas. She retains (1885) her vigor of mind and interest in the colored race to a remarkable degree.

[2] This act was repealed in May, 1838 (*Lib.* 8: 91).

[3] "Not a shop in the village will sell her a morsel of food" (MS. Aug. 30, 1833, Henry Benson to W. L. G.)

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Such conduct on the part of a civilized and Christian community — the most respectable coöperating with the vilest citizens — was, after all, faintly described by Mr. Garrison's phrase, "heathenism outdone," applied, and justly applied, only to the initial proceedings. It was his last comment upon the affair, and very short, but the severity of it touched the Canterbury persecutors to the quick, particularly the five men whose names were printed in black letters — the magnates of the little village. "Your remarks in the last *Liberator* were awfully cutting," writes Henry Benson; and Miss Crandall herself interposed with a prudential consideration:

MS. Mar. 23, 1833.

MS. Mar. 19, 1833.

"Permit me to entreat you to handle the prejudices of the people of Canterbury with all the *mildness* possible, as everything severe tends merely to heighten the flame of malignity amongst them. 'Soft words turn away wrath, but grievous words stir up anger.' Mr. May and many others of your warm-hearted friends feel very much on this subject, and it is our opinion that you and the cause will gain many friends in this town and vicinity if you treat the matter with perfect mildness."

Mr. Garrison was, however, making war on the common enemy, and his "harsh language" was still in order. He had also put his finger on the right spot when he declared the Canterbury mania to be "one of the genuine flowers of the colonization garden."[1] "Be it so," cried Andrew T. Judson, one of the five, and then or shortly afterwards a life-member of the American Colonization Society, as was also Dr. Andrew Harris, of the same black-list.[2] "Be it so," said Squire Judson, in an address to the Colonization Society signed by the civil authority and selectmen under date of March 22, 1833. "We appeal to the American Colonization Society, to which our statement is addressed — we appeal to every philanthropist, to every Christian — we appeal to the enlight-

Lib. 3: 107, 43, 54.

[1] The phrase was Arnold Buffum's, in the letter of March 4, already cited.

[2] Judson was in July made a local agent of the Windham Co. Colonization Society, and orator for the next meeting. Like him, Harris lived on a corner opposite Miss Crandall's school.

ened citizens of our native State and the friends of our country; and in making that appeal we assure them all that they may rely upon the facts here stated, and we ask them to apply to these facts those wholesome principles which we believe are universally cherished in New England, and the issue we will abide." He declared that the "school was to become an auxiliary in the work of *immediate abolition*," with the *Liberator* for its mouthpiece; that Miss Crandall had denounced colonization as a fraud; and that "once open this door, and New England will become the Liberia of America." As town clerk he recorded the vote of the town meeting on April 1, to petition for a law against the bringing of colored people from other towns and States for any purpose, "and more especially for the purpose of disseminating the principles and doctrines opposed to the benevolent colonization scheme"; and as one of the committee he drew up the petition. He was, in fact, the soul of the persecution, for which he boldly invoked and secured the complicity of a Society whose hostility to any attempt to raise the condition of the colored people in the land of their nativity was once more shiningly demonstrated. It was his mission, also, in the pursuit of professional and political advancement, to illustrate the malevolence towards Mr. Garrison which now began, on the part of the Colonization managers, to assume a murderous intensity.[1]

Lib. 3:78.

In February, the Colonization agent, Danforth, in the midst of a public debate with Arnold Buffum at Lyceum Hall, Salem, taunted Mr. Garrison with not going South to preach to the slaveholders, and, recalling the handsome rewards offered for him, pointed him out in the audience, "with a significant gesture," as "this same William Lloyd Garrison" for whom he himself had been offered $10,000 by an individual. This incentive to kidnapping was not a harmless device to throw odium on an adversary. Mr. Amasa Walker reported, at the annual

Lib. 3:42.

[1] See Mr. Garrison's striking review of this persecution in *Lib.* 4:31.

meeting of the New-England Anti-Slavery Society in
Lib. 3:54. Boston, that "he had lately heard all abolitionists denounced in State Street as mischievous men, and one had lately said to him that he wished he had the Editor of the *Liberator* in an iron cage — he would send him to the Governor of Georgia, who would know what to do with him." Nor did Danforth's malice end there. In a letter written from Boston under date of March 28, 1833, to Col. William L. Stone, editor of the New York *Commercial Advertiser* and chairman of the executive committee of the Colonization Society in that city, he used the following still more "significant" language:

Lib. 3:69. "In the midst of all these successful endeavors [to found Liberia and people it], there appears a young man within the last two years, of the name of Garrison, whose pen is so venomous that the laws enacted for the peace of the community and the protection of private character have, in one instance, actually confined him in jail, as they would a lunatic. This man, who, according to his own account, has only since 1830 turned against the Colonization cause, in favor of which he delivered his sentiments in public twelve years after the Society was formed; this man, who is considered such a disturber of the tranquillity of Southern society[1] that $10,000 reward have been offered me for his person, and the most touching appeals as well as official demands made to us in this region that he should be publicly discountenanced, and even given up to justice; who is in fact this moment in danger of being surrendered to the civil authorities of some one of the Southern States; this man, in connection with a few like-minded spirits, has been engaged in forming what they call 'The New-England Anti-Slavery Society,' one object of which is, 'to effect the abolition of slavery in the United States.' . . .

Levi Lincoln, 1825-33. "I have conversed freely with the Governor of this Commonwealth, and other leading men, on this subject, and they express a decided disapprobation of Garrison's course. For a while he tried the effect of his *Liberator* upon the Governor by

[1] *Videlicet*, by the publication of the *Liberator*. Yet another colonizationist, Robert S. Finley, son of the reputed founder of the Society, pretended at this very time to have circulated the *Liberator* industriously at the South as the best means of advancing the Society (*Lib.* 3:54).

sending it to him. His Excellency, however, did not think it worth the postage, and ordered it stopped. Garrison is now preparing to go to England, doubtless to repeat *viva voce* the defamation of the South and the Colonization Society which has been already sent over in print, and re-echoed in this country as authentic British opinions." CHAP. X. 1833.

The sequel will show that this clerical instigation to a forcible detention of Mr. Garrison, if nothing worse, was kept in mind by the colonizationists. The mission to England had been talked of during his tour in Maine the previous year, and hastily concluded upon, but the *Liberator* of November 10, 1832, reported its postponement. *Lib.* 2 : 177. The following correspondence shows the prime conception of it:

Joseph Cassey[1] *to Isaac Knapp, Boston.*

PHILADELPHIA, October 16, 1832. *MS.*

ESTEEMED FRIEND: It affords me much satisfaction to assure you, in reply to your favors of the 12th inst. and of the 26th ult., that your draft for one hundred dollars will be accepted with pleasure. . . .

As regards your fears that the resolution on the part of the New-England Anti-Slavery Society to establish a manual-labor school might be the means of retarding the progress of the one in contemplation here, the provisional committee, to whom your letter was submitted, agree in the belief that nothing efficient will be done here for the present, and rejoice in the belief and hope that your efforts will be more immediately successful. We think it a good plan to make an appeal to the benevolent in Europe, but doubt whether it would be advisable to dispatch an agent having the same object in view, so soon after, or perhaps at the same time, the N. E. Anti-Slavery Society's agent might be making collections.

As we felt unauthorized to move first in this matter, we concluded it would be best to suggest to the New York committee, *Sic.* who, having the advantage of consulting with our good and generous patron, Mr. Tappan, would feel more confidence in pursuing any measure that might have his sanction. We have in contemplation to write them and suggest Mr. G. as a suitable *W. L. G.*

[1] Mr. Cassey, a colored gentleman, was one of the *Liberator's* most active agents in Philadelphia.

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person, without, however, intimating the suggestion as having originated with you. Should this step result in furtherance of your wishes, I shall sincerely rejoice, for I also feel persuaded that our friend could visit that country to great advantage to our cause.

Arnold Buffum to W. L. Garrison, at Portland.

MS.

BOSTON, 10th mo. 10, 1832.

MY DEAR GARRISON: We have had considerable conversation here relative to sending an Agent to England to collect subscriptions for our proposed School for colored youth, and as far as I can learn there seems to be but one opinion on the subject, and that is that if the means of defraying the expenses can be obtained, it will be best that thou should go immediately to England for that purpose. It really appears to me that it is a most important measure to be immediately adopted. I can entertain no doubt but thou would there meet the most cordial reception, and receive liberal contributions towards this most desirable object. I have consulted several of the most wealthy men in Providence on the subject. They highly approve the measure and will contribute toward its accomplishment. Please get, on thy way to Boston, a few hundred if possible toward the expenses of a voyage to Europe, and come up and sail from New York the first of next month — that is my most decided opinion. If the money for the expenses cannot be got elsewhere, I will go to New Bedford and beg hard, and I believe I can get it there. At any rate, I will try as soon as I know thou hast decided to go.

A colored man now here from Petersburg, Virginia, states that they have there had a missionary society, and that they have been obliged to give it up in consequence of the new laws which prohibit them from meeting, and that they have a fund of $200 which they want to give where it will be used for the benefit of the colored people. He thinks they will give it to us.

Please to write me immediately in reply. Address to me at Lowell, and oblige thy assured friend.

Garrison in England will do the cause more good in three months than in twelve in America, by the reception he will there meet, and by his communications through the columns of the *Liberator*, &c., &c. Excuse the great haste, which almost precludes thought.

Arnold Buffum to W. L. Garrison, at Newburyport. CHAP. X.

ANDOVER, 10th mo. 23, 1832. 1833.

MY DEAR FRIEND: Thine of 20th was received last evening. . . . *MS.*

Here I am now in the hot-bed of Colonizationism; have been trying all day to get a house to lecture in, this and to-morrow evening. The Orthodox minister refuses his house *in toto*. . . . I am now, 4 o'clock P. M., treating for the Methodist meeting-house. . . .

I intend to go to Newburyport on Thursday of this week, and meet thee there, and we will go to Boston together to make arrangements for thy voyage to England and France, for thou shalt see the good Lafayette.

I think all the difficulties thou mentions in regard to the School may be easily obviated. I am sure the idea of a farm school is much more acceptable to the public than that of a college. At the same time, when it is established we can make what we please of it—that is, we can have a branch located either at the same or another place, where honors may be dispensed to woolly heads. At all events the plan must go forward. . . .

Let us do something at Newburyport: do thou give one lecture there and I will give one, and let us see what impression we can make.

Arnold Buffum to Garrison & Knapp, Boston.

ANDOVER, 10th mo. 24, 1832. *MS.*

I am to deliver a lecture here this evening, and to-morrow morning I go to Newburyport and hope to meet Friend Garrison there and proceed with him to Boston. . . . I got a letter from him at Lowell, saying he proposed to return to Boston this week to prepare for a voyage to Europe, should the means be provided and his friends unitedly think it desirable. I hope and presume there will be but one opinion on the subject. It was to consult on that matter that I wished to have had a meeting of the Board of Managers when in Boston, but I consulted all I saw, and heard one uniform favorable opinion.

The *Liberator* had reached England early in the summer of 1831, where it met with a warm welcome, and at once induced a friendly interchange of documents and private correspondence between the abolitionists of the

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mother country and their unexpected allies. The subsequent formation of a society in the United States for immediate emancipation was still more cheering: "I did indeed feel it as a cordial to my heart," wrote James Cropper to Arnold Buffum in August, 1832. Meantime Elliott Cresson's activity among the wealthy and philanthropic denomination of which Cropper was so admirable a representative, was practically unchecked, though his unscrupulousness had been discovered. He lost no time after his arrival out[1] in visiting Wilberforce, whom he failed to convince of the practicability of transporting the blacks to Liberia; and the blind Clarkson, whom he deceived by the most outrageous fictions in regard to the emancipatory intentions and influence of the Society, and committed to a guarded approval of it in terms which nevertheless betrayed the misrepresentations to which the writer had been subjected. Transmitted by Cresson to the home organ, the endorsement was seen to be fatal to the Society's standing at the South, so that to publish it honestly would have been suicidal. It was therefore suppressed, and a garbled version ultimately substituted,[2] which compares as follows with the original:

Lib. 3:7.

Clarkson's Strictures on Life of Wilberforce, and Wilberforce's letter to Clarkson, Oct. 10, 1831.

Lib. 3:189.

Clarkson to E. Cresson, December 1, 1831.	*African Repository, November*, 1832.
This Society seems to me to have two objects in view—first, TO ASSIST IN THE EMANCIPATION OF ALL THE SLAVES NOW IN THE UNITED STATES; and, secondly, by sending *these* to Africa, to do away the slave-trade, and promote civilization among the natives there.	He [Clarkson] considers the object of the Society two-fold: first, TO PROMOTE THE VOLUNTARY EMIGRATION TO AFRICA OF THE COLORED POPULATION OF THE UNITED STATES; and second, the suppression of the slave-trade, and the civilization of the African tribes.

Lib. 3:178.

[1] In the summer of 1831. (See *African Repository* for November; also, Harriet Martineau's 'Autobiography,' 1:149.)

[2] Gurley's explanation of this baseness may be found in *Lib.* 3:119, and should be consulted.

The 'Thoughts' had greatly assisted Cropper and Stuart in baffling the "fit agent of a Society which can succeed only by stratagem and deception"; but the representations of these and other English friends had doubtless induced the managers of the New-England Anti-Slavery Society to consider their duty in the premises. In carrying out, therefore, the resolution of September 24, already cited, to solicit means abroad for the Manual Labor School, it would clearly be a gain to send some one capable also of confronting Cresson; and who should be preferred to the author of the 'Thoughts'? Accordingly, in the first week in March, 1833 —

Arnold Buffum to Clarkson, Abolitionist, p. 8.

Ante, p. 282, and p. 325.

"The Board of Managers of the New-England Anti-Slavery Society hereby give notice to the public, that they have appointed William Lloyd Garrison as their Agent, and that he will proceed to England as soon as the necessary arrangements can be made, for the purpose of procuring funds to aid in the establishment of the proposed MANUAL LABOR SCHOOL FOR COLORED YOUTH, and of disseminating in that country the truth in relation to American Slavery, and to its ally, the American Colonization Society. *Lib.* 3:39.

"The Board are confident that the friends of emancipation will require no apology for this step, and that little need be said to secure their efficient aid in the accomplishment of an object so highly important. The fact is generally known that Elliott Cresson is now in England as an agent for the Colonization Society, and that he has procured funds to a considerable amount, by representing that the object of the Society is, 'to assist in the emancipation of all the slaves now in the United States.' It is important that the Philanthropists of that country should be undeceived, and that the real principles and designs of the Colonization Society should be there made known.

"The Board have the most entire confidence in the success of this Agency. The people of England have long since taken the ground of IMMEDIATE ABOLITION, and their philanthropy and benevolence are too well known to admit a doubt of their readiness to coöperate with us, in the establishment of an institution which shall afford to colored youth the means of acquiring that knowledge of which they have so long been deprived.

"As the Society has but a small amount of funds, the Board are compelled to call upon the friends of emancipation through-

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out the country for aid in effecting this object. And they hereby invite all those who are disposed to contribute for this object, to do so without delay. . . ."

To this Mr. Garrison editorially added an announcement of his purpose to sail in the course of a few weeks, leaving the *Liberator* "in the hands of a gentleman [Oliver Johnson] in all respects qualified to make it an interesting and efficient publication." He returned "his grateful acknowledgments to the Colored Female Religious and Moral Society of Salem, for some valuable presents to him in anticipation of his voyage."[1] His preparations for departure were now earnestly begun; and with mind elated at the prospect of visiting kindred spirits in the Old World, we find him composing his formal farewells, yielding once more (after a whole year's preoccupation) to the inspiration of the poetic muse,[2] and reviving an old friendship in the pursuit of a new. Some Haverhill young ladies — schoolmates at Derry, N. H. — styling themselves "Inquirers after Truth,"[3] had by their sympathetic letters caused a lively emotion in an always susceptible bosom; so much so that, dates considered, an

[1] This was but the beginning of testimonials and contributions from the colored people. Meetings expressive of their esteem and confidence were held, and contributions to the mission fund made in Boston, Philadelphia, New York, Newark, and Brooklyn (*Lib.* 3:47, 59, 74, 83, [95]). The speeches and resolutions testify to the affection felt for Mr. Garrison, and are noticeably apt in expression. About one-half the sum acknowledged in *Lib.* 3:86 ($624.50) was derived from this source. Besides these manifestations of personal interest, the Juvenile Garrison Independent Society presented him with a large and handsomely executed heart-shaped silver medal, suitably inscribed, on the eve of his departure; and colored gentlemen of Boston and Salem, among whose inscribed names we find that of C. L. Remond, gave him a beautiful silver cup "in commemoration of our farewell interview at the hospitable home of Mr. George Putnam."

[2] See the hopeful lyric, "Ye who in bondage pine," bearing date March 20, 1833, first printed in the April number of the monthly *Abolitionist* (p. 64, afterwards in *Lib.* 3:56), and sung at the anti-slavery meeting held on the 4th of July, 1833, in Boylston Hall, Boston (*Lib.* 3:107).

[3] These were Miss Harriet Minot, afterwards Mrs. Isaac Pitman, of Somerville, Mass., and a lifelong friend of Mr. Garrison; Miss Harriott Plummer, afterwards Mrs. Charles Bartlett, and mother of the distinguished Gen. William F. Bartlett, of the civil war; and Miss Elizabeth E. Parrott, afterwards Mrs. George Hughes, of Boston.

Oliver Johnson

incidental avowal in the *Liberator* of March 16 — "We declare that our heart is neither affected *by*, nor pledged *to*, any lady, black or white, bond or free"[1] — was perhaps intended to be read as an advertisement, between the lines. A trip to Haverhill and an address there were the result of the correspondence which ensued: *Lib.* 3:43.

W. L. Garrison to "Inquirers after Truth."

BOSTON, March 4, 1833. *MS.*

You excite my curiosity and interest still more by informing me that my dearly beloved Whittier is a *friend* and townsman of yours. Can we not induce him to devote his brilliant genius more to the advancement of our cause, and kindred enterprises, and less to the creations of romance and fancy, and the disturbing incidents of political strife?

BOSTON, March 18, 1833. *MS.*

You think my influence will prevail with my dear Whittier more than yours. I think otherwise. If he has not already blotted my name from the tablet of his memory, it is because his magnanimity is superior to neglect. We have had no correspondence whatever, for more than a year, with each other! Does this look like friendship between us? And yet I take the blame all to myself. He is not a debtor to me — I owe him many letters. My only excuse is an almost unconquerable aversion to pen, ink and paper (as well he knows), and the numerous obligations which rest upon me, growing out of my connection with the cause of emancipation. Pray, secure his forgiveness, and tell him that my love to him is as strong as was that of David to Jonathan. Soon I hope to send him a contrite epistle; and I know he will return a generous pardon.

W. L. Garrison to Miss Harriet Minot.

BOSTON, March 19, 1833. *MS.*

A thought has just occurred to me. Suppose I should visit Haverhill, previous to my departure for England: is it probable that I could obtain a meeting-house in which to address the

[1] His opponents had charged him with seeking the repeal of the Massachusetts law against intermarriage in order to profit by it in taking a black wife.

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inhabitants on the subject of slavery? (probably I should deem it expedient to say nothing derogatory to the Colonization Society.) If I can be *sure* of a house, I will try to come Sabbath after next. I will consult my friend Whittier, and see what can be done.

MS.

BOSTON, March 26, 1833.

I have written to Whittier respecting my visit to Haverhill, but have heard nothing from him. Nevertheless, I shall visit *March* 30. your beautiful village on Saturday next, even should no arrangements be made for the delivery of an address.

MS.

BOSTON, April 3, 1833.

Although it is midnight, and in a few hours I expect to bid adieu to Boston, yet I cannot consent to woo

"Tired Nature's sweet restorer, balmy sleep,"

until I express to you — very imperfectly, indeed — the pleasure which I received from my recent visit to Haverhill. Beautiful village! it has almost stolen my heart. . . .

During my brief sojourn in H., my spirit was as elastic as the breeze, and, like the lark, soared steadily upward to the gates of heaven, carolling its notes of joy. How invigorating was the atmosphere! how bright the sun! how cheerful each field and hill! how magnificent the landscape! What have I not lost by a residence in this "populous solitude" — this city of bustle, dust and bricks!

But, pleasant as it is to behold the face of Nature, it has no beauty like the countenance of a beloved friend. Sweet is the song of birds, but sweeter the voices of those we love. To see my dear Whittier once more, full of health and manly beauty, was pleasurable indeed.

It would, perhaps, be difficult to find equally rapturous praise of a New England landscape in March from a *Ante, p.* 34. runaway apprentice revisiting the scene of his misdirected training. Mr. Whittier, it should be said, had abated nothing of his friendship, having already in his portfolio a poetical tribute to Mr. Garrison which he withheld from print till after their interview. He secured the church for the Sunday discourse, and though

"Too quiet seemed the man to ride the wingèd Hippogriff Reform,"

his anti-slavery earnestness was soon after publicly testified by a pamphlet issued in June, entitled, 'Justice and Expediency; or, Slavery considered with a view to its rightful Remedy, Abolition.' The news of this weighty accession to the cause Mr. Garrison heard with rejoicing while in England. *Lib.* 3:99.

Leave-taking began at the quarterly meeting of the New-England Anti-Slavery Society held March 25 in the Hall of the House of Representatives, at which Mr. Garrison offered a resolution declaring the Colonization Society a hindrance to the progress of emancipation, and made a speech in support of this view. No better statement of the contrary aims of the two organizations could be desired than that involved in his valedictory:

"Brethren — Whether I shall ever again have an opportunity to address you, He who holds the winds in his fists and the seas in the hollow of his hands, alone can tell. Whatever may be the event with me, see to it that you grow not weary in well doing. The command rests upon you to '*plead the cause of the poor and needy*' — fulfil it in the letter and the spirit. Suffer no discouragement to depress, no obstacle to hinder, no persecution to deter, no power to awe, no opposition to defeat you in your great and glorious enterprise. Your principles, if cherished and vindicated, cannot fail to procure for you a splendid triumph. Remember that He who is for you is greater than they who are against you — and that this is a cause in which one shall chase a thousand, and two put ten thousand to flight. Shall not the Judge of all the earth do right? Shall not his soul be avenged on such a nation as this? 'The needy shall not always be forgotten — the expectation of the poor shall not perish forever.' *Lib.* 3:51.

"While the Colonization Society is striving hard to suppress inquiry and discussion on the subject of slavery, be sure yourselves to agitate it on all suitable occasions. While that Society is endeavoring to cover up the bloody abominations of the foul system, fail not to hold up those abominations to the gaze of the people until their hearts shall sicken, and rivers of repentant tears wash away the pollutions of the land. While that Society is constantly alleviating the pressure of guilt upon the consciences of the planters, pile upon those consciences mountains, '*and cut away the props.*' While that Society is consulting

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the convenience, selfishness, prejudice and cruelty of the oppressor, do you consult nothing but truth and duty. While that Society is demanding the banishment of the slaves as the price of freedom, do you contend for their freedom and education at home. While that Society is urging a slow, imperceptible, indefinite emancipation, do you insist upon immediate restitution. While that Society is persuading the people of the free States that they have no right to meddle with the slave system, do you show the people that they are constitutionally involved in the guilt and danger of slavery — that, consequently, they are bound to revise and alter that Constitution, and release themselves from their present bloody responsibility. While that Society is maintaining that here the colored population must be forever useless, degraded and miserable, do you rebuke the spirit of pride and prejudice, and encourage that population to aspire after knowledge and to hope for better days. While that Society is aiming to cast upon the shores of Africa large masses of ignorance and depravity for the relief of this country and — *the Christianization of that continent*, do you pray that none but enlightened and Christian missionaries may be sent thither on errands of mercy. And while you feel and express the strongest moral indignation, in view of the conduct of Southern oppressors, 'be angry, and sin not' — cherish nothing but the most ardent love for their temporal and eternal interests, for their bodies and souls. Be actuated by a holy zeal and boldness, but repudiate animal passion and all malignity."

In conclusion, the speaker pointed out the wonderful progress of the anti-slavery movement, just culminating across the water in the impending freedom of the 800,000 slaves in the British West Indies, within six years after the doctrine of immediate emancipation had been embraced by British philanthropists.

On the 2d of April a farewell meeting was held at the Belknap-Street Church, when Mr. Garrison read an address prepared for his colored friends, and subsequently repeated to them in many cities.[1] He is sad at parting,

[1] It was finally printed as a pamphlet in New York. It had other than black readers. Frederick A. Hinton, of Philadelphia, wrote to Isaac Knapp, July 12, 1833 (MS.): "I met to-day in the street Charles J. Ingersoll, Esq., a gentleman of great distinction, who stopped me and told me that he had just read Garrison's Address, and that he (Mr. I.) is entirely with G. in every respect, and his brother, J. R. Ingersoll, Esq., President

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perhaps for the last time, from those to whom he owes so much. Yet both abroad and at home there are clearing skies and signs of great promise — the repentance of Great Britain, the heroism of the abolitionists. "If ever there was a cause which established the disinterestedness and integrity of its supporters, yours is that cause." The national attention has been fixed on slavery. "What has created the mighty discussion which has taken, or is taking, place in almost every debating society or lyceum throughout the Union, and which cannot cease till the cause of it, SLAVERY, is overthrown?" The truth has found a prominent medium in the *Liberator*, which shall not go down while body and mind endure. Admit its incendiary character: it is a rising sun.

Address before the Free People of Color. April, 1833 *p.* 11.

"But the *Liberator* is said to be destructive in its character and tendency. That charge, also, I admit is true. It is putting whole magazines of truth under the slave system, and I trust in God will blow it into countless fragments, so that not the remnant of a whip or chain can be found in all the South, and so that upon its ruins may be erected the beautiful temple of freedom. I will not waste my strength in foolishly endeavoring to beat down this great Bastile with a feather. I will not commence at the roof, and throw off its tiles by piecemeal. I am for adopting a more summary method of demolishing it. I am for digging under its foundations, and springing a mine that shall not leave one stone upon another. I leave colonizationists to pick up the leaves which are annually shed by the Bohon Upas of our land, with the vain hope of exterminating it; but as for myself, I choose rather to assail its trunk with the axe of justice, and strike with all my nerve such blows as shall cause 'this great poison-tree of lust and blood, and of all abominable and heartless iniquity, to fall before it; and law and love, and God and man, to shout victory over its ruin.'

"But the *Liberator* uses very hard language, and calls a great many bad names, and is very harsh and abusive. Precious cant, indeed! And what has been so efficacious as this

of the Select Council, is also. This is not to be mentioned out of confidence." Both these gentlemen, sons of Jared Ingersoll, were eminent lawyers, and afterwards represented their State in Congress; the former as a Democrat, the latter as a Whig. Joseph Reed Ingersoll was appointed Minister to England by President Fillmore.

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hard language? Now, I am satisfied that its strength of denunciation bears no proportion to the enormous guilt of the slave system. The English language is lamentably weak and deficient in regard to this matter. I wish its epithets were heavier — I wish it would not break so easily — I wish I could denounce slavery, and all its abettors, in terms equal to their infamy. But, shame to tell! I can apply to him who steals the liberties of hundreds of his fellow-creatures, and lacerates their bodies, and plunders them of all their hard earnings, only the same epithet that is applied by all to a man who steals a shilling in this community. I call the slaveholder a thief because he steals human beings, and reduces them to the condition of brutes; and I am thought to be very abusive! I call the man a thief who takes my handkerchief from my pocket; and all the people shout, 'Right! right! so he is!' and the court seizes him and throws him into prison. Wonderful consistency! . . .

Address before the Free People of Color, April, 1833, p. 12.

"How, then, ought I to feel, and speak, and write, in view of a system which is red with innocent blood, drawn from the bodies of millions of my countrymen by the scourge of brutal drivers; — which is full of all uncleanness and licentiousness; — which destroys the 'life of the soul'; — and which is too horrible for the mind to imagine, or the pen to declare? How ought I to feel and speak? As a man! as a patriot! as a philanthropist! as a Christian! My soul should be, as it is, on fire. I should thunder — I should lighten. I should blow the trumpet of alarm, long and loud. I should use just such language as is most descriptive of the crime. I should imitate the example of Christ, who, when he had to do with people of like manners, called them sharply by their proper names — such as, an adulterous and perverse generation, a brood of vipers, hypocrites, children of the devil who could not escape the damnation of hell. . . . No! no! I never will dilute or modify my language against slavery — against the plunderers of my fellow-men — against American kidnappers. They shall have my honest opinions of their conduct."

He appeals to them against the charge that he is inciting them to revenge against the whites, whereas he urges their mutual improvement through association.[1]

[1] In a note to the Address at this point, Mr. Garrison records the gratifying fact that immediately at the close of its delivery in Boston, on his recommendation that his hearers should form a temperance society, 114

He has been accused of unduly exciting their hopes, but the Colonization Society is already smitten and tottering. He describes the nature of his mission to England, "at the unanimous request of the Managers of the New-England Anti-Slavery Society, and satisfied in my own mind, after great consideration, that the finger of Providence points out the way." His principal object is to assist in raising $50,000 for the National Manual Labor School, by invoking the coöperation of wealthy philanthropists. Another is to head off Elliott Cresson, "who has been long in the country, and has succeeded in duping the British people out of large sums of money to promote the objects of the brazen handmaid of slavery." CHAP. X. 1833.

"Another important object I have in view is, to establish a regular correspondence between the abolitionists of England and those of this country, and to secure a union of sentiment and action. Much useful information may be obtained, and many valuable anti-slavery tracts and publications collected for distribution among us. We deem it important to learn, precisely, the methods adopted by the friends of abolition in England, in operating upon public sentiment; upon what principles, and by what regulations, their anti-slavery societies are conducted; in what manner female influence has been so widely secured, and so powerfully exerted against slavery; and, in short, to gather up all those facts, and obtain all those instructions, in relation to this great cause which can in any degree assist us in destroying the monster OPPRESSION, and placing your whole race upon a footing of equality with the rest of the world." *Address before the Free People of Color, April, 1833, p. 21.*

The Address, whose opening was figurative and florid, well suited to a colored audience, closed with exhortations to moral behavior during his absence, and to faith in the God of Israel in Egypt.

On Friday, April 5, Mr. Garrison set out from Boston. His progress up to his embarkation will be best described in extracts from his private correspondence, as the *Lib-*

males and females subscribed, and when he left the city 150 had agreed to abstain from liquor. "Such acts as these, brethren, give me strength and boldness in your cause."

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erator contained but few particulars. It was announced that he could be addressed in care of William Goodell at New York:

Henry E. Benson to Isaac Knapp.

MS.

PROVIDENCE, April 9, 1833.

We had a very short but delightful visit from Mr. Garrison last week, though for the life of me I could not help feeling sorrowful on reflecting he was about to leave us for so long a

April 5. period. On Friday evening he delivered a most excellent address before a large and highly respectable audience of our colored inhabitants, in which he took an affecting leave of them all. After the meeting, the poor creatures wept and sobbed like children — they gathered round him anxious to express their gratitude for what he had done for them, and tell him how well they loved him. . . .

On Saturday morning your partner and my brother started for Brooklyn, from whence he probably departed on Monday for Hartford. . . .

P. S. My brother has returned; says our friend delivered a highly satisfactory address in Mr. May's meeting-house on Sunday evening, and has removed a mountain of prejudice. After

April 8. he left Brooklyn Monday noon, a sheriff came up from Canterbury with a writ. Do not know whether they proceeded to Hartford after him, or not; brother said he could not ascertain. Believe they are going to take him up for the heading put to the letter of March 12th, respecting the town meeting, on the ground that it is libellous. My father says he will see that he has bonds (if necessary) to any amount required.[1] Miss Crandall was at Brooklyn, and is in excellent spirits.

W. L. Garrison to Miss Harriet Minot.

MS.

HARTFORD, April 9, 1833.

April 2. On Tuesday evening last I bade farewell to my colored friends of Boston, in a public address, and on Friday evening to the people of color in Providence. On both occasions the highest interest and most intense feeling were felt and exhibited by the

[1] George Benson wrote to his son George, April 11: "I cannot conceive what was their object unless to embarrass and retard his [Garrison's] journey."

audience. They wept freely — they clustered around me in throngs, each one eager to receive the pressure of my hand and implore Heaven's choicest blessings upon my head. You cannot imagine the scene, and my pen is wholly inadequate to describe it. As I stood before them, and reflected it might be the last time I should behold them on earth, . . . I could not but feel a strong depression of mind. . . . It is the lowness of their estate, in the estimation of the world, which exalts them in my eyes. It is the distance which separates them from the blessings and privileges of society, which brings them so closely to my affections.[1] It is the unmerited scorn, reproach and persecution of their persons, by those whose complexion *is* colored like my own, that command for them my sympathy and respect. It is the fewness of their friends, and the great number of their enemies, that induce me to stand forth in their defence, and enable me, I trust, to exhibit to the world the purity of my motives. . . . CHAP. X. 1833.

On Sabbath evening, I delivered an address to a large and attentive audience of white people in Brooklyn, where I have long been regarded as a terrible monster. I am happy to learn that the effects of the address are most salutary. *April* 7.

This evening, I bid farewell to the colored inhabitants of Hartford, in their meeting-house. *April* 9.

To-morrow I start for New Haven, in which place I shall stay two or three days, in order to have my portrait taken and engraved upon steel. This I do reluctantly; but my friends are imperious, and I must gratify them. This sticking up one's face in print-shops, to be the "observed of all observers," is hardly consistent with genuine modesty, but I can in no other way get rid of the importunities of those who would pluck out their eyes to give me. *April* 10.

Rev. Simeon S. Jocelyn to W. L. Garrison, in Boston.

NEW HAVEN, March 29, 1833. *MS.*

I am desirous to have you sit to my brother for a portrait before you leave for England. I suppose you will have but little time for such a purpose, but if you can be here but one or two days he can get the likeness and finish the painting afterwards. He is now painting a portrait of Ashmun[2] for the

[1] "Aux plus déshérités le plus d'amour."

[2] Jehudi Ashmun, the militant agent of the American Colonization Society, who went out to Liberia in 1822. He died, after his return, Aug. 25, 1828.

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Colonization Society, which is to be engraved. It is my design to engrave yours whilst you are in England, and publish the print. I have long thought that your friends and foes would view your portrait with interest; and as the Lord has been pleased to give you a head bearing none of the *destructive disposition* which opposers ascribe to you, it may not be amiss to lead them by a view of the outward man to a more favorable examination of your principles. I am confident that this is the effect where your face is seen, and why not where its imitation should be viewed? I hope, for the pleasure of your friends, at all events, that you will consent to spend a day or two here in the way proposed. Besides, as my brother is acquainted in London, and with one of the principal anti-slavery men, William Allen, you may perhaps spend your time with him to advantage. I am anxious to see you on various accounts. . . .

I hope you will get back as soon as is consistent. We shall have a rough time, probably, before the year is out. The struggle will be great, no doubt, but God will redeem the captives. . . . We are all determined to sustain Miss Crandall if there is law in the land enough to protect her. She is a noble soul. . . . Miss C. has no doubt more praying friends in the United States drawn to her by her persecutions than the whole number of the population of Canterbury. . . . Should not some course be taken for publishing another edition of your 'Thoughts' previous to your return?

W. L. Garrison to Isaac Knapp.

NEW HAVEN, April 11, 1833.

MS. The date should be 12, *at least at the close.*

According to appointment, I addressed our colored friends in Providence on Friday evening last; and although they had but a short notice, they gave me a large audience. At the close of the address, they voluntarily made a collection in aid of my mission, which, with the contributions of some white friends, amounted to the handsome sum of *thirty dollars*. In addition to this, the colored "Mutual Relief Society" gave $15.00, at the hands of their Treasurer, Ichabod Northup. The colored "Female Literary Society" also presented me $6.00, and the colored "Female Tract Society" $4.00 — making, in all, $55.00! — All this was given, too, without any application being made to them.

April 6.

On Saturday, friend G. W. Benson took me to Brooklyn in a chaise, where I tarried until Monday, under the hospitable roof of his parents. My excellent brother May was delighted to see

me, and my pleasure was equally great in taking him by the hand. I did not expect to deliver an address in B., but could not easily avoid a compliance with the wishes of my friends. Accordingly, I occupied Mr. May's pulpit on Sabbath evening last. . . . *April 7.*

Miss Crandall, having obtained information that I was to hold forth, came up from Canterbury with her sister (a beautiful girl, by the way). She is a wonderful woman, as undaunted as if she had the whole world on her side. She has opened her school, and is resolved to persevere. I wish brother Johnson to state this fact, particularly, in the next *Liberator*, and urge all those who intend to send their children thither, to do so without delay. *Almira Crandall.* *Oliver Johnson.*

The stage for Hartford on Monday morning neglected to call for me; and half an hour had elapsed, after its departure, before I was aware of the fact. As time was precious, I took a common wagon, and followed on in pursuit, and at the end of the seventh mile overtook the stage. I was in a wretched plight, covered over with mud, and wet — for it rained heavily. I arrived in Hartford late that evening, and the next morning thought of starting for New Haven; but, at the urgent solicitations of the colored friends, I gave them an address in the evening in their church. They collected four dollars. On Wednesday morning, I took the stage for New Haven. On passing through Middletown, I saw the Rev. J. C. Beman and a few other colored friends, and it was with as much difficulty as reluctance I tore myself from their company. I was disappointed in not seeing friend Jocelyn in New Haven, as he had gone to New York; but his brother gave me a welcome, and commenced upon my portrait. To-day noon (Friday) I start for New York, but shall pass on to Philadelphia without delay. I must return to New Haven again to address the colored people, and have my portrait completed. Friend Robert B. Hall has been very attentive. *April 8.* *April 9.* *April 10.* *S. S. Jocelyn.* *April 12.*

PHILADELPHIA, April 17, 1833.

This letter was begun in New Haven, and must now be completed in this city. No doubt you are all scolding about me heartily. I arrived here on Saturday, and found friend Sharpless and his family in good health. Last evening, I gave an address to the colored people. The audience was pretty large, but the colored Philadelphians, as a body, do not evince that interest and warmth of attachment which characterize my *April 13.*

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Boston friends — nor is it to be expected, as I have associated with scarcely a dozen of their number. I have not, as yet, made any call upon them for pecuniary assistance in aid of my mission, but shall consult to-day or to-morrow with friends Forten, Cassey, Hinton, Purvis, etc. I am glad to find that the mission meets with a general approval. At the request of Mr. Purvis, I have been sitting for my portrait, and the artist

April 19. (Brewster)[1] has succeeded pretty well. On Friday morning, I

April 22. start for New York, where I shall tarry until Monday morning, and then go to New Haven, in company with the Rev. Mr.

Geo. Bourne. Bourne. I shall sail in the packet for Liverpool for May 1st, provided the necessary funds be raised and my enemies do not throw any hindrances in my path.

S. S. Jocelyn. I saw brother Jocelyn in New York. He showed me a letter which he had just received from Miss Crandall, in which she stated that I had not left Brooklyn more than half an hour before a sheriff from Canterbury drove up to the door of Mr. Benson at full speed, having five writs against me from Andrew T. Judson and company; and finding that I had gone, he pursued after me for several miles, but had to give up the chase. No doubt the Colonization party will resort to some base measures to prevent, if possible, my departure for England. . . .

I wish the Board of Managers to give me a letter of introduction to James Cropper.

W. L. Garrison to Miss Harriet Minot.

MS. PHILADELPHIA, April 22, 1833.

April 19. On Friday afternoon I arrived in New York from this city, and had the pleasure of receiving your favor of the 9th inst. I was immediately told that the enemies of the abolition cause had formed a conspiracy to seize my body by legal writs on some false pretences, with the sole intention to convey me South and deliver me up to the authorities of Georgia,— or, in other words, to abduct and destroy me. The agent who was to carry this murderous design into operation, had been in New York several days, waiting my appearance. As a packet was to sail the next day for Liverpool from Philadelphia, my

[1] Edmund Brewster, uncle of the eminent lawyer (President Arthur's Attorney-General) Benjamin H. Brewster. The painting, less than life-size, has been lost sight of, but copies of a lithograph made from it by the artist himself are still preserved. This print is by no means flattering to the subject of it, and was regarded at the time as a failure.

friends advised me to start early the next morning for this city, in the steamboat, hoping I might arrive in season to take passage therein, and thus baffle the vigilance of the enemy — but the ship sailed in the morning, and I did not get here till the afternoon; consequently, I failed to accomplish my purpose. My only alternative, therefore, is, to return again to New York to-morrow evening, and stealthily get away, if possible, in the Liverpool packet[1] that sails the next morning. Probably I shall not start in the ship, but go down the river in a pilot-boat and overtake her. CHAP. X. 1833. *April* 20. *April* 23.

My friends are full of apprehension and disquietude; but I *cannot* know fear. I feel that it is impossible for danger to awe me. I tremble at nothing but my own delinquencies, as one who is bound to be perfect, even as my heavenly Father is perfect.

The second trip from New York to Philadelphia was, perhaps, made by the usual route, namely, by steamboat to Amboy, cars to Bordentown, N. J., and steamboat again to Philadelphia. The return was by another, with a view to eluding possible pursuit. Robert Purvis, acting on the suggestion of Lewis Tappan, drove Mr. Garrison with a fast horse to Trenton, some thirty miles, in three hours. Before reaching this place an incident occurred more full of peril than the machinations of kidnappers and colonizationists. A passing steamboat on the Delaware excited Mr. Garrison's curiosity to witness the pretty spectacle from a nearer point than the river road. Mr. Purvis accordingly turned his horse to the bank, where the view was unobstructed, but when driven away the jaded animal refused to go forward and began to back. Realizing the danger, Mr. Purvis jumped from the carriage, but Mr. Garrison sat in apparent indifference (probably the helplessness he always felt when behind an unruly horse) until roused by the sharp appeal of his friend — "Sir, if you do not get out instantly you will be killed" — when he, too, made a timely escape, the horse being stopped just on the brink.[2]

[1] Probably the *Canada* (see Abdy's 'Journal of a Residence in the U. S.,' London, 1835, 1:1-14).

[2] Related by Mr. Purvis in 1881.

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From New York Mr. Garrison proceeded once more to New Haven, to renew his sittings to Nathaniel Jocelyn,[1] which lasted three days. During this time he was kept shut up by the artist in a room adjoining the studio, so arranged that in case of an attempt to seize him he could make a safe exit. Without such precautions, in a city swarming with colonizationists and where his person was known to many, it would have been foolhardy to venture within reach of the truculent Judson, whom he may well have passed on the way thither. "I hope," wrote Almira Crandall to Henry Benson, from Canterbury, on April 30, "that our friend Garrison will be enabled to escape the fury of his pursuers. Our anxieties for him were very great at the time Judson went to New York, as we expected his business was to take Mr. G." Despite this and all other dangers, the time was consumed without molestation until the packet was ready to be boarded.

MS.

W. L. Garrison to Miss Harriet Minot.

MS.

BELOW THE HARBOR OF NEW YORK,
May 1, 1833.

I am now fairly embarked for Liverpool, on board the ship *Hibernia*, Captain Maxwell. We lie about ten miles below the city, at anchor; and here we must remain twenty-four hours. . . .

[1] Originally an engraver, and one of the founders of the National Bank Note Co. Afterwards he devoted himself to painting, and quickly achieved distinction by his portraiture. He died Jan. 13, 1881, not long surviving his brother, who died August 17, 1879, and with whose anti-slavery sentiments and endeavors he was in the fullest sympathy. The circumstance of Mr. Garrison's concealment was related by him in August, 1879. The steel engraving was published in the spring of 1834. On April 23, Mr. Garrison expressed himself in regard to it as follows to G. W. Benson: "I have just received my portrait as engraved by my dear friend Jocelyn, and am sorry to say that all who have seen it agree with me in the opinion that it is a total failure. I am truly surprised that, familiar as he is with my features, he has erred so widely in his attempt to delineate them. On his account, too, I am sorry, for he will fail to make such a sale of the picture as will remunerate him for his labor—at least, I presume this will be the fact" (MS.) The plate was afterwards retouched, but still left too much to be desired.

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Since the transmission of my last letter, I have been journeying from place to place, rather for the purpose of defeating the designs of my enemies, than from choice. I expected to have sailed in the packet of the 24th ult., but applied too late, as every berth had been previously engaged. I do not now regret the detention, as it enabled the artist at New Haven to complete my portrait; and I think he has succeeded in making a very tolerable likeness. To be sure, those who imagine that I am a monster, on seeing it will doubt or deny its accuracy, seeing no horns about the head; but my friends, I think, will recognize it easily. . . .

April 30. Last evening I had a large audience of colored persons in the Methodist African Church in New York, who came to hear my farewell address. Alas, that the value of my labors in their behalf bears so small a proportion to their unbounded gratitude and love! — Mr. Finley, the General Agent of the Colonization Society, was present, and witnessed a tremendous assault upon his darling scheme.

The pursuit was not given over till the last moment. "About two and a half hours after friend Garrison went on board the ship," reports Arnold Buffum, who *Lib.* 3:75. had gone to New York to see him off, "inquiry was made for him by a lad from a lawyer's office, from which we conclude that the distinguished gentlemen of Canterbury were in pursuit of him; but they happened to be a little too late."[1] Before the winds themselves abandoned their opposition, Mr. Garrison addressed a farewell letter to William Goodell, for publication in his *Moral Daily Advertiser*, embracing "a few poetical lines *Lib.* 3:75. which have been composed in great haste,"— a sonnet, namely, beginning

> "Unto the winds and waves I now commit
> My body, subject to the will of Heaven,"

— and the testamentary injunction: "The grand object

[1] "Prior to sailing from New York, I was watched and hunted, day after day, in that city, in order that the writ might be served upon me; but my old friend, Arthur Tappan, took me into an upper chamber in the house of a friend, where I was safely kept, under lock and key, until the vessel sailed which conveyed me to England" (Speech of W. L. G., at the 20th anniversary of the Boston Mob, p. 11; also, *Lib.* 25:173).

CHAP. X. 1833. now to be aimed at is the formation of a National Anti-Slavery Society, after which auxiliary associations may be multiplied without difficulty." One such association he found hesitating to form itself in New York City, on account of a hostile and lawless public sentiment. It *must* be organized, he said, and his words gave the needed resolution.[1] For the national organization, not only his inspiration but his presence was deemed indispensable.

So, all adieus uttered, every duty discharged, and every care removed,[2] the special agent of the New-England Anti-Slavery Society sailed out of the harbor of New York on the second day of May, 1833.[3] A young man, not yet twenty-eight; without means or social standing or a numerous following; despised, hated, hunted with a price upon his head; armed only with the blessings of an outcast race and the credentials of an insignificant body of "fanatics," was to present himself before the honorable, powerful, and world-famous advocates of British emancipation — before Clarkson and Wilberforce and Macaulay and Buxton — in the midst of their parliamentary triumph, and before the British public, in opposition to a society which, with all its lying pretences, could truthfully say of itself through its emissary, Cresson, that it had the support of the wealth, the respectability and the piety of the American people. If ever a sense of personal littleness and deficiency was natural, it was here. But on the other hand the task was less formidable than that which the youth was leaving behind him; the potency of the truth was the same on both sides of the Atlantic; already acquaintances and

1 Related by William Green in 1880.

2 The accommodation of a letter of credit was effected through Arthur Tappan (MS. March 22, 1833).

3 "As soon as he had sailed, a cross-fire of abuse was opened by the morning and evening papers upon him and all connected with him,— 'the fanatic' Garrison and his 'crazy' coadjutors reëchoed through the columns of the journals, which were thus, by exciting discussion, giving activity to the cause they were trying to smother" (Abdy's 'Journal of a Residence,' 1:15).

introductions had been prepared for him; and the expectation of meeting the abolition apostles whose names he spoke only with reverence, and whose example he strove to imitate, with their coadjutors of all ranks and degrees, could only have had an exhilarating effect on his imagination. All difference of station, fortune, and training vanished in the equality which the anti-slavery cause gave to its promoters everywhere, and left no room for anything but a manly self-confidence and a manly ambition for recognition in the cause. To these reasons for buoyancy of feeling at starting, must be added Mr. Garrison's discovery that his affections were at last captivated. A new image haunted and consoled him amid the physical discomforts of the voyage.

CHAPTER XI.

First Mission to England. — 1833.

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THE passage was a reasonably short one, of twenty days, but "inexpressibly wearisome both to flesh and spirit," for Mr. Garrison was seasick within sight of Sandy Hook, leading all his fellow-passengers, and for the first week was unable to take food. He arrived out at Liverpool on May 22, and found the daily press filled with the absorbing topic of the hour — abolition in the colonies. It was universally conceded that slavery had received its death-blow since Lord Stanley's introduction of the ministerial measure in the House of Commons on May 14. Petitions were crowding in upon Parliament from all parts, including some monster ones signed by the women of Great Britain. Debate had been adjourned to May 30, and the friends of the bill, in their anxiety to insure its passage, accepted the features of apprenticeship and compensation, which made it seem to Mr. Garrison a go-between plan, worthy rather to be denounced than seconded. However, it was clear that he was unexpectedly to witness the closing scenes of the greatest moral struggle of modern times, and he hastened to present himself at the home of James Cropper. But Cropper, like a true soldier, was on the battle-field, having charged his sons to receive his American guest, which they did with great cordiality, introducing him "to several worthy friends, of both sexes," all of whom hailed his visit "as singularly providential." Some four days were spent in the city, of which Mr. Garrison gives his impressions in a manuscript fragment dated May 27, 1833:

Lib. 3: 107.

Lib. 3: 110, 127.

2d Annual Report N. E. A. S. S., p. 32.

"The population of Liverpool, including its suburbs, is about as large as that of New York. I have had but a cursory view of the place, and shall therefore avoid entering into the minute in my descriptions. Let this suffice: it is bustling, prosperous, and great. I would not, however, choose it as a place of residence. It wears strictly a commercial aspect; and you well know there is nothing of trade or barter in my disposition. Indeed, nothing surprises me so much on approaching Boston, after a short exile from it, (and I am always in exile when absent,) as a glimpse at its shipping; for I generally feel as little inclined to visit its wharves as to make a pilgrimage to Mecca. My instinct and taste prefer hills and valleys, and trees and flowers, to bales and boxes of merchandize; and tiny cataracts and gentle streams, to sublime waterspouts and the great ocean. Hence, another place for me than Liverpool; and such a place I could easily find, in almost any direction, within a few miles of it—that is to say, if I were friendly to colonization. My excellent friend James Cropper has a delightful retreat, called Dingle Bank, which nature and art have embellished in the most attractive manner. This great and good man is now in London, but there has been no lack of hospitality toward me on the part of those whom he has left behind. I have also been very kindly entertained by James Riley, a worthy and much respected member of the Society of Friends. My obligations to Thomas Thorneley, Esq., and Dr. Hancock, (the former, late the Parliamentary candidate of the friends of emancipation, and the latter, a consistent advocate of the cause of Peace,) likewise deserve a public acknowledgment."

Proceeding to London, to lay his credentials before the Anti-Slavery Society, and to secure its advice and coöperation, Mr. Garrison "took a seat in one of the railroad cars"—his first experience—"and was almost *too* impetuously conveyed to Manchester," where he tarried only for a few hours, going thence by coach to the "august abode of the congregated humanity of the world." The Report proceeds:

2d Annual Report N. E. A. S. S., p. 35.

"As in duty bound, both by my instructions and my obligations of gratitude, I immediately called upon James Cropper, in Finsbury Circus, at whose hands I experienced the utmost hospitality and kindness, and from whose lips I received con-

Ibid.

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gratulations upon my arrival at the very crisis of the anti-slavery cause in England. He informed me that a large number of delegates, from various anti-slavery societies in the kingdom, were then in London, vigilantly watching the progress of the Abolition Bill through Parliament; that they took breakfast together every morning at the Guildhall Coffee House, and from thence adjourned to the anti-slavery rooms at No. 18, Aldermanbury, for the purpose of devising plans and discussing propositions for the accomplishment of their grand design; and that if I would attend, he would give me a general introduction.

"My heart was full of gratitude to him for his kindness, and to God for ordering events in a manner so highly auspicious. Accordingly, I was prompt in my attendance at the Coffee House the next morning. About sixty delegates were present, most of whom were members of the Society of Friends.* After the reading of a portion of the Scriptures, breakfast was served up, at the close of which Mr. Cropper rose and begged leave to introduce to the company William Lloyd Garrison, the Agent of the New-England Anti-Slavery Society, from America. He then briefly stated the object of my mission, and expressed a hope that I would be permitted, at a suitable opportunity, to lay my purposes more fully before them. This request was afterwards readily granted. They individually gave me a generous welcome, and evinced a deep interest to learn the state of public opinion in the United States in relation to the subject of slavery and the merits of the American Colonization Society."

A further glimpse of the conferences at Aldermanbury is given in a letter to the Board of Managers, dated London, June 20, 1833:

"* It is remarkable that while the Friends in England have been the courageous pioneers, the undaunted standard-bearers, in the anti-slavery conflict, and have liberally expended their wealth, and given their time and talents, to achieve a victory more splendid than any yet recorded in the pages of history, those in this country [United States], as a body, seem to have degenerated from their parent-stock, to have measurably lost their primitive spirit on the subject of slavery, and to have become ensnared by wicked prejudices, and by a cruel scheme to banish our colored population from their native to a foreign and barbarous land. There are many noble exceptions to this remark; and I am confident that ere long the example of the Friends in England will stimulate the great mass of those who reside in this country to 'go and do likewise.'"

"Some of the debates have been highly piquant, talented and eloquent — all of them pregnant with interest. Among the speakers are Lord Suffield, Buxton, Macaulay,[1] Cropper, Stephen, Gurney and Thompson. Perfect unanimity of sentiment as to the wisest course to be pursued is not to be expected in so large a body; but whatever differences exist in regard to the Government plan, all are agreed upon these two fundamental points — namely, that the right of property in the slaves shall 'instantly cease, and that, whatever relief or compensation may be granted to the planters, no part of it shall be paid by the slaves.'" *Lib.* 3: 139.

With Buxton Mr. Garrison had had a curious experience:

"On arriving in London I received a polite invitation by letter from Mr. Buxton to take breakfast with him. Presenting myself at the appointed time, when my name was announced, instead of coming forward promptly to take me by the hand, he scrutinized me from head to foot, and then inquired, somewhat dubiously, 'Have I the pleasure of addressing Mr. Garrison, of Boston, in the United States?' 'Yes, sir,' I replied, 'I am he; and I am here in accordance with your invitation.' Lifting up his hands he exclaimed, 'Why, my dear sir, I thought you were a black man! And I have consequently invited this company of ladies and gentlemen to be present to welcome Mr. Garrison, the black advocate of emancipation from the United States of America!' I have often said that that is the only compliment I have ever had paid to me that I care to remember, or to tell of! For Mr. Buxton had somehow or other supposed that no white American could plead for those in bondage as I had done, and therefore I must be black!" *London Breakfast to W. L. G.*, p. 38.

"The worthy successor of Wilberforce, our esteemed friend and coadjutor, Thomas Fowell Buxton," had this picture drawn of him by his guest on his return to America:

"Buxton has sufficient fleshly timber to make two or three Wilberforces. He is six feet and a half in height, though rather slender than robust. What a formidable leader of the anti-slavery cause in appearance! We always felt delighted to see him rise in his seat in Parliament to address the House, for his *Lib.* 6: 7.

[1] Zachary Macaulay, father of the historian.

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towering form literally caused his pro-slavery opponents to 'hide their diminished heads.' He is a very good speaker, but not an orator: his manner is dignified, sincere, and conciliating, and his language without pretence. But he has hardly decision, energy, and boldness enough for a leader. His benevolent desires for the emancipation of the colonial slaves led him to accede to a sordid compromise with the planters, and he advocated the proposition to remunerate these enemies of the human race, and to buy up wholesale robbery and oppression, not on the ground of justice but of expediency. This was done in opposition to the remonstrances of the great body of English abolitionists, and it furnishes a dangerous precedent in the overthrow of established iniquity and crime throughout the world. The results of the bargain do not [January, 1836] reach Mr. Buxton's anticipations. . . . Still, aside from this false step, Mr. Buxton deserves universal admiration and gratitude for his long-continued, able and disinterested efforts, amidst severe ridicule and malignant opposition, to break every yoke and set the oppressed free."

Lib. 3: 139, *and 2d Ann. Report N.E. A. S. S., p.* 48.

The prevailing excitement over West India emancipation was unfavorable to the project of obtaining aid for the Manual Labor School; and by the advice of his English friends, Mr. Garrison practically put aside the leading object of his mission. There remained the exposure of Cresson, who, chancing to be in London, was disagreeably surprised by the tender of the following challenge:

To Mr. Elliott Cresson, Agent of the American Colonization Society:

2d Ann. Report N. E. A. S. S., p. 36.

SIR — I affirm that the American Colonization Society, of which you are an Agent, is utterly corrupt and proscriptive in its principles; that its tendency is to embarrass the freedom and diminish the happiness of the colored population of the United States; and, consequently, that you are abusing the confidence and generosity of the philanthropists of Great Britain. As an American citizen, and the accredited Agent of the New-England Anti-Slavery Society, I invite you to meet me in public debate in this city, to discuss the following Propositions:

1. The American Colonization Society was conceived, perfected, and is principally managed, by those who retain a portion of their own countrymen as slaves and property.

2. Its avowed and exclusive object is the colonization of the *free* people of color, in Africa, *or some other place.*

3. It is the active, inveterate, uncompromising enemy of immediate abolition, and deprecates the liberation of the slaves except on condition of their being simultaneously transported to Africa.

4. It maintains that possessors of slaves, in the Southern States, are not such from *choice* but *necessity;* and that, of course, they are not, under present circumstances, blameworthy for holding millions of human beings in servile bondage.

5. Its tendency is, to increase the value of the slaves, to confirm the power of the oppressors, and to injure the free colored population, by whom it is held in abhorrence, wherever they possess liberty of speech and the means of intelligence.

6. It is influenced by fear, selfishness and prejudice, and neither calls for any change of conduct on the part of the nation, nor has in itself any principle of reform.

7. Its mode of civilizing and Christianizing Africa is preposterous and cruel, and calculated rather to retard than promote the moral and spiritual improvement of her benighted children.

These charges, Sir, are grave and vital. I dare you to attempt their refutation. Let them be taken up in their present order, and each discussed and decided upon separately. And may God prosper the right!

Yours, &c., WM. LLOYD GARRISON.

18, *Addle-Street, Aldermanbury, June* 4, 1833.

This letter had been entrusted by the writer to his esteemed friend Joseph Phillips, and was duly "presented to Mr. Cresson, who, in the most offensive manner, refused to receive it from Mr. Phillips. It was then tendered him by Mr. William Horsenail, of Dover, but he declined taking it, stating that arrangements had been made with Dr. Hodgkin and Joseph T. Price for an interview with me. Afterwards it was presented a third time by Mr. Jeremiah Barrett, and again rejected. Mr. Cresson was finally induced to receive it from the hands of Mr. Phillips, in the presence of Messrs. J. T. Price and Emanuel Cooper." His answer simply repeated the alle-

2d Ann. Report N. E. A. S. S., p. 37.

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gation that he was in the hands of his friends, above named, to whom Mr. Garrison promptly addressed an enquiry as to their determination. They replied that a private interview "in the presence of a few friends impartially chosen" would be "desirable in the *first* instance;" but Mr. Garrison rightly looked upon this as a mere ruse to avoid a public meeting, and to obscure the fact that his business was "exclusively with the British people, and with Mr. Cresson in his public capacity as the Agent of the American Colonization Society." He followed up his advantage by an open letter in the London *Times*, repeating the challenge, which equally failed of effect. The sole course left was an *ex-parte* arraignment of the Colonization Society, which was appointed at the Wesleyan Chapel of the Rev. Thomas Price,[1] in Devonshire Square, for Monday evening, June 10, 1833.

2d Ann. Report N. E. A. S. S., p. 38.

Lib. 3: 126.

At this meeting, presided over by James Cropper, Mr. Cresson was present, no doubt reluctantly, and certainly ill-advisedly. For when the lecturer, after depicting the Colonization Society in the vein of his 'Thoughts,' told how Clarkson had been deceived by its agent assuring him that its first object was to emancipate all the slaves, the chairman interrupted him, saying that this was a grave charge; Mr. Cresson was present — would he admit or deny having made such a statement? Cresson answered that he had done so,—a confession dictated not more by candor than by necessity, for Mr. Garrison was able to hand Mr. Cropper a pamphlet to which Cresson had furnished an introduction, declaring that "the great object of the Colonization Society is the final and entire abolition of slavery"; and Mr. George Thompson cited a placard of one of Cresson's meetings, headed, "American Colonization Society and the Abolition of Slavery." Mr. Garrison then described with what feelings he heard Sir Robert Peel in the House of Commons

Report of Penn. Colon. Soc. for 1831.

Lib. 3: 126, 167.

[1] One of the editors of the *Eclectic Review*, and "a notable literary critic in his day."

a few days before[1] oppose the Emancipation Bill by referring to the operations of the Society as proof that emancipation was a curse to the blacks, rendering them a nuisance to be got rid of by deportation. He concluded by saying that "the abolitionists of Great Britain should indignantly order him [Cresson] back to his slaveholding employers, and bid him be thankful that he had not been detained on a charge of obtaining money under false pretences."

Lib. 3:126.

Mr. Thompson next testified from his own experience to Cresson's false assurances as to the anti-slavery objects of the Society. "He also calumniated Mr. Garrison to me, and gave me such an account of him that he made me regard him as a pest of society."[2] And whereas Cresson never came near the abolition meetings in the British Islands, the platform at his own meeting was crowded with slaveholders. Mr. Thompson reiterated the charge of deception practised on the British supporters of the Society.

Lib. 3:127.

At this point Mr. Cropper announced that he had hoped for a debate in order that the audience might form its judgment between the parties, but that an opportunity for rejoinder would be furnished Mr. Cresson on the following evening after Mr. Garrison's lecture had been finished. Cresson thereupon declined to demean himself by entering into a discussion "under existing circumstances, and with such a chairman, such a lecturer, and such a meeting"; but, having the

[1] June 3. "Look at the consequences of emancipation in some of the Eastern States of America, where slavery had been abolished for some time. In these the price of labor was high; the emancipated slaves had every encouragement to labor; no prejudices existed against them as in other parts of the United States; wages were kept high; yet in these very States, such was the degradation and misery to which the emancipated slaves were introduced that philanthropy had no other remedy for the evil but sending them to a colony on the coast of Africa" (Hansard's Parl. Debates, 18:339–357).

[2] In a debate at Scarborough, Cresson "denied Mr. Garrison's competency as a witness, referring to some judicial proceedings against him" in America, "and to his falsifications of the *African Repository*" (*Repository*, July, 1833; *Lib.* 3:127).

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floor, enlarged his abuse of Mr. Cropper, by whom, he asserted, he had been treated like a dog — and so left the chapel.

Lib. 3: 165.

From the second meeting he carefully absented himself, sending, however, to the Rev. Mr. Price a note thanking him for the offer of his chapel, and appointing a night; but when his messenger was asked whether a debate or a lecture was contemplated, he replied a lecture — a cool proposal, indeed, which met with a very proper refusal. Mr. Price's views with regard to the Colonization Society had, he publicly confessed, undergone a total change, and he was unwilling to open the chapel to it for unchecked propagandism. He moved resolutions to the effect that Mr. Garrison had fully established the truth of his charges against it, by evidence drawn from itself, and that all friends of civil and religious liberty should refuse it their sanction. To

Lib. 3: 166.

these there was but one dissenting vote. Resolutions of thanks to Mr. Garrison for his luminous and fearless exposure, and of unequivocal confidence and zealous support, of heartfelt sympathy for the colored people of the United States, and of cordial approbation for the New-England Anti-Slavery Society, were passed with equal unanimity, on motion of Mr. Thompson. But the crowning feature of the evening was James Cropper's announcement: "It is with very great pleasure that I can add the name of William Wilberforce as having changed his opinion. He now deeply regrets that he was ever led to say anything in approbation of the Colonization Society."

An opportunity for confirming the great philanthropist in his altered views was speedily afforded Mr. Garrison. A few days after his lecture,[1] in company with his already close friend, George Thompson, he took the night stage for Bath, where the latter was to reply to the West-India planters' advocate, Peter Borthwick, a familiar antago-

Lectures of Geo. Thompson, p. viii.

[1] Probably Monday, June 17, but possibly Wednesday, Thursday, or Friday of the previous week.

nist. During their subsequent stay in the city occurred the interview with Wilberforce (at his residence) the bare prospect of which might well have decided the acceptance of the English mission. *Lib.* 6:7.

"It was in June, 1833," writes Mr. Garrison, years afterwards, with incidental comparisons of no little interest, "that we[1] visited Mr. Wilberforce at his residence in Bath, accompanied by Mr. Thompson. It is seldom that men of renown meet the high expectations of the curious and enthusiastic as to their bodily proportions; for imagination is ever busy, in advance, in fashioning each distinguished object so as outwardly, as well as inwardly, 'to give the world the assurance of a man.' Of all the truly great men whom we have seen, we think the physical conformation of Daniel Webster best agrees with the fame of his colossal mind. His body is compact, and of Atlantean massiveness, without being gross: his head is of magnificent proportions—the perfection of vast capaciousness: his glance is a mingling of the sunshine and the lightning of heaven: his features are full of intellectual greatness. De Witt Clinton was another rare specimen of the noble adaptation of the outward to the inward man. Washington, perhaps, was a third. When we were introduced to Mr. Wilberforce, his pygmean dimensions would have excited feelings almost bordering on the ludicrous, if we had not instantly been struck with admiration to think that so small a body could contain so large a mind! We realized the truth of Watts's *spiritual phrenology*, if we may so term it, (and Watts, like the apostle Paul, was weak and contemptible in his bodily appearance,) as set forth in the following verse: *Lib.* 6:7.

> 'Were I so tall to reach the pole,
> Or grasp the ocean with my span,
> I must be measured by my soul:
> The mind's the standard of the man.'

Wilberforce was as frail and slender in his figure as is Dr. Channing, and lower in stature than even Benjamin Lundy, the Clarkson of our country. His head hung droopingly upon his breast, so as to require an effort of the body to raise it when he spoke, and his back had an appearance of crooked-

[1] The editorial "we."

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"At his kind invitation we took breakfast with him and his interesting family, and afterwards spent four or five hours in interchanging sentiments respecting American slavery and the American Colonization Society. His mind seemed to be wholly unaffected by his bodily depression: it was a transparent firmament, studded with starry thoughts, in beautiful and opulent profusion. His voice had a silvery cadence, his face a benevolently pleasing smile, and his eye a fine intellectual expression. In his conversation he was fluent, yet modest; remarkably exact and elegant in his diction; cautious in forming conclusions; searching in his interrogations; and skilful in weighing testimony. In his manners he combined dignity with simplicity, and childlike affability with becoming gracefulness. How perfectly do those great elements of character harmonize in the same person, to wit — dovelike gentleness and amazing energy — deep humility and adventurous daring! How incomparably bland, yet mighty — humble, yet bold, was the wondrous Immanuel! These were traits that also eminently characterized the apostles Paul and John. These were mingled in the soul of Wilberforce.

"We were particularly struck with the strong and deferential affection which he seemed to cherish for Mrs. Wilberforce, a woman worthy of such a man, of singular dignity of carriage, approaching to the majestic in size, and all-absorbed in her kind attentions to him — and he not less attentive to her. She could not drop her thimble or her cotton on the carpet but he would stoop down to find it, in spite of her entreaties. What greatness of amiability! Another thing which we remarked with surprise and delight was, the youthful freshness and almost romantic admiration which he cherished for natural scenery. During our interview with him, he took a recumbent position upon the sofa; but as we were about bidding him farewell, he called for his shoes, and, infirm as he was, proposed walking up and down the 'South Parade' with us, in order to point out some of the beauties of the landscape in view of his residence; but we begged him not to make the effort, and satisfied him by going to a front window, from which he showed us with considerable pleasure the house which Pope the poet occasionally occupied, and other interesting and beautiful objects.

"In the *Keepsake*[1] he is represented sitting in his favorite position, cross-legged, his head pendent and lateral, and his hands retaining the eye-glass with which he was accustomed to read."

There were in reality two interviews, which are thus described in Mr. Garrison's official report on his mission:

2d Ann. Report N. E. A. S. S., p. 44.

"On the 19th of June, it was my privilege to be introduced to the venerable Wilberforce in Bath. He gave me a very gracious reception, as did also his excellent lady and son. I spent about three hours in his company, during which time his cautious and active mind was very inquisitive on the subject of slavery in the United States, and particularly in reference to the American Colonization Society. I endeavored to communicate, as briefly and clearly as possible, all the prominent facts relating to our great controversy. In expressing to him the grief which was felt by American abolitionists, and particularly by our free colored population, in seeing the name of Wilberforce enrolled among the friends of the Colonization Society, he said that his commendation of the enterprise had been restricted to the colony at Liberia; that, relying upon the information which Mr. Cresson had given him respecting the flourishing condition of that colony, he had been induced to believe that it was aiding essentially in the civilization of benighted Africa; that he never regarded the Society as providing a remedy for slavery; that he viewed with abhorrence the doctrine of the Society denying the practicability of elevating the colored race in the United States to an equality with the whites; and that he had repeatedly contested that wicked position with Mr. Cresson, and told him that he considered it fundamentally false and unchristian. He expressed much anxiety to learn how far Mr. Cresson had made use of his name to give currency to the Society, and desired his son to write down the following queries as he dictated them:

"'1. How far has Mr. Elliott Cresson made use of Mr. Wilberforce's name? Has he merely stated that Mr. Wilberforce approved of the *colony* as calculated to benefit *Africa;* or has

[1] The (British) 'Christian Keepsake' for 1836, the occasion of the reminiscences. It contained also the portraits of the China missionary, Robert Morrison, T. F. Buxton, and Elizabeth Fry. Wilberforce's portrait Mr. Garrison declared "worth the price of the book: every other that we have seen is a failure." And again, of it and Buxton's: "They are 'true to life' —so accurate that none need wish better."

CHAP. XI. 1833. he said that Mr. Wilberforce approves of the *principle* of the SOCIETY — namely, that the blacks ought to be removed *for the advantage of America, as well as for their own?*

"'2. Did Mr. Cresson (aware that it must be considered as the fundamental principle of the American Colonization Society, that there is a difficulty, amounting to a moral impossibility, in the blacks and whites living together in prosperity and harmony, as members of the same free community) make it clear to those to whom he professed to state Mr. Wilberforce's sentiments, that the two classes MIGHT AND OUGHT TO LIVE TOGETHER, as one mutually connected and happy society?

"'3. Has Mr. Elliott Cresson made it publicly known in England, that the American Colonization Society has declared that it considers that *colonization* ought to be a sine qua non of *emancipation?*'

"These queries were given to me to make such use of them as I might think proper.

"At his urgent solicitation, I visited him the next morning, and sat down with him and his family to breakfast, which was served up in patriarchal simplicity. After an interview of about five hours,—too delightful and too important ever to be forgotten by me,—I bade him farewell, expressing my fervent wishes for a long continuance of his valuable life, and my hope to meet him in that world of glory where change, and decay, and separation are unknown. I impressed upon his mind, tenderly and solemnly, the importance of his bearing public testimony against the American Colonization Society, if he was satisfied that its claims to the confidence and patronage of the British nation were preposterous and illusory; especially as he was constantly quoted as the friend and advocate of the Society. 'I offer you,' I said, 'no documents or pamphlets in opposition to the Society, upon which to form an opinion of its true character. Here are its Fifteenth and Sixteenth Reports: the former contains an elaborate defence of the Society by its managers, which, in my opinion, is alone sufficient to seal its destiny. Read it at your leisure, and, judging the Society out of its own mouth, let your verdict be given to the world!"

Lib. 3: 162, 170. The result of these interviews was that Mr. Garrison brought back with him to this country the original of a Protest against British support of the American Colonization Society, already made public in England, and

signed by Wilberforce, William Smith, Zachary Macaulay, William Evans, M. P., Samuel Gurney, George Stephen, Suffield, S. Lushington, M. P., Buxton, Cropper, William Allen, and Daniel O'Connell, M. P.[1] They expressly rejected the claims of the Society to *anti-slavery* support as "wholly groundless," and its profession of promoting the abolition of slavery as "altogether delusive." The influence of Liberia on the slave trade would be limited to its petty territory. "The only effectual deathblow to that accursed traffic will be the destruction of slavery throughout the world," to which they were compelled to say they believed the Colonization Society "*to be an obstruction.*" Englishmen ought not to be called upon "to contribute to the expenses of a colony which, though no doubt comprising some advantages, was formed chiefly to indulge the prejudices of American slaveholders, and which is regarded with aversion by the colored population of the United States."

"Our objections to it are, therefore, briefly these: — While we believe its pretexts to be delusive, we are convinced that its *real* effects are of the most dangerous nature. It takes its root from a cruel prejudice and alienation in the whites of America against the colored people, slave or free. This being its source, the effects are what might be expected: that it fosters and increases the spirit of caste, already so unhappily predominant; that it widens the breach between the two races — exposes the colored people to great practical persecution, in order to *force* them to emigrate; and finally, is calculated to swallow up and divert that feeling which America, as a Christian and a free country, cannot but entertain, that slavery is alike incompatible with the law of God and with the well-being of man, whether the enslaver or the enslaved. *Lib.* 3: 162.

"On these grounds, therefore, and while we acknowledge the Colony of Liberia, or any other colony on the coast of Africa, to be *in itself* a good thing, we must be understood utterly to repudiate the principles of the American Colonization Society.

[1] The fate of this precious document is unknown. A facsimile of the signatures is given in Mrs. Child's 'Oasis,' p. 64.

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That Society is, in our estimation, not deserving of the countenance of the British public."

One name was conspicuous by its absence from among the signers to this tremendous Protest — that of Clarkson. To him, too, Mr. Garrison had paid a memorable visit:

ad Ann. Report N. E. A. S. S., p. 46.

"Immediately after the meeting at Exeter Hall,[1] I rode to Ipswich to see Thomas Clarkson, accompanied by my esteemed friend, the Rev. Nathaniel Paul. Here it is proper to state in what manner the mind of this venerable philanthropist became so strongly impressed in favor of the Colonization Society and of Liberia. It happens that the individual who, of all others in England, exerts the most influence over Clarkson's mind, is the main pillar of Mr. Cresson's support — namely, Richard Dykes Alexander, a wealthy and respectable member of the Society of Friends. As Clarkson has entirely lost his sight, this gentleman reads and answers many of his letters, and is emphatically his mouthpiece. He has therefore acquired a powerful control over the judgment, and secured the entire confidence of Clarkson. Mr. Cresson succeeded most effectually in duping Alexander, and Alexander in misleading Clarkson. Care was taken, both by Mr. Alexander and Mrs. Clarkson, to read chiefly to the sightless philanthropist those statements which served to represent the Colonization Society and Liberia in glowing colors, and to place their opposers in a disgraceful attitude. Under these circumstances, little authority or value ought to be attached to his opinions in favor of the Society and its colony.

"On arriving at Ipswich, we found that we could easily gain access to Clarkson only through the medium of Alexander — of him whose mind we knew was strongly prejudiced against us both, in consequence of the flagrant misrepresentations of Mr. Cresson. But we did not hesitate to call upon him, and state the object of our visit to Ipswich. He treated us politely; and as Clarkson resided at Playford Hall, a distance of two or three miles from the town, he offered to postpone another engagement which he had made, and accompany us in his carriage.

"The retreat chosen by the aged friend of the colored race in which to spend his few remaining years on earth,[2] we found

[1] July 13, 1833.

[2] Clarkson was at that time seventy-three years of age. He still had a long lease of life before him, surviving till 1846.

to be very beautiful. On alighting at his door, Mr. Paul and myself, at the request of Mr. Alexander, strolled about the serpentine paths of the Park, while he went in to ascertain whether Clarkson's health would permit an interview at that time — as, a few days before, he had injured one of his legs severely against the shaft of his carriage. In about twenty minutes we were called into the house, and were met by Clarkson totteringly supported by Mr. Alexander. His mind was evidently full of distress: my own was deeply affected, almost beyond the utterance of words. In taking me by the hand, he observed — 'I cannot see your face — I have now wholly lost my sight — but ——' and here his emotion overpowered his feelings — 'I believe I have lost it in a good cause.' My introductory remarks were few and simple. A burden of gratitude for his noble services in the cause of bleeding humanity, and of sympathy for his present affecting condition, pressed mightily upon my soul, which I earnestly desired to throw off by the power of speech; but, lest it might seem like premeditated flattery and artful condolence, I was awed into silence.

"He immediately began on the subject of colonization; and, with a vividness of memory which surprised me, minutely stated the substance of all his conversations with Mr. Cresson from their first interview, and the circumstances which had led him to give his sanction to the Colonization Society. He had never regarded that Society as capable, in itself, of effecting the abolition of slavery in the United States, but only as an auxiliary to its abolition. Did he suppose that compulsion, either directly or indirectly, was used to effect the removal of the free people of color and such as were liberated from bondage, he should deprecate the measure as unspeakably cruel and wicked. Finding that his approval of the Society was regarded with grief by many of his dearest friends, in whose opinions he could not unite as to its evil character,[1] — and in order to obtain that repose of mind which his bodily infirmities imperiously demanded, — he had resolved to occupy neutral ground, and did not wish to be ranked on either side of the controversy. He saw no reason to change his decision.

[1] See the letters of James Cropper and Arnold Buffum to Clarkson, *Abolitionist*, pp. 8, 39. Clarkson wrote to John Fenwick, of Newcastle-on-Tyne, Dec. 22, 1832 (MS.): "E. Cresson is a man of estimable character in Philadelphia; the bosom friend of Robert Vaux. There is nothing against the Association but rumor. It will probably be balanced by the formation of anti-slavery societies in the United States."

Lib. 3 : 189. ["He said to me, with great emphasis,—'Tell the people of the United States, Mr. Garrison, that Thomas Clarkson is now resolved not to give any countenance to the American Colonization Society. Tell them that he refused to comply with the solicitation of Mr. Cresson to become an honorary member of it; and also refused to give his sanction to the British Colonization Society. *I occupy neutral ground.* My letter to Mr. Cresson in favor of the American Colonization Society was extorted by his statement [what a statement!] that *one hundred thousand slaves* had been offered to the Society gratuitously, to be sent to Liberia. This unparalleled liberality seemed to me to be indeed the work of God.'"]

2d Ann. Report N. E. A. S. S., *p.* 47. "Having listened to him with becoming deference, I spared no pains to correct the erroneous views which he had formed—beginning with the origin of the Society, and tracing it through all its ramifications; explaining its direful tendencies to corrupt the public mind, obscure the moral vision of the people, inflame their prejudices, deceive their hopes, and sear their consciences—and to perpetuate, by pruning, an overgrown system of oppression. I showed him that it was cruel mockery to say that the persecuted and oppressed exiles to Liberia had gone with their own consent, cheerfully and voluntarily; that the doctrines of the Society were abhorrent and impious; that it was the enemy not merely of the colored race, but of all genuine abolitionists; that good men who had taken it upon trust, on ascertaining its real purposes, were abandoning it in crowds, and using mighty exertions to overthrow it; and that all its doctrines, measures and designs were evil, and only evil continually. I also endeavored to convince him that he did not occupy neutral ground, but that he was everywhere, both in England and in the United States, regarded as the unfaltering friend of the Society; and that until he publicly requested to be considered as neither approving nor opposing the Society, he could not possibly be neutral in this great controversy.

"The Rev. Mr. Paul also appealed to him in the most solemn and pathetic manner, and stated in what light the Society was universally regarded by his colored brethren, and in what manner it was operating to their injury. His disclosures seemed powerfully to agonize the mind of the venerable man, and sincerely did we pity him.

"After an interview of about four hours, we took our leave of him, lamenting that he should still feel it to be his duty to occupy what he considered neutral ground.

"A short time after this visit, I unexpectedly received, to my exceeding joy, from a distinguished member of Parliament, duplicate copies of the Protest against the American Colonization Society, signed by Wilberforce and eleven of the most distinguished abolitionists in Great Britain, which has fallen like a thunderbolt upon the Society, and riven it in twain. In getting up this Protest I had no agency whatever. It was altogether unexpected by me; but to obtain it was alone worth a trip across the Atlantic."[1]

Mr. Garrison was recalled from Bath, directly after his last interview with Wilberforce, by a note from Captain Stuart informing him that Cresson had called a public meeting at Freemason Tavern, at which the Duke of Sussex was to preside, for the purpose of forming a British Colonization Society in open or secret affiliation with the American. "Punctual to the hour," says his Report, "I went to the meeting,[2] accompanied by my friends Capt. Stuart, Joseph Phillips, William Hume, Esq., of Dublin, and other gentlemen, expecting to find a large audience. Mr. Cresson and six or eight of his friends constituted the whole company in attendance, excepting those who went with me! The Duke of Sussex was absent, and Mr. Cresson therefore moved that the meeting be adjourned!" Another meeting was shortly appointed for July 3 at the Hanover-Square Rooms, under the same auspices, whereupon Mr. Garrison addressed a letter to "His Grace the Duke of Sussex," desiring a private interview as the accredited agent of the New-England Anti-Slavery Society, ready to prove Mr. Elliott Cresson a deceiver, and the Colonization Society "corrupt in its principles, proscriptive in its measures, and the worst enemy of the free colored and

2d Ann. Report N. E. A. S. S., p. 42.

[1] The Protest bore the general date of July, 1833. "Mr. Wilberforce signed it about a week or ten days before his death [July 29]. His autograph is remarkably firm and plain. His testimony is almost like a voice from the grave, and, in giving it, he has made the last act of his life as useful and important in the destruction of prejudice and slavery as any other single act in his noble career of philanthropy" (W. L. G. to the editor of the London *Patriot*, *Lib.* 3:201).

[2] Probably on June 20.

CHAP. XI. 1833. slave population of the United States." He hoped that in consequence the Duke would refuse to give his countenance to the proposed meeting. In spite of his references for his official character to Buxton, Macaulay and Cropper, no answer was returned to this letter.

In the meantime, July 1, Mr. Garrison wrote home to the Board of Managers:

Lib. 3: 143. "I think the results of my mission, (brief as it will prove,) may be summed up in the following items: — 1st, Awakening a general interest among the friends of emancipation in this country, and securing their efficient coöperation with us, in the abolition of slavery in the United States. 2d, Dispelling the mists with which the Agent of the American Colonization Society has blinded the eyes of benevolent men in relation to the design and tendency of that Society. 3d, Enlisting able and eloquent advocates to plead our cause. 4th, Inducing editors of periodicals and able writers to give us the weight of their influence. 5th, Exciting a spirit of emulation, in the redemption of our slave population, among the numerous female anti-slavery societies. 6th, Procuring a large collection of anti-slavery documents, tracts, pamphlets and volumes, which will furnish us with an inexhaustible supply of ammunition.

"There is now great certainty that Parliament will complete the scheme of emancipation this session, as the House of Lords has adopted, without any amendment, the resolutions of the House of Commons. To-night, the Bill, containing the details of the measure, will be read a first time in the latter House. It is now highly probable that the term of apprenticeship will be reduced from twelve years to one or two, and perhaps swept entirely away. Remonstrances are pouring into Parliament, from various parts of the kingdom, against the grant of £20,000,000 to the planters, but I fear they will prove ineffectual.

"Mr. Elliott Cresson continues to skulk from a public controversy. In the leading city paper, the *Times*, of the 28th ultimo, I inserted a challenge to him, in which I stated ten Propositions, which I offered to maintain against the American Colonization Society. I also promised that if he would prove, to the satisfaction of a majority of the audience, the following charge against me in a letter which he published in the *Baptist*

Magazine for June—namely, 'a violent pamphleteer, who often sacrifices truth to the support of his mistaken views, and *whose very quotations are so garbled as entirely to pervert the real meaning of the speaker*,' I would pay *twenty guineas* into the hands of the Mayor of New York, in aid of the education of the colored children of that city. The insertion of this article in the *Times*, although making less than three squares,[1] cost me £6 6*s*., that is, about *thirty dollars!!* This is the usual advertising rate in that paper. Cresson's effrontery is truly surprising; for, notwithstanding these repeated challenges, he has advertised a meeting of his own, to be held on Wednesday next, at the Hanover Rooms, at which the Duke of Sussex is expected to preside! I have no hesitation in prophesying that it will be a complete failure. Of course, I shall endeavor to be present, as I anticipate some amusing collisions on the occasion, if not between me and the speaker, at least between him and some sturdy abolitionists. As an offset to this meeting, I propose to hold one next week, which many of the noblest friends of liberty in England will probably attend. The arrangements, however, have not yet been made; and perhaps another, and even more effectual, course may be adopted."[2]

The Hanover-Square meeting proved, indeed, a complete failure. The attendance did not exceed 120 persons, "one-third of whom were on the platform by special invitation, and another third were abolitionists, opposed to the object of the meeting." Sussex was in the chair. Cresson made the leading speech, declaring that the proposed society "had no connection whatever with the American Colonization Society," as did every other speaker on his side, including Lord Bexley and the

2d Ann. Report N. E. A. S. S., p. 43.

[1] In printers' parlance, a "square" of reading matter equals in length the width of the column; in advertisements, the square equals one inch.

[2] "Garrison is here," writes Charles Stuart from London, on June 29, 1833, to Arnold Buffum, "zealous, uncompromising, untiring. You must not be surprised should his correspondence be interrupted. He is laboring like himself—the people, as they become acquainted with him, love and admire him. Cresson skulks from all collision with him, in a manner at once insolent and dastardly. Garrison's party in London consists of the great body of the practically religious people, of every order, as far as they are informed, especially the *Friends*, and of all the staunch anti-slavery spirits; Cresson's, of a few titled, wealthy, high-pretending individuals" (*Lib.* 3:139).

Lib. 3:151. noble Duke himself, who, according to Cresson, presided with dignity, but "found it hard work to stem the torrent" of opposition, represented by Macaulay, Stuart, and George Thompson, as well as by Mr. Garrison. The last endeavored to show the folly of suppressing the slave trade by coast colonies while the market for slaves still existed in any part of the world. "The tone of the discussion was vehement and even boisterous, but only a partial hearing was given to the abolitionists." Nevertheless, on a motion to form a British African Colonization Society, Mr. Thompson's amendment that there was no necessity for one was lost only by 26 to 33. Ridiculous as this was, the projected counter demonstration at Exeter Hall was not abandoned; and as the Duke of Sussex had declared Cresson's character to be above attack, Mr. Garrison sought once more to gain his ear by inviting his attendance. A formal propitiation was even necessary:

2d Ann. Report N. E. A. S. S., p. 44. "In my note of the 29th ultimo, I addressed your Royal Highness by the title of 'Your Grace.' As the error, though trivial in itself, might seem to imply intentional disrespect, I must here apologize for the same. An American citizen, in Europe, is ever liable to err, through ignorance, in the application of hereditary titles, as they do not obtain in his own country. I am confident that your Royal Highness will most cheerfully pardon the blunder."

To this letter, also, no answer was returned; "and therefore," says the writer, "I am under no special obligations to the courtesy of royalty."

Ibid. "Never was a more highly respectable assembly convened in London" than that which filled Exeter Hall, Strand, on the morning of Saturday, July 13, 1833. James Cropper presided, and in his opening remarks stated the object of the meeting to be an exposure of the American Colonization Society's anti-slavery pretences, and a demonstration of the real British feeling in regard to it. He read the following letter of regret from Mr. Buxton:

Thomas Fowell Buxton to W. L. Garrison.

54, Devonshire Street, July 12, 1833. *Lib.* 3:178.

My Dear Sir: I must trouble you with a line to excuse my non-appearance at the meeting to-morrow. The fact is, critical as has been the state of our great question often before, perhaps never was it so critical as now. My mind is intensely occupied, and every moment of my time so full, that I should be sacrificing my duty to this paramount object if I allowed anything else, however pressing and interesting, to divert me from it at this, the crisis of its fate. But you know my complete unity in the objects of your meeting, to which I most cordially wish all success. My views of the Colonization Society you are aware of. They do not fall far short of those expressed by my friend Mr. Cropper, when he termed its objects *diabolical*. Nor will you doubt my concurrence in the efforts of the New-England Anti-Slavery Society, or any *Anti-Slavery* Society in the world.

Wishing you, therefore, all success, and entreating you to tell your countrymen, on your return, that we in England are all for the *Anti-Slavery*, not for the *Colonization* people, I am, my dear sir, with real esteem,

Yours respectfully, T. F. Buxton.

Mr. Garrison was then introduced by George Thompson, and began a long address in the following terms:[1]

"Mr. Chairman — It is long since I sacrificed all my national, complexional and local prejudices upon the altar of Christian love, and, breaking down the narrow boundaries of a selfish patriotism, inscribed upon my banner this motto: *My country is the world; my countrymen are all mankind.* It is true, in a geographical sense, I am now in a foreign territory; but still it is a part of my country. I am in the midst of strangers; but still surrounded by my countrymen. There must be limits to civil governments and national domains. There must be names to distinguish the natural divisions of the earth, and the dwellers thereon. There must be varieties in the form, color, *Lib.* 3:178.

[1] "I have, my dear Garrison," writes J. G. Whittier from Haverhill, Nov. 10, 1833 (MS.), "just finished reading thy speech at the Exeter Hall meeting. It is full of high and manly truth — terrible in its rebuke, but full of justice. The opening, as a specimen of beautiful composition, I have rarely seen excelled."

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stature, and condition of mankind. All these may exist, not only without injury, but with the highest possible advantage. But wherever they are made the boundaries of human disinterestedness, friendship, sympathy, honor, patriotism and love, they are as execrable and destructive as, otherwise, they are beautiful and preservative.

"Nowhere, I am certain, will a more united response be given to these sentiments than in this Hall, and by those who are assembled on the present occasion. What exclamation have you put into the mouth of the African captive, kneeling in his chains with his face turned imploringly heavenward? It is this — the most touching, the most irresistible: 'AM I NOT A MAN AND A BROTHER?' Yes! though black as murky night — though born on a distant shore — though degraded, miserable, and enslaved — though ranked among the beasts of the field — still, 'A MAN AND A BROTHER!' Noblest device of humanity! — Wherever, in all time, a human being pines in personal thraldom, the tones of that talismanic appeal uttered by him shall be swiftly borne by the winds of heaven over the whole earth, and stir up the humane, the brave, the honorable, the good, for his rescue; for the strife of freedom is no longer local, but blows are now struck for the redemption of the world. And glorious is the prospect before us. Wherever we turn our eyes, we see the earth quaking, and hear thunders uttering their voices. The GENIUS OF EMANCIPATION is visible in every clime, and at its trumpet-call the dead slaves of all nations are starting into life, shaking off the dust of the tomb, and presenting an immortal beauty through the power of a mighty resurrection.

"Sir, I have crossed the Atlantic on an errand of mercy, to plead for perishing millions, and to discharge, in behalf of the abolitionists of the United States, a high moral obligation which is due to the British public. It would neither be modest nor proper for me, on this occasion, to make a parade of the sacrifices of time, of money, of health, or of labor, I have made, nor of the perils I have risked, or the persecution encountered, or the sufferings endured, since I first stood forth as the advocate of my enslaved countrymen, — not to banish them from their native land, nor to contend for their emancipation by a slow, imperceptible process, 'half-way between *now* and *never*,' — but to demand their instant emancipation, and their recognition as brethren and countrymen. I shall make no such lachrymal display of my losses and crosses in this holy cause; although,

perhaps, I could give as long a list, and summon as many witnesses, and present as strong claims upon your sympathy and regard, as the agent of the American negro shippers in this country; for I know that in all things I come short, and I pour contempt upon all that I have endured for righteousness' sake. Whatever may have been the trials and dangers experienced by that agent, they are such only as attend a *popular* cause. His friends and supporters in the United States are as numerous as the oppressors and despisers of the colored population — constituting the great, the wealthy, the powerful, as well as the inferior classes. When he shall have stood forth, almost single-handed, for a series of years, against and in the midst of a nation of oppressors, and been branded with every epithet that malice could invent or ingenuity apply, and incarcerated in the cell of a prison, and had large rewards offered for his destruction by private combinations and legislative bodies, for his advocacy of the cause of negro emancipation; he may then, I think you will all agree, with far greater propriety urge his claims upon your sympathy, than while he is receiving the puffs and compliments of a great and popular party in his own country.

"I cherish not the least personal animosity towards that gentleman. I am sure that I can heartily forgive him as often as he wrongs me. Sorry am I for his own sake — sorry for the sake of the cause of truth — that the health of Mr. Cresson, according to his own statement, disqualifies him from meeting me in a public discussion of the principles and operations of his darling scheme, although it enables him to hold *ex-parte* meetings in favor of that scheme, *ad libitum;* nay, more — he can even take the lead publicly in the formation of a British Colonization Society, and make a long speech, (although it is declared that it has no connection with the American Colonization Society,) at the very moment he assigns his utter physical inability as a reason why he cannot hold a discussion with me, or with my gifted and eloquent friend, George Thompson, Esq. He has my best wishes for the complete restoration of his health."

Recurring to Cresson's complaint of persecution at the hands of Cropper, Macaulay, and Buxton, Mr. Garrison paid a passing tribute to each of these tormentors, and announced that Wilberforce must soon be added to the list in view of their recent conversation at Bath, and the

CHAP. XI. 1833. questions to Cresson which Wilberforce had dictated and which the speaker now read. Nor, in spite of his blindness, which compelled him to take things on trust, was it unlikely that Thomas Clarkson would soon be found among the enemies of the Colonization agent.

Mr. Garrison's proper theme, however, was "a delineation of American slavery and the American Colonization Society," and to this the remainder of his speech was devoted. It is only needful here to record some of its incidental features, beginning with this arraignment of his guilty country:

Lib. 3:178. "I cherish as strong a love for the land of my nativity as any man living. I am proud of her civil, political and religious institutions — of her high advancement in science, literature and the arts — of her general prosperity and grandeur. But I have some solemn accusations to bring against her.

"I accuse her of insulting the majesty of Heaven with the grossest mockery that was ever exhibited to man — inasmuch as, professing to be the land of the free and the asylum of the oppressed, she falsifies every profession, and shamelessly plays the tyrant.

"I accuse her, before all nations, of giving an open, deliberate and base denial to her boasted Declaration, that 'all men are created equal; that they are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness.'

"I accuse her of disfranchising and proscribing nearly half a million free people of color, acknowledging them not as countrymen, and scarcely as rational beings, and seeking to drag them thousands of miles across the ocean on a plea of benevolence, when they ought to enjoy all the rights, privileges and immunities of American citizens.

"I accuse her of suffering a large portion of her population to be lacerated, starved and plundered, without law and without justification, at the will of petty tyrants.

"I accuse her of trafficking in the bodies and souls of men, in a domestic way, to an extent nearly equal to the foreign slave trade; which traffic is equally atrocious with the foreign, and almost as cruel in its operations.

"I accuse her of legalizing, on an enormous scale, licentiousness, fraud, cruelty and murder.

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"I accuse her of the horrid crime of kidnapping one hundred thousand infants annually, the offspring of slave parents.

"I accuse her of stealing the liberties of two millions of the creatures of God, and withholding the just recompense of their labor; of ruthlessly invading the holiest relations of life, and cruelly separating the dearest ties of nature; of denying these miserable victims necessary food and clothing for their perishable bodies, and light and knowledge for their immortal souls; of tearing the husband from his wife, the mother from her babe, and children from their parents, and of perpetrating upon the poor and needy every species of outrage and oppression.

"And, finally, I accuse her of being callously indifferent to the accumulated wrongs and sufferings of her black population, assiduous in extenuating her oppressive acts, and determined to slumber upon the brink of a volcano which is in full operation, and which threatens to roll its lava tide over the whole land."

He cited O'Connell's reply to the excuse that England had established and encouraged American slavery, with its tingling conclusion—"The friends of humanity and liberty in Europe should join in the universal cry of *Shame on the American slaveholders!* Base wretches, should we shout in chorus—base wretches, how dare you profane the temple of national freedom, the sacred fane of republican rites, with the presence and the sufferings of human beings in chains and slavery!" "Sir," continued Mr. Garrison, "never was a more just and fearless rebuke given to a guilty nation. . . . Whatever responsibility may attach to Great Britain for the introduction of slavery into the United States (and to talk of robbery and kidnapping as things that may be entailed is precious absurdity), the first moment the people of the United States published their Declaration of Independence to the world, from that moment they became exclusively accountable for the existence and continuance of negro slavery."

The last of the long array of charges next brought against the Colonization Society was its denial that the free blacks could ever be elevated; which opened the

CHAP. XI. 1833. way for the following vindication from their champion in Exeter Hall:

Lib. 3:179. "Mr. Chairman, my soul sickens in turning over these masses of moral corruption, and I hasten to a close. I cannot boast, like Mr. Cresson, of defraying my own expenses; for he is opulent, and I am poor. All that I have is dedicated to this cause. But I am proud to say that the funds for my mission to this country were principally made up by the voluntary contributions of my free colored brethren, at a very short notice. I stand before you as their mouthpiece, and with their blessings resting upon my head. Persecuted, derided, yet noble people! never can I repay generosity and love like theirs. Sir, I am sorry to trespass a moment longer upon this meeting, but I beg a brief indulgence that I may discharge an act of justice toward that persecuted class. You have heard them described this day, by the American Colonization Society, as the most abandoned wretches on the face of the earth — as constituting all that is vile, loathsome and dangerous; as being more degraded and miserable than the slaves. Sir, it is not possible for the mind to coin, or the tongue to utter, baser libels against an injured people. Their condition is as much superior to that of the slaves as the light of heaven is more cheering than the darkness of the pit. Many of their number are in the most affluent circumstances, and distinguished for their refinement, enterprise and talents. They have flourishing churches, supplied by pastors of their own color, in various parts of the land, embracing a large body of the truly excellent of the earth. They have public and private libraries. They have their temperance societies, their debating societies, their moral societies, their literary societies, their benevolent societies, their savings societies, and a multitude of kindred associations. They have their infant schools, their primary and high schools, their Sabbath schools, and their Bible classes. They contribute to the support of foreign and domestic missions, to Bible and tract societies, &c. In the city of Philadelphia alone, they have more than fifty different associations for their moral and intellectual improvement. In fact, they are rising up, even with mountains of prejudice piled upon them, with more than Titanic strength, and trampling beneath their feet the slanders of their enemies. A spirit of virtuous emulation is pervading their ranks, from the young child to the gray head. Among them is taken a large number of daily and weekly newspapers,

and of literary and scientific periodicals, from the popular monthlies up to the grave and erudite *North American* and *American Quarterly Reviews*. I have at this moment, to my own paper, the *Liberator*, one thousand subscribers among this people; and, from an occupancy of the editorial chair for more than seven years, I can testify that they are more punctual in their payments than any five hundred white subscribers whose names I ever placed indiscriminately in my subscription book."

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Mr. Garrison pointed to the Rev. Nathaniel Paul, who sat upon the platform, as a specimen of the calumniated race — "a gentleman with whom the proudest or best man on earth need not blush to associate"; and after quoting from the 'Thoughts' the anti-colonization resolutions of the free people of color, and describing the practical effects of the Society, he closed with an appeal for British support of the American anti-slavery movement:

"Sure I am that my appeal in behalf of my oppressed countrymen will be felt here, and in every part of this land. It is impossible that the British people, proudly standing, as they now are, upon the neck of colonial slavery — it is impossible for them to consider their work at an end whilst there remains a human being held as a chattel under the whole heavens. And let me assure them, for their encouragement, that all is not dark or hopeless in the United States. Thousands have caught a portion of their zeal; the abolition spirit is abroad in our land, with great power, and is traversing its length and breadth, conquering and to conquer; abolition societies are formed and multiplying, in every free section of our territory, on the principle of immediate and unconditional emancipation; four periodicals[1] have been established expressly to maintain the cause of the afflicted and the right of the poor, and a multitude of our political and religious periodicals are now freely discussing the question of negro slavery; strong exertions are making for the repeal of all those laws which now disfranchise our free colored population, and schools are multiplying for their mental cultivation. The American Colonization Society is falling like Lucifer, never to rise again; and ere the termination of this year, I trust your hearts will be cheered with the intelligence

Lib. 3: 179.

[1] That is, Lundy's *Genius*, the *Liberator*, the *Abolitionist*, and the *Emancipator*.

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that a National Abolition Society has been formed in the United States of America."

Lib. 3:178.

In the midst of Mr. Garrison's address he was interrupted by "deafening and long-continued thunders of applause," which greeted the entrance of Daniel O'Connell. The Irish Liberator, in a private interview with Mr. Garrison upon the subject of the Colonization Society, had asked, "Why don't you hold a public meeting in Exeter Hall?" Upon which Mr. Garrison expressed his doubt whether the popular interest in the subject would ensure an audience. "Well," said O'Connell, "I 'll come and make a speech for you." "Agreed," said Mr. Garrison, and the arrangements were begun. But when the meeting had assembled, O'Connell was wanting. Scouts were sent out for him, and he was found at a breakfast, just rising to his feet to make a speech: he had entirely forgotten the appointment. A note of reminder was slipt into his hands, and he at once excused himself. Driven rapidly to the Hall he came upon the platform, and at the proper moment "threw off his magnificent speech as he threw off his coat," as Mr. Garrison was fond of saying in after years.

This speech, humorous, disjointed, occasionally blundering (as where O'Connell expressed sympathy with the "oppressed State" of South Carolina in the nullification controversy), was also characteristically eloquent, and calculated to probe American susceptibilities to the quick.

Lib. 3:186.

"I will now go to America," said he, after a reference to the anti-slavery crisis in England and the pending issue of compensation and apprenticeship. "I have often longed to go there in reality; but so long as it is tarnished by slavery, I will never pollute my foot by treading on its shores." Of the American slave-owners he declared, amid cheering: "They are the basest of the base — the most execrable of the execrable. I thank God that upon the wings of the press the voice of so humble an individual as myself will pass against the western breeze — that it will reach the rivers, the lakes, the mountains, and the glens of America — and that the

friends of liberty there will sympathize with me, and rejoice that I here tear down the image of liberty from the recreant land of America, and condemn her as the vilest of hypocrites, the greatest of liars." With slight rhetorical variation he repeated his message: "Why, I tell the American slaveholder that he shall not have silence; for, humble as I am, and feeble as my voice may be, yet, deafening the sound of the westerly wave, and riding against the blast as thunder goes, it shall reach America, and tell the black man that the time of his emancipation is come, and the oppressor that the period of his injustice is terminated." Applying his sarcasm to the Colonization Society, he called it a humbug, and "the most ludicrous Society that ever yet was dreamed of." He moved a resolution that its fundamental principle was ever the colonization of the free people of color, "and abolition never the object, but on the contrary the security of slave property"; which was seconded by Captain Stuart and carried unanimously. CHAP. XI. 1833.

Cresson was as usual not on hand, but the Society had as defenders two members of Parliament and a converted Jew from Andover, Mass., to the former of whom Thompson made an admirable rejoinder. Resolutions in further denunciation of the fraudulent and oppressive character of the Society, and in cordial approbation of the principles of the New-England Anti-Slavery Society, were also passed without dissent, and the meeting came to an end. A few days afterward Mr. Garrison received the following emphatic letter from Zachary Macaulay, by whose prudent advice the object of the meeting had been made, not an attack on American slavery, but on the Colonization Society: *Lib.* 3: 193, 197. *MS. July* 5, 1833, *from Jas. Cropper.*

Zachary Macaulay to W. L. Garrison.

CONWAY, NORTH WALES, July 14, 1833. *Lib.* 3: 169.

MY DEAR SIR: Our friend, Mr. Cropper, will have informed you of the impossibility of my complying with your request, of sending you an explanation of the causes of my absence from your meeting yesterday. I certainly would not willingly have

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been absent, for it was my desire to take every fair opportunity of testifying my utter and increasing disapprobation of the principles professed, on the subject of negro slavery, by the American Colonization Society. I can have no objection, indeed, to the plan of colonizing in Africa, with a view to its civilization, and to the extension of Christianity in that deeply injured quarter of the globe. On the contrary, I desire above all things to see such plans, conceived in the true spirit of philanthropy, multiplying on that coast. But the Colonization Society appears to me to adopt, as the basis of its schemes, not the love, but the hatred and contempt of the negro race, and to regard every one tinged with their blood as an object, not of kindness and brotherhood, but of abhorrence, and of exclusion from the common sympathies and affinities of our nature, and from that union and fellowship in that Saviour in whom there is neither Jew nor Gentile, Barbarian nor Scythian, American nor African, black nor white, bond nor free, but we are all one in Christ Jesus.

The unchristian prejudice of color, (which alone has given birth to the Colonization Society, though varnished over with other more plausible pretences, and veiled under a profession of a Christian regard for the temporal and spiritual interests of the negro which is belied by the whole course of its reasonings and the spirit of its measures,) is so detestable in itself that I think it ought not to be tolerated, but, on the contrary, ought to be denounced and opposed by all humane, and especially by all pious, persons in this country. And it especially becomes those who have taken any active part on behalf of the negro race, whether in this country or in the United States, to keep aloof from all coöperation with a body whose evident purpose is adverse, not only to the liberty of the enslaved negro, but to the moral and political elevation of the free negro.

I beg to express my sense of the eminent services you have rendered to the cause of humanity, by your able and persevering exposure of the evil tendency of the principles on which the Colonization Society acts, and trust that your exertions will be crowned with success. I remain, my dear sir,

Yours very faithfully, ZACHARY MACAULAY.

Clarkson visited, and a few parting shots sent after the "impostor" Cresson [1] (who was discovered to be on

[1] See two letters to the London *Patriot*, dated July 22 and Aug. 6, 1833 (*Lib.* 3:169, 201). In the last, Mr. Garrison says, "I maintain that the guilt of slavery is national, its danger is national, and the obligation to remove it is national."

his way to Ireland, "in company with an Irish female partisan," but would find that O'Connell's speech had reached Dublin before him), Mr. Garrison's mission seemed ended. The Providence, however, which had brought him to England in season to witness the passage by Parliament of the bill emancipating 800,000 slaves in the British West Indies, had in store for him an even more precious privilege. Three days after the reading of the bill for the second time in the House of Commons (July 26) [1] Wilberforce breathed his last in London, and a week later still (August 5) his remains were interred in Westminster Abbey by the side of Fox and Pitt. In the unexampled train of mourners, behind "princes of the blood-royal, prelates of the church, members of both Houses of Parliament, many of England's proudest nobility, and representatives of the intellect, virtue, philanthropy, and industry of the land" — behind Wellington, Peel, Graham, Morpeth, Fowell Buxton, Lushington, Stanley, the Grattans — walked with his friend George Thompson the editor of the *Liberator*, the least observed and the least known of the funeral procession, yet the one upon whom, if upon any one, Wilberforce's mantle had fallen, and whose prominence in this historic scene must grow with the shifting perspective of time.

Lib. 3:163.

London Breakfast to W. L. G., p. 47.

On Saturday, the 18th of August, Mr. Garrison embarked from London in the packet-ship *Hannibal*, Capt. Hebard, for the United States. At the end of a week Portsmouth was reached, and farewell letters despatched to his English friends, who had generously supplemented the deficiency of his travelling credit. Five weeks more must elapse [2] before he could set foot on his native soil, where a reception awaited him as opposite as possible to that which he had met with in England.

MS. Aug. 31, 1833, *from Nath. Paul and Joseph Phillips.*

[1] It received the royal assent Aug. 28, 1833.

[2] The *Hannibal* left Portsmouth on Aug. 26, and reached New York on Sunday evening, Sept. 29, 1833.

CHAPTER XII.

American Anti-Slavery Society.—1833.

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TIME would vindicate the essentially patriotic service which Mr. Garrison had rendered by cementing the alliance between British philanthropy and American abolitionism; but, for the moment, his faithful exposure of the national guilt of slaveholding — his "washing dirty linen abroad" — caused him to be looked upon at home as the detractor and enemy of his country. Not only what he had himself said in Exeter Hall, but O'Connell's contemptuous treatment of the colonization "humbug," and tremendous denunciation of American slave-owners, were treasured up against his return. The colonization organs sedulously fanned the public heat caused by the wounding of the national *amour propre*, and the mind of the respectable classes was prepared for any form of popular resentment against Mr. Garrison by the publication, in the Boston *Daily Advertiser* and in *Niles' Register*, while he was still afloat, of Harrison Gray Otis's letter to a South Carolinian, already referred to. Cresson, too, had written to the N. Y. *Commercial Advertiser*: "I have only time by this packet to tell thee that Garrison and the Anti-Slavery Society are fully employed in endeavoring to crush me, hunt the Colonization Society out of the country, and vilify our national character."

Ante, p. 242.

Lib. 3: 151.

Lib. 3: 163.

The flame broke out by reason of an "unpremeditated coincidence" for which Mr. Garrison was in no wise responsible. Notices of a public meeting to form that New York City Anti-Slavery Society which he had effectively encouraged on his departure, were read from the

Lib. 3: 161.

pulpits[1] on the very day the *Hannibal* cast anchor in New York harbor, and the *Courier and Enquirer* at once associated it with his arrival. The notorious Garrison has returned; the "friends of immediate emancipation" are summoned to meet together. "What, then, is to be done? Are we tamely to look on, and see this most dangerous species of fanaticism extending itself through society? . . . Or shall we, by promptly and fearlessly crushing this many-headed Hydra in the bud, expose the weakness as well as the folly, madness, and mischief of these bold and dangerous men?" Everybody, continued the editor, favors immediate emancipation with compensation, and accordingly he recommended the mob to accept the invitation to attend at Clinton Hall, that same evening (October 2), and to join in the calm and temperate discussion of the different propositions. A communication to the same paper from the "Ghost of Peter the Hermit" predicted slaughter as the result of the anti-slavery crusade, "if you listen to my voice now, and to the solicitations of the *pacific* Garrison. *He* will undoubtedly have great weight with you from having abused and maligned your country with such *patriotic ardor* abroad! He comes in the flush of triumph, and with the flatteries still on his ear of those who wish *not* well to your country." Similar incentives were employed by the *Standard* of the same date: "In this matter we have a duty to perform, not to ourselves alone, but to our brethren of the South. . . . We are not astonished at the excitement which the acts of Garrison and his friends have produced in this community. . . . Let the people look to it." Meantime, placards were posted about the city bearing the following significant

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NOTICE. *Lib.* 3: 161.

TO ALL PERSONS FROM THE SOUTH.

All persons interested in the subject of a meeting called by J. Leavitt, W. Green, Jr., W. Goodell, J. Rankin, Lewis Tap-

[1] Not from all: some refused (*Lib.* 3: 162).

CHAP. XII. 1833. pan, at Clinton Hall, this evening at 7 o'clock, are requested to attend at the same hour and place.

MANY SOUTHERNERS.

New York, Oct. 2, 1833.

N. B. All Citizens who may feel disposed to manifest the *true* feeling of the State on this subject, are requested to attend.

How Mr. Garrison spent the interval between Sunday and Wednesday evenings (unless at quarantine) is not known, nor whether he had met with his anti-slavery associates in the city up to the hour of the meeting, towards which, as a simple spectator, he made his way in the midst of a large and threatening crowd. Arrived at Clinton Hall,[1] it was found closed. The Trustees, Arthur Tappan excepted, had withdrawn their permission to hold the meeting, which accordingly had been quietly adjourned to the Chatham-Street Chapel,[2] where organization was effected and a constitution barely adopted before the mob, which had meantime been passing resolutions in Tammany Hall, burst in on the heels of the retreating members. The story of the riot has been told in the 'Life of Arthur Tappan' (pp. 168–175) and in Johnson's 'Garrison and his Times' (p. 145). Mr. Garrison's relations to it are all that can concern us here. Swaggering John Neal,[3] who, naturally enough as a "notorious Colonizationist," took a leading part in it, has left

[1] This building, situated on the corner of Beekman Street and Theatre Alley, with a wing on Nassau Street, was demolished in May, 1881. For a view of it, see p. 52 of 'A Picture of New York in 1846' (New York: Homans & Ellis) or p. 19 of the N. Y. *Phrenological Journal* for January, 1885. In 1861–62, the office of the *National Anti-Slavery Standard*, the organ of the American Anti-Slavery Society, was in the second story of Clinton Hall.

[2] The Rev. Charles G. Finney's. The site was just east of the terminus of the Brooklyn bridge.

[3] "There swaggers John Neal, who has wasted in Maine
The sinews and chords of his pugilist brain.
. . . . . .
A man who 's made less than he might have, because
He always has thought himself more than he was."
Lowell's 'Fable for Critics.'

this blundering account in his 'Wandering Recollections of a Somewhat Busy Life':

"As I happened to be going through New York, with my wife, on our way to the Western country, and thence to Europe, in 1834, or 1835, I should say, I found myself one day in the *Courier and Enquirer* office, where, by the way, I first met with Mr. Bennett, who had just been secured for that paper, and was there introduced to me by Colonel Webb. I was informed that a meeting was called in the Park, by William Lloyd Garrison, for that very evening. After some talk, I consented to take a hand. It was arranged that we should all go to the meeting, and adjourn to Old Tammany, and that there I should offer a resolution, which was to be seconded by Mr. Graham, afterward postmaster. We went, took possession of the meeting, and adjourned to Tammany; and I had the greatest difficulty in crowding my way up to the platform all out of breath, choked with dust, and steaming with perspiration, where I called for Mr. Garrison, or any of his friends, to appear; promising them safe conduct and fair play. But nobody answered. I made a short speech: Graham backed out; and the resolutions were passed with a roar like that you may sometimes hear in the Bay of Fundy.

P. 401.

Jas. Gordon Bennett.
Jas. Watson Webb.

Jas. Lorimer Graham.

"On my way out, I was completely surrounded, lifted off my feet, and carried by storm into a cellar, and, by the time we were seated at the table, out sprang half a score of bowie-knives, and as many pistols; and at least a dozen cards were handed me, with 'Alabama,' 'Georgia,' and 'South Carolina,' under the names. They had proposed, a few minutes before, to go after Garrison, to some church, where they were told he was to be found; and went so far as to say that, when I called for him, if he had appeared on the platform, they would have 'rowed him up Salt River.' And then they asked me if I had not seen their handbill. I had not, nor heard it mentioned; but it seems that in the afternoon they had issued a *poster*, calling upon the 'men of the South' to be present at the meeting, which was to take place in the Park. I told them what would have been the consequences, if they had meddled with Garrison where I was; for we were banded together, Colonel Webb, Mr. Graham, and perhaps twenty more, with a determination to see fair play, at the risk of our lives—taking it for granted that free discussion could do the cause of truth no harm. To this my new Southern friends assented, at last,

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and gave up the idea of tearing down a church because a hunted man had found shelter with the women there; and we parted in peace."[1]

The contemporary record of Neal's exploits (in which his potential control of the mob naturally does not appear) reads as follows:

N. Y. Gazette, Oct. 3, 1833; *Lib.* 3: 162.

"In the course of his remarks, he gave a correct portrait of Garrison, whom he designated as a man who had gone through this country as far as he had dared, to promulgate his doctrines, and had also crossed the Atlantic with the same object. He stated that Garrison and his associates were willing to trample the Constitution under foot, by the influence of anti-slavery societies; and the object of the present call was to appoint an Auxiliary Society to that already established in the Eastern States by himself and a few deluded followers."

Lib. 3: 167.

An eye-witness of the mob describes it as "a genuine, drunken, infuriated mob of blackguards of every species, some with good clothes, and the major part the very sweepings of the city." "The shouting, screaming, and cursing for Tappan and Garrison defy all belief." A merchant in respectable circumstances said: "If I had my will, or if I could catch him, Garrison should be packed up in a box with air-holes, marked 'this side up,' and so shipped to Georgia."[2] The *Commercial Advertiser* confirmed this report: "In regard to Wm. Lloyd Garrison, the misguided young gentleman who has just returned from England, whither he has recently been for

Oct. 3, 1833; *Lib.* 3: 161.

[1] There was a comic side to all this. "I suppose our citizen, J. Neal," writes Nathan Winslow from Portland to Mr. Garrison, Oct. 17, 1833 (MS.), "feels quite happy in haranguing a mob where he can disgorge his froth without having his arguments criticised. We thought his opposition to our cause rather aided us, he is so well known in this place; but I fear it may be different in New York. It is singular indeed that he should arraign thee as a slanderer of thy country when he was, on his return from Europe [1827], near being *mobbed* on the same account. Portland was filled with handbills circulated by those whose characters he had traduced, and a colored man employed to follow him from house to house. Perhaps this may be one reason of his aversion to that race." See, also, *Lib.* 4: 27.

[2] This device was afterwards found useful by fugitives coming the other way.

the sole purpose, as it would seem, of traducing the people and institutions of his own country,[1] and who, it was supposed, was to have taken an active part in this meeting, but one sentiment appeared to prevail. We will not record the expressions of disgust and abhorrence which were coupled with his name." Had he been present, many "grave and respectable citizens" would have consented to his being tarred and feathered. "We hope, most sincerely, that not a hair of Mr. Garrison's head will ever be injured by personal violence; but he will do well to consider that his course of conduct in England has kindled a spirit of hostility towards him at home which cannot be easily allayed. He will act wisely never to attempt addressing a public meeting in *this* country again."

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The *Evening Post* could not credit the stories of threatened violence to Mr. Garrison: "The mere feeling of magnanimity towards an antagonist so feebly supported, with so few adherents, with so little sympathy in his favor, should have forbidden the expression of such a design, even uttered as an unmeaning menace. We should be sorry that any invasion of his personal rights should occur to give him consequence, and to increase the number of his associates. Garrison is a man who, whatever may be the state of his mind on other topics, is as mad as the winds on the slavery question." It added: "We know of no question of public policy on which public opinion is so unanimous" as that of discountenancing the abolitionists.

Oct. 3, 1833; *Lib.* 3: 162.

Deplorably ignorant of what he owed to Neal's friendly protection, but well aware how much restraint magnanimity had imposed on the mob with reference to himself, Mr. Garrison pursued his journey to Boston, where his approach had also stirred the spirit of violence. On Monday, October 7, the following handbill was generally circulated throughout the city:

[1] Mr. Garrison had not yet become, in the mouths of his enemies, a British subject.

Lib. 3 : 163.

BOSTONIANS AWAKE ! !

The true American has returned, *alias* William Lloyd Garrison, the "Negro Champion," from his disgraceful mission to the British metropolis, whither he went to obtain pecuniary aid, and the countenance of Englishmen to wrest the American citizen's property which he has fought and labored for, from out of their hands, and thereby deprive the southern section of our happy union the only means of obtaining a livelihood. He has held meetings in the city of London, and slandered the Americans to the utmost of his power, calling them a set of *infernal Renegadoes, Turks, Arabs,* &c., and also countenancing the outrageous conduct of Daniel O'Connell, who at one of his (Garrison's) meetings, called us "a set of *sheep-stealers, man-murderers,* and that the blackest corner in Hell's bottomless pit *ought to be, and would be, the future destination of the Americans!*" And this said Garrison stood by his side and assisted him in his infamous harangue. Americans! will you brook this conduct? I think not. He is now in your power — do not let him escape you, but go this evening, armed with plenty of *tar and feathers,* and administer him justice at his abode at No. 9, Merchants' Hall, Congress-st.

Sic.

A NORTH ENDER.

Boston, October 7, 1833.

Lib. 3 : 163. This base appeal sufficed to surround the *Liberator* office that night with "a dense mob, breathing threatenings which foreboded a storm." But as yet, even in Boston, Mr. Garrison was so little known to the public that he might, as in New York, have mingled unsuspected with his pursuers. In fact, nothing came of the demonstration except a silly suggestion by the *Post*, that the inflammatory handbill had "been printed and distributed by friends of Mr. Garrison"; and the equally silly comment of the incredulous *Transcript*, that Mr. Garrison was "not quite so mad, (lunatic as he is, on the subject of negro slaves and slavery,) as to excite still further the indignation of his fellow-citizens by such or any similar act of indiscretion and folly." The madman (by the concurrent judgment of

Lib. 3 : 163.

two cities) paid his respects to both the mobs and their promoters at his first opportunity, in the *Liberator:* CHAP. XII. 1833.

"To the charge made against me by the cowardly ruffian who conducts the New York *Courier and Enquirer*,[1] and by the miserable liar and murderous hypocrite of the New York *Commercial Advertiser*,[2] of having slandered my country abroad, I reply that it is false. All that I uttered in England in reference to the institutions and practices of the United States shall be given to the public. I did not hesitate there — I have not hesitated here — I shall hesitate nowhere, to brand this country as hypocritical and tyrannical in its treatment of the people of color, whether bond or free. If this be calumny, I dealt freely in it, as I *shall* deal, as long as slavery exists among us — or, at least, as long as the power of utterance is given to my tongue. Still — *slavery aside* — I did not fail to eulogize my country, before a British audience, in terms of affection, admiration and respect. *Lib.* 3: 163.

"As to the menaces and transactions of the New York mob, I regard them with mingled emotions of pity and contempt. I was an eye-witness of that mob, from the hour of its assembling at Clinton Hall to its final assault upon the Chatham-Street Chapel — standing by it, undisguisedly, as calm in my feelings as if those who were seeking my life were my warmest supporters.[3]

"The frantic annunciation of the worthless Webb — '*The Agitators Defeated! The Constitution Triumphant!*' — is extremely ludicrous. It is not possible that even that wretched man can, for a moment, delude himself with the notion that any abolitionist will abandon the holy cause which he has espoused, in consequence of any threats or any acts of personal violence. For myself, I am ready to brave any danger, even unto death. I feel no uneasiness either in regard to my fate or to the success of the cause of abolition. Slavery must speedily be abolished: the blow that shall sever the chains of the slaves may shake the nation to its centre — may momentarily disturb the pillars of the Union — but it shall redeem the character, extend the influence, establish the security, and increase the prosperity of our great republic.

"I cannot express the admiration which I feel in view of the moral courage and unshrinking determination of those who assembled at Chatham-Street Chapel, in despite of peril and

[1] James Watson Webb. [2] Col. William L. Stone.

[3] "There are men who rise refreshed on hearing a threat" (R. W. Emerson, Divinity School Address, July 15, 1838).

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reproach, for the purpose of organizing an Anti-Slavery Society. The Constitution which they adopted breathes an excellent spirit, and is sound in principle. Such men can never be intimidated by the vile.

"The whole of this disgraceful excitement owes its origin and execution to the prominent advocates of the Colonization Society.[1] The first who had the hardihood to stigmatize me as having gone abroad to calumniate my country, were those wholesale dealers in falsehood and scurrility, Robert S. Finley, Joshua N. Danforth, and Cyril Pearl.

"An attempt to create an excitement was made on my arrival in this city, by some anonymous blackguard, which met with partial success. The effect of these proceedings cannot fail to be highly favorable to the cause of emancipation.

'Glory to them who die in this great cause!
Mobs—*judges*—can inflict no brand of shame,
Or shape of death, to shroud them from applause!
No! manglers of the martyr's earthly frame,
Your hangmen fingers cannot touch his fame.
Still in this guilty land there shall be some
Proud hearts—the shrine of Freedom's vestal flame;
Long trains of ill may pass unheeded—dumb—
But Vengeance is behind, and Justice is to come!'"

A month later, as promised, Mr. Garrison printed the ground of his offence against his countrymen, accompanying it with this explanation:

Lib. 3: 179, *and Preface to pamphlet, Speeches in Exeter Hall, July* 13, 1833.

"The *Liberator* of this morning embodies all the *slanders* which I uttered in England against the American Colonization Society and the United States. The speeches which were delivered at the great meeting held in Exeter Hall, and which have caused so much excitement among the colonization crusaders and their backers the mobocracy, were all taken down by a skilful and accomplished reporter, expressly for publication in this country. So far from being ashamed of my language on that memorable occasion, I gave *eighty dollars* for a full report of all that was then uttered by myself and others, in order that I might faithfully present it to the public on my return. I wish neither to modify nor retract a single sentence. The other speeches will follow in due course. To that fearless and eloquent champion of liberty, that first of Irish patriots, Daniel O'Connell, Esq., the colored population of this coun-

[1] See, more specifically, *Lib.* 4: 27.

try and their advocates are under heavy obligations for his masterly vindication of their cause, his terrible castigation of American slavery, and his withering satire upon the colonization 'humbug,' at this meeting.

"Now let the enemies of freedom foam and rage! — But the secret of their malice lies in the triumphant success of my mission. Had I failed to vanquish the agent of the American Colonization Society, or to open the eyes of British philanthropists to its naked deformity, there would have been no excitement on my return. These sensitive republicans who are so jealous of the reputation of their country, be it remembered, are the most sturdy upholders of the slave system, and the most ardent sticklers for the banishment of our free colored population to the African coast.[1] They esteem it no disgrace to debase, lacerate, plunder and kidnap two millions of slaves, and tread upon the necks of half a million free colored citizens; but it is foul slander, in their impartial judgment, to declare before a British audience that such conduct is in the highest degree hypocritical and tyrannical. But their iniquity is not done in a corner, nor can it be hid under a bushel; and I tell them that I will hold them up to the scorn and indignation of the world — I will stamp the brand of infamy upon their brow, which, like the mark of Cain, shall make them known and detested by the friends of freedom and humanity in every country and in every clime. 'Where there is shame, there may in time be virtue.' I have already crimsoned their cheeks with the bitter consciousness of their guilt; and through their shame I will never despair of seeing them brought to repentance. It is idle for them to bluster and threaten — they will find out, by and by, that I am storm-proof.

"If I had outraged common sense and common decency, by throwing all the guilt of our oppression upon the British Government; if I had dealt in the wretched cant that slavery was an evil entailed upon us by the mother country; if I had been as dishonest, as hypocritical, and as pusillanimous as the agent

[1] The same phenomenon has been observed in Brazil. "O trabalho todo dos esclavagistas consistiu sempre em identificar o Brazil com a escravidão. Quem a ataca é logo suspeito de connivencia com o estrangeiro, de inimigo das instituições do seu proprio paiz. . . . Atacar a Monarchia, sendo o paiz monarchico, a religião, sendo o paiz Catholico, é licito a todos; atacar, porem, a escravidão, é traição nacional e felonia" (Joaquim Nabuco, 'O Abolicionismo,' p. 192; and see pp. 248, 249). Such an identification of slavery with the whole people was, in the mouths of Northerners, to stultify their inquiry, What have we to do with slavery?

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of the American Colonization Society; if I had extolled that kind of philanthropy which calls for the banishment of every man, woman and child whose skin is 'not colored like my own'; if I had asserted that the stealers of human beings in the Southern States were kind, liberal and paternal in their treatment of their victims, and anxious to abolish slavery; in short, if I had sacrificed conscience, honesty and truth upon the altar of falsehood and prejudice — why, then the reputation of the United States would have been pure and spotless in the eyes of the English nation, and I should have received the applause, instead of the malediction, of a senseless mob! But I was neither knave nor fool enough to do any such thing. I spoke the truth, in the love of the truth — the whole truth and nothing but the truth. I freely acknowledged the guilt, the awful guilt, of this boasted land of liberty, in holding one sixth part of its immense population in servile chains; and besought the sympathy of the friends of bleeding humanity in England, in behalf of our afflicted slaves. Nor did I fail to tear the mask from the brow of the American Colonization Society, so that it might be feared and loathed as a monster of cruelty, violence and blood. For this cause, 'the wicked have drawn out the sword, and have bent their bow, to cast down the poor and needy, and to slay such as be of upright conversation. Their sword shall enter into their own heart, and their bows shall be broken.'"

Undeterred by the riotous demonstrations which had attended his return, and in forgetfulness or defiance of his Canterbury enemies who had sought to prevent his departure for England, Mr. Garrison, in the fourth week in October, paid a visit to Miss Crandall, and saw her school "in the full tide of successful experiment." He saw also "the stone which was thrown into the window by some unknown republican of Canterbury — the shattered pane of glass — the window-curtain stained by a volley of rotten eggs — and last, not least, a moral nondescript, though physically a human being, named A—— T—— J——." Thence repairing to Brooklyn, the real Mecca of his journey, he was most hospitably received by the venerable George Benson, under whose roof, on the 27th of October, occurred an incident thus reported in the next issue of the *Liberator*:

Lib. 3: 171, 175.

Andrew T. Judson.

"ACKNOWLEDGMENT.—Just before midnight, on Sabbath evening last, in Brooklyn, Connecticut, the Deputy Sheriff of Windham County, in behalf of those zealous patrons of colored schools, those plain, independent republicans, those high-minded patriots, those practical Christians, *Lib.* 3:175.

ANDREW T. JUDSON,
RUFUS ADAMS,
SOLOMON PAINE,
CAPT. RICHARD FENNER,
DOCTOR HARRIS,

presented me with five indictments for a panegyric upon their virtuous and magnanimous actions, in relation to Miss Crandall's *nigger school* in Canterbury, inserted in the *Liberator* of March 16, 1833. I shall readily comply with their polite and urgent invitation to appear at the Windham County Court on the second Tuesday of December, to show cause why, &c., &c. As they have generously given me *precept upon precept*, I shall give them in return *line upon line — here* (in the *Liberator*) a little, and *there* (in the court room) a great deal."

These suits were never brought to trial. They were continued, at Mr. Garrison's request, to the March term of the county court (1834), and were again postponed to the fourth Tuesday in January, 1835, previous to which date the following proposal was addressed by the cashier of the Windham County Bank to Mr. Benson: *Lib.* 3:203; 4:39.

DEC. 27, 1834. *MS. Geo. Benson to W. L. G.*

DEAR SIR: I am requested to say to you that the five suits against Mr. Garrison can be withdrawn upon condition that neither party shall receive cost of the other; provided Mr. Garrison answers to the proposition by the 10th of January. I am also requested to ask whether you will communicate this to Mr. Garrison and receive his answer, which may be communicated to the plaintiffs.

Yours respectfully,

ADAMS WHITE.

The proposition was accepted by the defendant in accordance with the pithy advice of Mr. Benson — "You

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know that the result of a lawsuit (however just) is very uncertain, but the expense is certain" — and of his counsel.[1]

A year so crowded with incidents, so full of dramatic scene-shifting, so devoid of rest (except that which comes from change) for the subject of this biography, had still in reserve a climax of action. The same issue of the *Liberator* which reported Mr. Garrison's arrival in New York gave notice that a convention for carrying out his darling project, the formation of an American Anti-Slavery Society, would be held that season in Philadelphia. The call, by concurrent resolution of the friends of immediate emancipation in the cities of Boston, Providence, New York and Philadelphia, was actually issued October 29, 1833, for the fourth day of December, and was signed by Arthur Tappan, President, Joshua Leavitt, one of the Managers, and Elizur Wright, Jr., Secretary, of the New York City Anti-Slavery Society. Delegates were requested to report to Evan Lewis, No. 94 North Fifth St., Philadelphia, and to regard the call as confidential, in order to avoid interruption in the meetings.

Lib. 3:159.

[1] John Parish, Esq. A special interest attaches to the following extract from a letter addressed by William Goodell to Mr. Garrison under date of New York, Nov. 14, 1833: "I have this moment received a letter from my brother-in-law, Roswell C. Smith, of Hampton, Conn. (the well-known author of an 'Arithmetic,' a 'Grammar,' etc., published by booksellers in Boston), who is a warm friend of Miss Crandall's School and of the Anti-Slavery Cause. He writes to suggest that it would be, in his opinion, of service to you and the Cause to employ a lawyer well acquainted in the neighborhood and zealously attached to the Cause. Such a person he considers Lafayette Foster, Esq., a young attorney, just settled in Hampton, and well known in all that region. (Hampton, you know, adjoins Brooklyn on the West.) Mr. Foster, he says, has already distinguished himself by the acumen and logic with which he has, on several occasions, in conversation, etc., exposed the fallacy of Judge Daggett's reasoning in the late decision, to the conviction and conversion of some intelligent men who *had* been satisfied with the logic of the Judge. I have myself known something of Foster as a young man of an uncommon promise, and a staunch advocate of Temperance. Mr. Smith says that, whoever *else* you may have employed, he thinks it would be well to employ Foster in addition, and he is so ardent in the Cause that he would be glad to do all in his power, if he never received a cent in compensation." Mr. Foster, a descendant of Miles Standish, was the future Senator and Acting Vice-President of the United States.

So the summons went out to every part of the North. To George W. Benson, at Providence, Mr. Garrison wrote: CHAP. XII. 1833.

W. L. Garrison to George W. Benson.

BOSTON, November 2, 1833. *MS.*

Here is the warrant for our national meeting. Show it among the genuine friends of our cause as extensively as possible, and urge them to be fully represented in the Convention.

My mind is crowded with pleasing remembrances of my late visit to Canterbury and Brooklyn. How deeply am I indebted to you, to your brother, and all the members of your venerable father's household! And above all, how infinite are my obligations to that Almighty Being who has given me such dear friends, whose shield has protected me from the arrows of my bitter persecutors, and whose arm is made bare for my deliverance! Truly, "blessed is he that considereth the poor: the Lord will deliver him in time of trouble."

I am more and more impressed with the importance of "working whilst the day lasts." If "we all do fade as a leaf"—if we are "as the sparks that fly upwards" — if the billows of time are swiftly removing the sandy foundation of our life — what we intend to do for the captive, and for our country, and for the subjugation of a hostile world, must be done quickly. Happily, "our light afflictions are but for a moment."

Show a bold front at the annual meeting of your Society. I shall be with you in spirit, though not bodily.

Among your numerous friends, remember there is none more attached to you than

WM. LLOYD GARRISON.

In another direction he sped the call to Whittier, on his farm at Haverhill, who answered doubtfully, but eagerly, November 11:

John G. Whittier to W. L. Garrison.

Thy letter of the 5th has been received. . . . *MS.*

I long to go to Philadelphia, to urge upon the members of my Religious Society the duty of putting their shoulders to the work — to make their solemn testimony against Slavery visible over the whole land — to urge them, by the holy memories of Woolman and Benezet and Tyson, to come up as of old to the standard of Divine Truth, though even the fires of another per-

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secution should blaze around them. But the expenses of the journey will, I fear, be too much for me: as thee know, our farming business does not put much cash in our pockets. I am, however, greatly obliged to the Boston Y. M. Association for selecting me as one of their delegates. I do not know how it may be,—but whether I go or not, my best wishes and my warmest sympathies are with the friends of Emancipation.

Some of my political friends are opposed to my anti-slavery sentiments, and perhaps it was in some degree owing to this that at the late Convention for the nomination of Senators for Essex, my nomination was lost by one vote. I should have rejoiced to have had an opportunity to coöperate personally with the Abolitionists of Boston. . . .

Can thee not find time for a visit to Haverhill before thee go on to Philadelphia? I wish I was certain of going with thee. At all events, *do* write immediately on receiving this, and tell me when thee shall start for the Quaker City.

Slenderer purses than Whittier's were those of some of his Essex County neighbors bent on undertaking the same pilgrimage. Mr. Garrison again wrote to Mr. Benson, under date of November 25, 1833:

W. L. Garrison to George W. Benson.

MS.

Do you wish to take by the hand as courageous, as devoted, as uncompromising an abolitionist (not excepting ourselves) as lives in our despotic land? Then give a hearty welcome to the bearer of this—David T. Kimball of the Andover Theological Seminary, and President of the Anti-Slavery Society in that hot-bed of Colonization. His father is a clergyman residing in Ipswich, and as zealously affected in our cause as himself. He is accompanied by another worthy abolitionist, named Jewett,[1] also a student at Andover. Now to illustrate their readiness to make sacrifices in our most holy cause, I need only to state that, as their means are very limited, they have resolved to go on foot, say as far as New Haven, in order that they may thus be enabled to get to the Convention in Philadelphia! This

[1] Daniel E. Jewett. He had been a fellow-student of James Miller McKim, at this time residing at his home in Carlisle, Pa.; and on his entreaty, the latter attended the Convention, where he proved to be the youngest member (see pp. 32, 33, Proceedings at Third Decade American Anti-Slavery Society).

morning they start for Providence — from thence they propose going to Canterbury — and from thence to New Haven, where they will take the steamboat for New York. They will probably tarry one day in Providence, and I dare presume that between you and brother Prentice,[1] and the rest of the dear friends, they will be entertained without much cost to themselves. I think you cannot fail to be pleased with the modesty and worth of these good "fanatics."

Probably you will have scarcely perused this scrawl ere I shall constitute one in your midst. I expect to take the stage to-morrow for P., and arrive there in the evening. Be good enough, if you can conveniently, to call at the City Hotel, at the hour of 7, and see if the madman G. has come. Perhaps I may not get away from this city till Wednesday.

Providence, R. I.

Many thanks to you and my generous creditor Henry for your kind letters.

H. E. Benson.

What news from Canterbury? I long to get there once more — but more particularly under the hospitable roof of your father. I confess, in addition to the other delightful attractions which are there found, the soft blue eyes and pleasant countenance of Miss Ellen are by no means impotent or unattractive. But this is episodical.

Helen Eliza Benson.

The Young Men's Anti-Slavery Association of Boston are driving ahead with even a better spirit than that of '76. They have now upwards of 90 members! Their example cannot be lost.

I trust our Boston delegation to the Convention will not be less than eight.[2] Whether we shall get any from the State of Maine is uncertain. . . .

At the City Hotel Mr. Benson found not only his correspondent but the Quaker poet, for Whittier (thanks to the generosity of S. E. Sewall) had been enabled to join his old friend in Boston. These three, with John Prentice and what others we know not, together made their journey to New York, where they were joined by David Thurston, a Congregational minister from Maine, Samuel J. May, and a considerable number of delegates, who

Atlantic Monthly, Feb., 1874, p. 166.

May's Recollections, p. 81.

[1] John Prentice. He, with Mr. Benson and Ray Potter (of Pawtucket), constituted the Rhode Island delegation at the Convention.

[2] It was in fact six, viz.: Mr. Garrison, Joshua Coffin, Amos A. Phelps, James G. Barbadoes, Nathaniel Southard, and Arnold Buffum.

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made each other's acquaintance for the first time. Mr. May, who "studied anxiously their countenances and bearing, and caught most thirstily every word that dropped from their lips," and satisfied himself that "most of them were men ready to die, if need be, in the pass of Thermopylæ," has recorded an episode of the journey (by steamboat from New York to Elizabethtown, and again from Bordentown to Philadelphia):

May's Recollections, p. 81; Second Decade Proceedings, p. 28.

"There was much earnest talking by other parties beside our own. Presently a gentleman turned from one of them to me and said, 'What, sir, are the Abolitionists going to do in Philadelphia?' I informed him that we intended to form a National Anti-Slavery Society. This brought from him an outpouring of the commonplace objections to our enterprise, which I replied to as well as I was able. Mr. Garrison drew near, and I soon shifted my part of the discussion into his hands, and listened with delight to the admirable manner in which he expounded and maintained the doctrines and purposes of those who believed with him that the slaves — the blackest of them — were men, entitled as much as the whitest and most exalted men in the land to their liberty, to a residence here, if they choose, and to acquire as much wisdom, as much property, and as high a position as they may.

"After a long conversation, which attracted as many as could get within hearing, the gentleman said, courteously: 'I have been much interested, sir, in what you have said, and in the exceedingly frank and temperate manner in which you have treated the subject. If all Abolitionists were like you, there would be much less opposition to your enterprise. But, sir, depend upon it, that hair-brained, reckless, violent fanatic, Garrison, will damage, if he does not shipwreck, any cause.' Stepping forward, I replied, 'Allow me, sir, to introduce you to Mr. Garrison, of whom you entertain so bad an opinion. The gentleman you have been talking with is he.'"

May's Recollections, p. 82; Second Decade Proceedings, p. 28.

The little company reached Philadelphia in the morning of December 3, and found the city sufficiently excited by the cause of their coming to justify all the precautions already taken, and (on a hint from the police that they could not protect evening meetings) to make day sessions advisable. They gathered informally,

however, some forty of them, that evening in the parlors of Evan Lewis,[1] when Lewis Tappan was called to the chair. Their chief concern was for a presiding officer for the Convention — preferably a Philadelphian whose character should propitiate public sentiment and be, says Mr. May, "a voucher for our harmlessness." Robert Vaux, a prominent and wealthy Quaker, seemed, apart from his relations with Elliott Cresson, to fulfil these conditions, and a committee consisting of three Friends (Evan Lewis, John G. Whittier, and Effingham L. Capron, of Uxbridge, Mass.), two clergymen (Beriah Green and S. J. May), and Lewis Tappan, was appointed to wait immediately upon him and upon one other forlorn hope. In both places they were received with mortifying frigidity and politely bowed out, and bedtime found them forced back on Beriah Green's sarcastic conclusion — "If there is not timber amongst ourselves big enough to make a president of, let us get along without one, or go home and stay there until we have grown up to be men."

Atlantic Monthly, Feb., 1874, *p.* 167.

Recollections, p. 83.

Ante, p. 363.

May's Recollections, p. 83; *Second Decade Proceedings, p.* 29.

Between fifty and sixty delegates,[2] representing ten of the twelve free States, made their way the next morning to Adelphi Hall, on Fifth Street below Walnut, greeted with abusive language as they went along, and finding the entrance to the building guarded by the police. The doors were locked upon an assembly, as Whittier noticed, "mainly composed of comparatively young men, some in middle age, and a few beyond that period." Five-sevenths of them were destined to survive President Lincoln's emancipation proclamation.[3] The Quaker element was naturally prominent. Besides those already mentioned, Maine sent Joseph Southwick, and Nathan

December 4, 1833.

[1] "A man who was afraid of nothing but doing or being wrong" (May's 'Recollections,' p. 82).

[2] May says 56 (p. 84); Whittier, 62 (p. 167, *Atlantic Monthly*, Feb., 1874). The signers of the Declaration of Sentiments were 63. There were but two or three colored members.

[3] At this writing (May, 1885), Elizur Wright, Jr., J. G. Whittier, and Robert Purvis alone survive.

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and Isaac Winslow; Massachusetts, Arnold Buffum and Effingham L. Capron;[1] Pennsylvania, Thomas Shipley, the intrepid foe of slaveholders and kidnappers, Edwin P. Atlee, whose end, like Shipley's and Evan Lewis's, was lamentably near at hand, Thomas Whitson, James Mott, Bartholomew Fussell, and other less known (Hicksite) Friends. But the variety of character and talent gathered together in that upper story would not be comprehended if allusion were not also made to Joshua Coffin, Orson S. Murray, Ray Potter, Simeon S. Jocelyn, Robert B. Hall, Amos A. Phelps, John Rankin,[2] William Green, Jr., Abraham L. Cox, William Goodell, Elizur Wright, Jr., George Bourne, Charles W. Denison, Robert Purvis, and James Miller McKim. On the second day, too, a handful of women, all members of the Society of Friends—Lucretia Mott, Esther Moore, Lydia White, and Sidney Ann Lewis—were, on Thomas Whitson's invitation, in attendance, and, both by their presence and their share in the deliberations, made the occasion still more epochal. A more original, devoted, philanthropic and religious body was never convened, or for a more unselfish purpose, or amid greater public contempt and odium. Its sittings were, while guarded, open to its avowed and bitter enemies. "No person was refused admittance to the Convention: on the contrary, Messrs. Gurley and Finley [General Agent of the Colonization Society], a large number of Southern medical students, several ladies, and, in fact, all who came as *spectators*, were politely and cordially furnished with seats."

Lib. 3:203.

[1] "Effingham L. Capron was a Friend, of the straitest kind. At first he was no abolitionist, and was very much prejudiced against William Lloyd Garrison. Persuaded by my father [Arnold Buffum], he took the *Liberator*, and concluded that slavery was wrong. He went to the *Liberator* office, and talked with thy father without knowing him; and when he learned that the man so gentle and peaceful was the man he had supposed a monster, he wept" (Mrs. Elizabeth Buffum Chace to F. J. G., MS. August, 1881). This story is told, anonymously, in the fifth of Angelina Grimké's Letters to Catherine Beecher (*Lib.* 7:123).

[2] A wealthy and liberal New York merchant, subsequently Treasurer of the American Anti-Slavery Society. Not to be confounded with the author of 'Rankin's Letters' (see 'Life of Arthur Tappan,' p. 244).

On the first day, the meeting was opened with prayer, and "timber" of the right sort for president was found in Beriah Green himself; Lewis Tappan and Whittier being chosen secretaries.[1] Membership was accorded to all delegates of anti-slavery societies, and to all persons present who favored immediate emancipation and opposed expatriation. Organization, and the reading of letters of sympathy from William Jay, Jeremiah Chaplin, George Duffield, Theodore D. Weld, and others, consumed the time of the session, which, for prudential reasons, was not interrupted for the noonday meal. Foraging for crackers and cheese was conducted by Joshua Coffin, and pitchers of cold water supplied the only beverage. Mr. Garrison was put on the committee to report a constitution (from which he was evidently excused), as well as on the larger committee[2] to draft a Declaration of Principles for signature by members of the Convention. Adjournment took place at five o'clock in the afternoon, and the latter committee met shortly afterwards at the house of its chairman, Dr. Atlee, where, after a comparison of views, Mr. Garrison, Mr. Whittier and Mr. May were appointed a sub-committee of three to prepare a draft of the Declaration "to be reported next morning, at nine o'clock, to the whole committee, in the room adjoining the hall of the Convention." They accordingly withdrew to the house of a fellow-delegate, James McCrummell, the colored host of Mr. Garrison, and there it was finally

May's Recollections, p. 86.

[1] "The choice fell upon Beriah Green. A better man could not have been selected. Though of plain exterior and unimposing presence, Mr. Green was a man of learning and superior ability; in every way above the average of so-called men of eminence. Mr. Tappan, who sat at his right, was a jaunty, man-of-the-world-looking person, well-dressed and handsome, with a fine voice and taking appearance. Whittier, who sat at his left, was quite as fine-looking, though in a different way. He wore a dark frock coat with standing collar, which, with his thin hair, dark and sometimes flashing eyes, and black whiskers, — not large, but noticeable in those unhirsute days, — gave him, to my then unpractised eye, quite as much of a military as a Quaker aspect" (J. M. McKim, Proceedings at Third Decade, p. 37).

[2] Consisting of Messrs. Atlee, Wright, Garrison, Jocelyn, Thurston, Sterling (of Cleveland, O.), Wm. Green, Jr. (of N. Y.), Whittier, Goodell, and May.

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agreed that the composition of the document should be given to him who had called the Convention into being.

Recollections, p. 86.

"We left him," says Mr. May, "about ten o'clock, agreeing to come to him again next morning at eight. On our return at the appointed hour, we found him, with shutters closed and lamps burning, just writing the last paragraph of his admirable draft. We read it over together two or three times very carefully, agreed to a few slight alterations, and at nine went to lay it before the whole committee. By them it was subjected to the severest examination. Nearly three hours of intense application were given to it, notwithstanding repeated and urgent calls from the Convention for our report. All the while, Mr. Garrison evinced the most unruffled patience. Very few alterations were proposed, and only once did he offer any resistance. He had introduced into his draft more than a page in condemnation of the Colonization scheme. It was the concentrated essence of all he had written or thought upon that egregious imposition. It was as finished and powerful in expression as any part of that Magna Charta. We commented upon it as a whole and in all its parts. We writhed somewhat under its severity, but were obliged to acknowledge its exact, its singular justice, and were about to accept it, when I ventured to propose that all of it, excepting only the first comprehensive paragraph, be stricken from the document, giving as my reason for this large erasure that the Colonization Society could not long survive the deadly blows it had received; and it was not worth while for us to perpetuate the memory of it in this Declaration of the Rights of Man, which will live a perpetual, impressive protest against every form of oppression, until it shall have given place to that brotherly kindness which all the children of the common Father owe to one another. At first, Mr. Garrison rose up to save a portion of his work that had doubtless cost him as much mental effort as any other part of it. But so soon as he found that a large majority of the committee concurred in favor of the erasure, he submitted very graciously, saying, 'Brethren, it is your report, not mine.'

"With this exception, the alterations and amendments which were made, after all our criticisms, were surprisingly few and unessential; and we cordially agreed to report it to the Convention very much as it came from his pen."

Lib. 3: 202.

All this time the Convention was speeding the hours as best it might with speeches and resolves. After an open-

ing prayer by William Green, Jr., Dr. Cox read aloud these lines addressed to Mr. Garrison by Whittier, and first published in the Haverhill *Gazette* early in 1833, though composed during the previous year:

Ante, p. 332.

TO W. L. G.

Writings of W. L. G., p. x.

Champion of those who groan beneath
Oppression's iron hand:
In view of penury, hate, and death
I see thee fearless stand,
Still bearing up thy lofty brow
In the steadfast strength of truth,
In manhood sealing well the vow
And promise of thy youth.

Go on, — for thou hast chosen well;
On in the strength of God!
Long as one human heart shall swell
Beneath the tyrant's rod.
Speak in a slumbering nation's ear
As thou hast ever spoken,
Until the dead in sin shall hear, —
The fetter's link be broken!

I love thee with a brother's love,
I feel my pulses thrill
To mark thy spirit soar above
The cloud of human ill.
My heart hath leaped to answer thine,
And echo back thy words,
As leaps the warrior's at the shine
And flash of kindred swords!

They tell me thou art rash and vain —
A searcher after fame;
That thou art striving but to gain
A long-enduring name;
That thou hast nerved the Afric's hand,
And steeled the Afric's heart,
To shake aloft his vengeful brand
And rend his chain apart.

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Have I not known thee well, and read
Thy mighty purpose long?
And watched the trials which have made
Thy human spirit strong?
And shall the slanderer's demon breath
Avail with one like me,
To dim the sunshine of my faith
And earnest trust in thee?

Go on,—the dagger's point may glare
Amid thy pathway's gloom,—
The fate which sternly threatens there
Is glorious martyrdom!
Then onward with a martyr's zeal;
And wait thy sure reward
When man to man no more shall kneel,
And God alone be Lord!

John Rankin moved a resolution, seconded by Dr. Cox, thanking editors who had enlisted in behalf of immediate emancipation, and pledging support of the anti-slavery press; upon which the Convention went into Committee of the Whole. Beriah Green expressed his disgust with those who assert that Wm. Lloyd Garrison "is so *imprudent*, and says so many things calculated to weaken his attacks on the system of bondage." Dr. Cox followed with some remarks, and then —

Abolitionist, monthly, p. 181.

"Lewis Tappan rose, and asked permission to introduce the name of William Lloyd Garrison, and proceeded to say:

"'Some men, Mr. President, are frightened at a name. There is good evidence to believe that many professed friends of abolition would have been here, had they not been *afraid* that the name of William Lloyd Garrison would be inserted prominently in our proceedings. Sir, I am ashamed of such friends. We ought to place that honored name in the forefront of our ranks. The cause is under obligations to him which such an evidence of respect will but poorly repay.

"'The first time I ever heard of him was when he was in jail in Baltimore, where he was incarcerated like a felon, for pleading the cause of the oppressed and rebuking iniquity. When I saw him, appearing so mild and meek as he does, shortly after he was liberated by a gentleman in New York, I

was astonished. Is this the renegade Garrison? thought I, as I grasped his open hand. Is this the enemy of our country? I shall never forget the impression which his noble countenance made on me at that time, as long as I live.

"'An anecdote is related of a gentleman — a Colonizationist — which is worth repeating in this Convention. That gentleman had purchased, without knowing whom it represented, a portrait of Mr. Garrison, and, after having it encased in a splendid gilt frame, suspended it in his parlor. A friend calling in observed it, and asked the purchaser if he knew whom he had honored so much? He was answered, "No — but it is one of the most godlike-looking countenances I ever beheld." "That, sir," resumed the visitor, "is a portrait of the fanatic, the incendiary William Lloyd Garrison!" "Indeed!" concluded the gentleman, evidently much disconcerted. "But, sir, it shall remain in its place. I will never take it down."[1]

"'Who that is familiar with the history of Mr. Garrison does not remember the determination expressed in the first number of his paper — the *Liberator* — to sustain it *as long as he could live on bread and water*? And, sir, I am informed that he has really practised what he so nobly resolved on in the beginning.

"'Look at his course during his recent mission to England. He has been accused of slandering his country. Sir, he has vindicated the American name. He has *not* slandered it. He has told the whole truth, and put hypocrites and doughfaces to open shame. He has won the confidence of the people of England. They saw him attached to his country by the dearest ties, but loathing her follies and abhorring her crimes. He has put the anti-slavery movement forward a quarter of a century.

"'A fellow-passenger with Mr. Garrison from Europe — a clergyman of much intelligence — on arriving in this country heard that he was called a fanatic and a madman. "What," said he, "do you call such a man a fanatic? Do you deem such a man insane? For six weeks have I been with him, and a more discreet, humble and faithful Christian I never saw."

"'Sir, we should throw the shield of our protection and esteem around Mr. Garrison. His life is exposed at this moment. At the door of this saloon, a young man from the

[1] It is uncertain what portrait is here alluded to, but it was probably unpublished. The prints from the Jocelyn and Brewster paintings *(ante,* pp. 342, 344) both bore Mr. Garrison's autograph and an unmistakable legend, and the former engraving was not completed till the spring of 1834.

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South said to-day that if he had opportunity, he would dip his hand in his heart's blood.[1] And, sir, there must be martyrs in this cause. We ought to feel this moment that we are liable to be sacrificed. But when I say this, I know that we are not belligerents. We would die in such a cause only as martyrs to the truth. In this, our blessed Saviour has set the example.

"'I did not contemplate delivering a eulogy on Mr. Garrison when I rose to speak to this resolution. I wish simply to express my heartfelt sympathy with an injured and persecuted man. Be it the honorable object of the members of this Convention to show to our countrymen that they have misunderstood the character, and misconceived the plans, of William Lloyd Garrison. He is said to be imprudent. What is prudence? Is it succumbing to a majority of our frail fellow-mortals? Is it holding back a faithful expression of the whole truth, until the people are ready to say *amen*? Was that the prudence of the Apostle Paul, when he stood before the Roman Governor? Was that the prudence of William Penn, when he poured contempt on the regalia of kings by wearing before the King of England his broad beaver? Imprudence is moral timidity. That man is imprudent who is afraid to speak as God commands him to speak, when the hour of danger is near. If this reasoning be correct, Mr. Garrison is one of the most *prudent* men in the nation!

"'He is not perfect. He is frail, like the rest of human flesh. But if God had not endowed him as he has, and smiled propitiously on his *imprudences*, we should not now be engaged in the deliberations of this most interesting and important Convention. God has raised up just such a man as William Lloyd Garrison to be a pioneer in this cause. Let each member present feel solemnly bound to vindicate the character of Mr. Garrison. Let us not be afraid to go forward with him, even into the "imminent breach," although there may be professed friends who stand back because of him.'"

"Robert Purvis,* of Pennsylvania, said he was grateful to God for the day. He felt to pour out the speaking gratitude

[1] A "demoniac son of a slaveholder, at the entrance of the Adelphi Hall, threatened to wash his hands" in Garrison's blood. A bystander, of the abolitionists, said: "I will bare *my* breast to receive any indignity you may please to offer to William Lloyd Garrison" (*Lib.* 5:7).

"* A colored gentleman of Philadelphia, whose talents and gentlemanly deportment have won the esteem of all who know him. We wish that many who we know have unwittingly circulated colonization slanders against the free people of color, could become acquainted with Mr. P."

of his soul to the Convention, for the spirit they had manifested during the session, and especially during the pending of this resolution. He most heartily concurred in such a vote, and had no doubt but that it would pass unanimously. The name of William Lloyd Garrison sounded sweet to his ear. It produced a vibration of feeling in his bosom, which words could but too feebly sound forth. It was a feeling of love and hearty confidence, which none but a conscientious abolitionist could know.

"Three years ago he had watched the progress of Mr. Garrison with extreme solicitude. The nation was then sound asleep on this subject. The colonization scheme — that scheme of darkness and delusion — was then making its wide havoc among the persecuted people of color. It was the cholera to our ranks. But Garrison arose. His voice went up with a trumpet tone. The walls of Baltimore prison could not confine its thunders. The dampness of his cell did not repress the energy of his spirit. Free and unfettered as the air, his denunciations of tyranny rolled over the land. The *Liberator* speedily followed. Its pages flashed light and truth far and wide. Darkness and gloom fled before it. The deep, unbroken, tomblike silence of the church gave way. The tocsin of righteous alarm was sounded. The voice of godlike Liberty was heard above the clamor of the oppressors. The effect of these efforts is seen and felt this moment in this interesting Convention. It is indeed a good thing to be here. My heart, Mr. President, is too full for my tongue. But whether I speak to them — my feelings as they exist in my inmost soul — or not, the friends of the colored American will be remembered. Yes, sir, their exertions and memories will be cherished when pyramids and monuments shall crumble. The flood of time, which is rapidly sweeping to destruction that refuge of lies, the American Colonization Society, is bearing on the advocates of our cause to a glorious and blessed immortality."[1]

Lewis Tappan had also his eulogy for Lundy; and a special resolution of gratitude to the editor of the *Genius* for his early, disinterested and persevering labors in the

[1] These "defensory and encomiastical speeches" were omitted by the subject of them in copying into the *Liberator* the *Emancipator's* report of the Proceedings, as "the panegyric of our friends is incomparably more afflicting to us than the measureless defamation of our enemies" (*Lib.* 3:202).

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cause was passed on motion of Wm. Goodell and Thomas Shipley. R. B. Hall, C. W. Denison, and S. J. May were appointed a committee to communicate the sentiments of the Convention to both Lundy and Garrison.

The hour had now arrived, — it was past noon of Thursday, December 5, — when the Committee on the Declaration was ready to report. Dr. Atlee, the chairman, read the result of their labors to the Convention. "Never in my life," says Mr. May, "have I seen a deeper impression made by words than was made by that admirable document upon all who were there present. After the voice of the reader had ceased, there was a profound silence for several minutes. Our hearts were in perfect unison. There was but one thought with us all. Either of the members could have told what the whole Convention felt. We felt that the word had just been uttered which would be mighty, through God, to the pulling down of the strongholds of slavery."

Recollections, p. 88.

An impulse to proceed at once to the adoption of the Declaration came from one of the weightiest Friends, who feared that much tampering with it would impair its forcibleness. But it seemed to the Convention more becoming to deliberate, and haply to amend and improve its fundamental utterance. The criticisms were mostly verbal.

"Thomas Shipley, that good man and faithful friend of the slave, objected to the word 'man-stealer' as applied indiscriminately to the slaveholders. To this it was replied that the term was an eminently proper one; that it described the exact relation between the master and the slave. It was urged that things should be called by their right names; that Luther had said he would 'call a hoe a hoe, and a spade a spade.' Besides, it was added, it was a Scriptural phrase, and the chapter and verse were quoted in which it was used. This mollified Friend Shipley, though it did not set his mind entirely at rest. At length, some one suggested that the term should be retained, but that it should be preceded by the words, 'according to Scripture.' This met the difficulty, and the paper was amended so as to read: 'Every American citizen who holds [retains] a human

J. M. McKim, Proceedings at 3d Decade, p. 35.

being in involuntary bondage as his property, is, *according to Scripture* (Exodus, 21 : 16), a man-stealer.'"[1]

Lucretia Mott — like the clever school-teacher she had been — suggested one or two rhetorical amendments which were obvious improvements. "When our friends felt," she said years afterwards, with her quaint humor, "that they were planting themselves on the truths of Divine Revelation, and on the Declaration of Independence, as an Everlasting Rock, it seemed to me, as I heard it read, that the climax would be better to transpose the sentence, and place the Declaration of Independence first, and the truths of Divine Revelation last, as the Everlasting Rock; and I proposed it. I remember one of the younger members, Daniel E. Jewett, turning to see what woman there was there who knew what the word 'transpose' meant."

Proceedings at 3d Decade, p. 42.

Ante, p. 394.

The formal act of signing the Declaration must, the shortening daylight admonished, be put off till the morrow. On Friday morning, "Samuel J. May rose to read it for the last time.[2] His sweet, persuasive voice faltered with the intensity of his emotions as he repeated the

[1] This interpolation was distasteful to Mr. Garrison at the time and ever afterwards. It was "taking off the edge" of the allegation. "That weakens instead of strengthening it. It raises a Biblical question. It makes the rights of man depend upon a text. Now, it matters not what the Bible may say, so far as these rights are concerned. They never originated in any parchment, are not dependent upon any parchment, but are in the nature of man himself, written upon the human faculties and powers by the finger of God" (Speech at 3d Decade [1863] Proceedings, p. 23). John Quincy Adams denied that the allegation was either true or just, in spite of the attempted sanction from Scripture — perhaps because of it ('Memoirs,' July 14, 1839). So, the next year, in a letter to a gentleman in Brooklyn: "The American Anti-Slavery Society, composed of men not holding a single slave, undertaking to coax and reason five millions of their fellow-citizens into the voluntary surrender of twelve hundred millions of their property, and commencing their discourse to the heart by proclaiming every holder of a man in bondage a man-stealer, doomed by the Mosaic law to be stoned to death, is also, to the eye of a rational observer, a very curious show" (*Lib.* 10 : 56).

[2] Whittier, *Atlantic Monthly*, Feb., 1874, p. 171. It had just before been read by Dr. Cox, who had meanwhile engrossed the Declaration (Second Decade Proceedings, pp. 9, 10). The original document is now in the possession of the New York Historical Society.

CHAP. XII. 1833. solemn pledges of the concluding paragraphs. After a season of silence, David Thurston, of Maine, rose as his name was called by one of the secretaries, and affixed his name to the document. One after another passed up to the platform, signed, and retired in silence. All felt the deep responsibility of the occasion: — the shadow and forecast of a life-long struggle rested upon every countenance."

The instrument thus conceived and elaborated, and adopted as the justification of a national crusade against slavery, was couched in these terms:

Lib. 3: 198.

DECLARATION OF SENTIMENTS.

The Convention assembled in the city of Philadelphia, to organize a National Anti-Slavery Society, promptly seize the opportunity to promulgate the following Declaration of Sentiments, as cherished by them in relation to the enslavement of one-sixth portion of the American people.

More than fifty-seven years have elapsed since a band of patriots convened in this place to devise measures for the deliverance of this country from a foreign yoke. The corner-stone upon which they founded the Temple of Freedom was broadly this — "that all men are created equal; that they are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights; that among these are life, LIBERTY, and the pursuit of happiness." At the sound of their trumpet-call, three millions of people rose up as from the sleep of death, and rushed to the strife of blood; deeming it more glorious to die instantly as freemen, than desirable to live one hour as slaves. They were few in number — poor in resources; but the honest conviction that Truth, Justice, and Right were on their side, made them invincible.

We have met together for the achievement of an enterprise without which that of our fathers is incomplete; and which, for its magnitude, solemnity, and probable results upon the destiny of the world, as far transcends theirs as moral truth does physical force.

In purity of motive, in earnestness of zeal, in decision of purpose, in intrepidity of action, in steadfastness of faith, in sincerity of spirit, we would not be inferior to them.

Their principles led them to wage war against their oppressors, and to spill human blood like water, in order to be free. Ours forbid the doing of evil that good may come, and lead us to reject, and to entreat the oppressed to reject, the use of all carnal weapons for deliverance from bondage; relying solely upon those which are spiritual, and mighty through God to the pulling down of strongholds.

Their measures were physical resistance — the marshalling in arms — the hostile array — the mortal encounter. Ours shall be such only as the opposition of moral purity to moral corruption — the destruction of error by the potency of truth — the overthrow of prejudice by the power of love — and the abolition of slavery by the spirit of repentance.

Their grievances, great as they were, were trifling in comparison with the wrongs and sufferings of those for whom we plead. Our fathers were never slaves — never bought and sold like cattle — never shut out from the light of knowledge and religion — never subjected to the lash of brutal taskmasters.

But those for whose emancipation we are striving — constituting at the present time at least one-sixth part of our countrymen — are recognized by law, and treated by their fellow-beings, as marketable commodities, as goods and chattels, as brute beasts; are plundered daily of the fruits of their toil without redress; really enjoy no constitutional nor legal protection from licentious and murderous outrages upon their persons; and are ruthlessly torn asunder — the tender babe from the arms of its frantic mother — the heart-broken wife from her weeping husband — at the caprice or pleasure of irresponsible tyrants. For the crime of having a dark complexion, they suffer the pangs of hunger, the infliction of stripes, the ignominy of brutal servitude. They are kept in heathenish darkness by laws expressly enacted to make their instruction a criminal offence.

These are the prominent circumstances in the condition of more than two millions of our people, the proof of which may be found in thousands of indisputable facts and in the laws of the slaveholding States.

Hence we maintain — that, in view of the civil and religious privileges of this nation, the guilt of its oppression is unequalled by any other on the face of the earth; and, therefore, that it is bound to repent instantly, to undo the heavy burdens, and to let the oppressed go free.

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We further maintain — that no man has a right to enslave or imbrute his brother — to hold or acknowledge him, for one moment, as a piece of merchandise — to keep back his hire by fraud — or to brutalize his mind, by denying him the means of intellectual, social and moral improvement.

The right to enjoy liberty is inalienable. To invade it is to usurp the prerogative of Jehovah. Every man has a right to his own body — to the products of his own labor — to the protection of law — and to the common advantages of society. It is piracy to buy or steal a native African, and subject him to servitude. Surely, the sin is as great to enslave an American as an African.

Therefore we believe and affirm — that there is no difference, in principle, between the African slave trade and American slavery:

That every American citizen who retains a human being in involuntary bondage as his property, is, according to Scripture (Ex. xxi. 16), a man-stealer:

That the slaves ought instantly to be set free, and brought under the protection of law:

That if they had lived from the time of Pharaoh down to the present period, and had been entailed through successive generations, their right to be free could never have been alienated, but their claims would have constantly risen in solemnity:

That all those laws which are now in force, admitting the right of slavery, are therefore, before God, utterly null and void; being an audacious usurpation of the Divine prerogative, a daring infringement on the law of nature, a base overthrow of the very foundations of the social compact, a complete extinction of all the relations, endearments and obligations of mankind, and a presumptuous transgression of all the holy commandments; and that therefore they ought instantly to be abrogated.

We further believe and affirm — that all persons of color who possess the qualifications which are demanded of others, ought to be admitted forthwith to the enjoyment of the same privileges, and the exercise of the same prerogatives, as others; and that the paths of preferment, of wealth, and of intelligence, should be opened as widely to them as to persons of a white complexion.

We maintain that no compensation should be given to the planters emancipating their slaves:

Because it would be a surrender of the great fundamental principle, that man cannot hold property in man;

Because slavery is a crime, and therefore is not an article to be sold;

Because the holders of slaves are not the just proprietors of what they claim; freeing the slave is not depriving them of property, but restoring it to its rightful owner; it is not wronging the master, but righting the slave — restoring him to himself;

Because immediate and general emancipation would only destroy nominal, not real, property; it would not amputate a limb or break a bone of the slaves, but, by infusing motives into their breasts, would make them doubly valuable to the masters as free laborers; and

Because, if compensation is to be given at all, it should be given to the outraged and guiltless slaves, and not to those who have plundered and abused them.

We regard as delusive, cruel and dangerous any scheme of expatriation which pretends to aid, either directly or indirectly, in the emancipation of the slaves, or to be a substitute for the immediate and total abolition of slavery.

We fully and unanimously recognize the sovereignty of each State, to legislate exclusively on the subject of the slavery which is tolerated within its limits; we concede that Congress, under the present national compact, has no right to interfere with any of the slave States in relation to this momentous subject:

But we maintain that Congress has a right, and is solemnly bound, to suppress the domestic slave trade between the several States, and to abolish slavery in those portions of our territory which the Constitution has placed under its exclusive jurisdiction.

We also maintain that there are, at the present time, the highest obligations resting upon the people of the free States to remove slavery by moral and political action, as prescribed in the Constitution of the United States. They are now living under a pledge of their tremendous physical force, to fasten the galling fetters of tyranny upon the limbs of millions in the Southern States; they are liable to be called at any moment to suppress a general insurrection of the slaves; they authorize the slaveowner to vote for three-fifths of his slaves as property, and thus enable him to perpetuate his oppression; they support a standing army at the South for its protection; and they seize the slave who has escaped into their territories, and send him back to be tortured by an enraged master or a brutal driver.

CHAP. XII. 1833. This relation to slavery is criminal, and full of danger: IT MUST BE BROKEN UP.

These are our views and principles — these our designs and measures. With entire confidence in the overruling justice of God, we plant ourselves upon the Declaration of our Independence and the truths of Divine Revelation, as upon the Everlasting Rock.

We shall organize Anti-Slavery Societies, if possible, in every city, town and village in our land.

We shall send forth agents to lift up the voice of remonstrance, of warning, of entreaty, and of rebuke.

We shall circulate, unsparingly and extensively, anti-slavery tracts and periodicals.

We shall enlist the pulpit and the press in the cause of the suffering and the dumb.

We shall aim at a purification of the churches from all participation in the guilt of slavery.

We shall encourage the labor of freemen rather than that of slaves, by giving a preference to their productions: and

We shall spare no exertions nor means to bring the whole nation to speedy repentance.

Our trust for victory is solely in God. We may be personally defeated, but our principles never! Truth, Justice, Reason, Humanity, must and will gloriously triumph. Already a host is coming up to the help of the Lord against the mighty, and the prospect before us is full of encouragement.

Submitting this Declaration to the candid examination of the people of this country, and of the friends of liberty throughout the world, we hereby affix our signatures to it; pledging ourselves that, under the guidance and by the help of Almighty God, we will do all that in us lies, consistently with this Declaration of our principles, to overthrow the most execrable system of slavery that has ever been witnessed upon earth; to deliver our land from its deadliest curse; to wipe out the foulest stain which rests upon our national escutcheon; and to secure to the colored population of the United States all the rights and privileges which belong to them as men and as Americans — come what may to our persons, our interests, or our reputations — whether we live to witness the triumph of Liberty, Justice, and Humanity, or perish untimely as martyrs in this great, benevolent and holy cause.

Done at Philadelphia, the 6th day of December, A. D. 1833.

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Of the three-score signers of the Declaration not one was a woman. Such was the custom of the times, in regard to the public relation of the sexes, that Lucretia Mott and her Quaker sisters did not ask or expect to sign; the male delegates — even the members of their own sect — did not think to invite them. It was a significant mark of liberality that they had been permitted to participate in the proceedings of the Convention on an equal footing in other respects. Moreover, on Mr. Garrison's motion, seconded by Dr. Cox, it was resolved on this third day "that the cause of Abolition eminently deserves the countenance and support of American women," after the British example. By other resolutions, "the ladies' anti-slavery societies" already in existence were hailed "as the harbinger of a brighter day," and more were called for. In still another, moved by Dr. Cox and seconded by William Goodell, the Convention presented "their thanks to their female friends for the deep interest they have manifested in the Anti-slavery cause" during the long and fatiguing sessions. And finally, Miss Crandall was assured of approval, sympathy and aid. Resolutions relating to free produce; the recreancy of a pro-slavery clergy; the guilt of withholding the Bible from slaves; colored conventions and societies for mutual improvement, and the like — concluded the business of the Convention. Beriah Green dismissed the assembly in words of thrilling solemnity, never to be forgotten by those who heard him, and ending "in a prayer to Almighty God, full of fervor and feeling, imploring his blessing and sanctification upon the Convention and its labors." So ended the successful attempt to give a national basis to the movement begun only three years before by the publication of the *Liberator*.[1]

[1] A public debate between R. S. Finley and Prof. Elizur Wright had taken place on the evenings of Dec. 5 and 6, and it was the design of the Colonizationists to follow the Convention closely with a great meeting of their own, but they broke down. "David Paul Brown, Esq., was to have made a speech, but failed them, in consequence of a letter from Purvis" (MS. Dec. 12, 1833, Dr. Cox to W. L. G.).

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The significant articles of the Constitution of the American Anti-Slavery Society, adopted at Philadelphia, read as follows:

ARTICLE II.

Pamphlet, Proceedings Nat. A. S. Convention, pp. 6, 7.

The objects of this Society are the entire abolition of slavery in the United States. While it admits that each State in which slavery exists has, by the Constitution of the United States, the exclusive right to *legislate* in regard to its abolition in said State, it shall aim to convince all our fellow-citizens, by arguments addressed to their understandings and consciences, that slaveholding is a heinous crime in the sight of God, and that the duty, safety, and best interests of all concerned require its *immediate abandonment*, without expatriation. The Society will also endeavor, in a constitutional way, to influence Congress to put an end to the domestic slave trade, and to abolish slavery in all those portions of our common country which come under its control, especially in the District of Columbia — and likewise to prevent the extension of it to any State that may be hereafter admitted to the Union.[1]

ARTICLE III.

This Society shall aim to elevate the character and condition of the people of color, by encouraging their intellectual, moral and religious improvement, and by removing public prejudice, that thus they may, according to their intellectual and moral worth, share an equality with the whites of civil and religious privileges; but this Society will never, in any way, countenance the oppressed in vindicating their rights by resorting to physical force.

ARTICLE IV.

Any person who consents to the principles of this Constitution, who contributes to the funds of this Society, and is not a slaveholder,[2] may be a member of this Society, and shall be entitled to vote at the meetings.

In choosing the officers of the new Society, Arthur Tappan was fitly made President. Though compelled to be absent from the Convention, he was not and could not

[1] The ultimate purpose of the Free Soil and Republican parties.

[2] A condition not exacted by the Colonization Society, for the best of reasons.

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be forgotten. Three secretaries were appointed, Elizur Wright, Jr., of Domestic Correspondence, Wm. Lloyd Garrison, of Foreign Correspondence, and Abraham L. Cox, Recording Secretary. William Green, Jr., was made Treasurer. Mr. Garrison did not long retain his office. The managers seem to have expected of him services in the field inconsistent with his editorial career — they even talked of merging the *Liberator* in the *Emancipator*.[1] The foreign correspondence itself may have appeared to him unduly burdensome, to say nothing of the vexatious restriction that all his letters must first be submitted to the Executive Committee. He did not covet that (or any other) office, and he seems to have owed it to the well-meant exertions of his impulsive friend R. B. Hall, who wrote to him from New Haven, under date of January 21, 1834, upon hearing of his resignation:

MS.

"I will give you succinctly the history of that office. When the committee to form a constitution at Mr. Sharpless's were about to retire, I had reason to suppose that the form of constitution which they had in their hands provided but *one* secretary to the Society. I knew, too, what was to be the management about that office — that Mr. Wright was to fill it, and thus be the mouth[piece] of all anti-slavery men in the U. S. This did not exactly suit me. I knew your claims,[2] I knew, too, that you would be placed on the Board of Managers or as a Vice-President — in other words, would be *second fiddle* — and *this* did not suit me. I laid hold on the committee, and urged and entreated them to create the office to which you were subsequently appointed. I used all the little influence which I had with them to procure the insertion in the draft of the Constitution of that office, and have reason to suppose that they were influenced by my exertions. I remember distinctly telling them, or some of them, that if there was no office for you to fill, or for which you were calculated, one *ought to be and must be made.* I regarded the office of Foreign Secretary as one of great importance to our cause."

E. Wright, Jr.

[1] A measure advocated if not instigated by the editor, C. W. Denison, who had already, in the coolest manner, proposed an amalgamation of the *Liberator* with his *World*, then published in Philadelphia (MS. Oct. 16, 1832).

[2] *Videlicet*, desert.

CHAP. XII. 1833. Looking back over the year 1832, Mr. Garrison had, in the first annual report of the New England Anti-Slavery Society, rejoiced in the progress of the cause.

P. 42. "With feeble means, the Society has produced great results. . . . It has effected the conversion of a multitude of minds to the doctrine of immediate abolition, and given a wide and salutary check to the progress of the Colonization Society. It has done more to make slavery a subject of national investigation, to excite discussion, and to maintain the freedom of speech on a hitherto prohibited theme, than all other societies now in operation. It has been eminently serviceable in encouraging the free colored population, in various places, to go forward in paths of improvement, and organize themselves into moral and benevolent associations. . . .

P. 43. "An Auxiliary Society has been formed in the Theological Seminary at Andover. A society, based upon the same principles, has also been formed in Hudson College, Ohio, under the auspices of the President and Professors; and also a kindred association in Lynn, Massachusetts. Other societies, it is expected, will be speedily organized in Portland, Providence, Bath, Hallowell, New Haven, and other places. The light which has burst forth so auspiciously in the West, is the harbinger of a mighty victory."[1]

Much greater reason had Mr. Garrison to be elated and strengthened by the extraordinary events of the year now drawing to a close. The persecution and spirited defence of Miss Crandall, in which the princely liberality of Arthur Tappan, the rare moral courage of Mr. May, and the vigorous articles of Charles C. Burleigh, editor of the extemporized *Unionist*, combined to strike the imagination and stir the moral sense of the public; the cordial and high social reception in England of the agent of the New England Anti-Slavery Society; his conspicuous success in defeating abroad the "humbug" Society which still retained at home the odor of respectability and sanctity,[2] and in bearing back the Wilberforce protest against it; his bitter truths about his sinful

[1] At this very time, according to Benton ('Thirty Years' View,' 1:341), there was "no sign of a slavery agitation"!

[2] Cresson's retreat to America began on Oct. 10, 1833 (*Lib.* 4:35).

country spoken in Exeter Hall; the abolition of slavery in the British colonies; the mobs awaiting him on his return; his prosecution for libel; finally, the formation of that National Anti-Slavery Society which he had projected from the beginning of his agitation — all these occurrences had fixed public attention on the subject of slavery in a manner never to be diverted for an instant thereafter, had still further awakened the sleeping conscience of the nation, spread the new zeal, and multiplied the advocates and agencies of immediate emancipation, and at the same time developed an active spirit of violent hostility which also would go on widening and intensifying, to cease only on the very eve of the war of emancipation. Statistical signs of the mighty progress are to be found in Mr. Sewall's list, in the second annual report of the New England Anti-Slavery Society, of upwards of forty auxiliary organizations formed in the twelvemonth in nearly every Northern State, noticeably at several collegiate institutions and among the gentler sex — the most important of the latter being the Philadelphia Female Anti-Slavery Society.[1] Take also the subscribed declaration of 124 clergymen of all denominations against colonization and in favor of immediate emancipation, obtained in 1833 to be prefixed to the forthcoming edition of the Rev. Amos A. Phelps's 'Lectures on Slavery and its Remedy.'[2] The delivery of those lectures was itself an important event, and their publication a powerful contribution to the growing body of anti-slavery literature.

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P. 11.

Lib. 4 : 15.

The Rev. J. D. Paxton's 'Letters on Slavery'; the Rev. S. J. May's letters to Andrew T. Judson — 'The Right of

[1] "There was not a woman capable of taking the chair and organizing that meeting in due order; and we had to call on James McCrummell, a colored man, to give us aid in the work. You know that at that time, and even to the present day, negroes, idiots and women were in legal documents classed together; so that we were very glad to get one of our own class [laughter] to come and aid us in forming that Society" (Speech of Lucretia Mott, Third Decade Proceedings, p. 43).

[2] Published by the New England Anti-Slavery Society, Boston, 1834. Mr. Phelps was the pastor of the Pine-Street (Trinitarian) Church in that city.

CHAP. XII. 1833. Colored People to Education Vindicated'; Prof. Elizur Wright, Jr.'s, 'Sin of Slavery and its Remedy'; Whittier's 'Justice and Expediency';[1] and, above all, Mrs. Lydia Maria Child's startling 'Appeal in favor of that class of Americans called Africans'— were the more potent of the new crop of writings betokening the vigor of Mr. Garrison's propagandism. If Whittier forfeited his political career by his adherence to "Justice," Mrs. Child sacrificed without regret in the same cause her popularity as a writer, and invited social indignities that now appear incredible.[2] To be sure, she thought it honorable to Mr. Garrison to mention that he was "the first person who dared to edit a newspaper in which slavery was spoken of as altogether wicked and inexcusable"— the first person, she explains, by way of drawing a distinction between him and Lundy, "that boldly attacked slavery as a sin, and colonization as its twin sister." To this double offence she added that of apologizing for Mr. Garrison's want of moderation, and his "tendency to use wholesale and unqualified expressions," and declaring him to be "a disinterested, intelligent, and remarkably pure-minded man."[3]

Appeal, ed. 1833. *p.* 224.

The losses of the year were personal. Greatly deplored was the untimely death of the Rev. Charles B. Storrs, President of Western Reserve College, the focus of the anti-slavery revival at the West, his last act being an attempt to sign the declaration for Phelps's 'Lectures.' Lamented,

[1] Arthur Tappan paid for an edition of 5000 copies of this convincing work ('Life,' p. 165).

[2] For example, the privileges of the Boston Athenæum library were withdrawn from her, the first use she had made of them being to take out books for the purpose of composing her 'Appeal' ('Letters of L. M. Child,' p. 195).

[3] "I remember very distinctly the first time I ever saw Garrison," wrote Mrs. Child in 1879. "I little thought then that the whole pattern of my life-web would be changed by that introduction. I was then all absorbed in poetry and painting, soaring aloft on Psyche-wings into the ethereal regions of mysticism. He got hold of the strings of my conscience and pulled me into reforms. It is of no use to imagine what might have been if I had never met him. Old dreams vanished, old associates departed, and all things became new" ('Letters of L. M. Child,' p. 255).

also, was the venerable John Kenrick, of Newton, Mass., the newly elected president of the New England Anti-Slavery Society, and one of its most liberal benefactors, as well as of the Manual Labor School. He was "a forerunner of Abolition," to quote his epitaph—an early and independent opponent of slavery; publishing in 1816 at his own expense a small volume on its horrors, and circulating it in Congress and among State Legislatures. A last word of this strong and benevolent character may fitly close the present chapter:

John Kenrick to W. L. Garrison.

NEWTON, Dec. 24, 183[2]. *MS.*

DEAR SIR: I perceive you are an agent for Mr. B. Lundy. I have supported that work from the beginning, and believe I have honestly paid up to the present time; but as he expects pay in advance, I send you $1.00 for him. Also, $2.00 for the *Liberator* for the coming year, and $1.00 for the *Abolitionist* you are about to publish. You may send me receipt.

I hope Mr. Buffum received a line I sent him soon after your address at Watertown. *Arnold Buffum.*

That the Lord may bless, sanctify, and guide you into all truth, and give you an extra share of fortitude in answering gainsayers, is the desire of, dear Sir, your old worn-out friend,

J. KENRICK.

CHAPTER XIII.

MARRIAGE. — "SHALL THE LIBERATOR DIE?" — GEORGE THOMPSON. — 1834.

CHAP. XIII. 1834.

"FREEDOM'S COTTAGE, Roxbury," is the superscription of a letter addressed on September 12, 1834, by Mr. Garrison to George W. Benson, of Providence, and which began as follows:

MS.

"A year ago, I was just about half-way across the Atlantic, between England and the United States, as little dreaming that I should be a married man within twelve months as that I should occupy the chair of his holiness the Pope. At that time I knew nothing of Freedom's Cottage, and my acquaintance with Helen was too slight to authorize me to hope that a union for life might take place between us.

"It has been the most eventful year in my history. I have been the occasion of many uproars, and a continual disturber of the public peace. As soon as I landed, I turned the city of New York upside down. Five thousand people turned out to see me tarred and feathered, but were disappointed. There was also a small hubbub in Boston on my arrival. The excitement passed away, but invective and calumny still followed me. By dint of some industry and much persuasion, I succeeded in inducing the abolitionists in New York to join our little band in Boston, in calling a National Convention at Philadelphia. We met — and such a body of men, for zeal, firmness, integrity, benevolence and moral greatness, the world has rarely seen in a single assembly. Inscribed upon a Declaration which it was my exalted privilege to write, their names can perish only with the knowledge of the history of our times. A National Anti-Slavery Society was formed, which astonished the country by its novelty, and awed it by its boldness. In five months its

May, 1834.

first annual meeting was held in the identical city in which,

only seven antecedent months, abolitionists were in peril of their lives! — In ability, interest, and solemnity it took precedence of all the great religious celebrations which took place at the same time. During the same month, a New England Anti-Slavery Convention was held in Boston, and so judicious were its measures, so eloquent its appeals, so unequivocal its resolutions, that it at once gave shape and character to the anti-slavery cause in this section of the Union. In the midst of all these mighty movements, I have wooed 'a fair ladye,' and won her — have thrown aside celibacy, and jumped, body and soul, into matrimony — have sunk the character of bachelor in that of husband — have settled down into domestic quietude, and repudiated all my roving desires — and have found that which I have long been yearning to find, a home, a wife, and a beautiful retreat from a turbulent city.

"Here, then, conveniently remote and protectingly obscure from the great capital of our State, I am located in a cottage which I have long since ventured to designate by Freedom's appellation; for within its walls I have written much in defence of human liberty, and hope to write more. If my health should be mercifully preserved, and no unforeseen obstacles prevent, I hope to make the ensuing winter memorable for the aid I shall give to the anti-slavery cause; so that it shall be seen that matrimony, instead of hindering, rather advances my labors."

What, indeed, strikes the reader of the fourth volume of the *Liberator*, from the very beginning, is the frequency, fulness and animation of the editorial articles. It is not merely the Colonization Society's deficit of $46,000, nor the ardor of renewed conflict with the old "humbug"; nor the abortive movements looking towards gradual emancipation in Tennessee, Kentucky, and Maryland; nor the equally abortive attempt of the last-named State to effect forcible colonization, which led to an exposure from Mr. Garrison's pen[1] scarcely less elaborate than the 'Thoughts'; nor the suppression of free debate in Lane Theological Seminary and the withdrawal of the students; nor the accession of James Gillespie Birney to the anti-

Lib. 4: 19, 22, 27, 106.

Lib. 4: 5, 14, 178, 23.

Lib. 4: 125, 133, 137.

Lib. 4: 50, 53, 57, 158, 170, 174, 178; 5: 10.

Lib. 4: 129, 131, 157, 158.

[1] Afterwards published by Garrison & Knapp in pamphlet form: 'The Maryland Scheme of Expatriation Examined.' Boston, 1834.

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colonization ranks;[1] nor the several anniversaries above referred to, and the attendant and subsequent mobs; nor the daily multiplication of anti-slavery societies; nor Judson's retributive defeat as candidate for the Connecticut Legislature; nor Charles Stuart's arrival in America; nor Gerrit Smith's founding a manual-labor school at Peterboro', for colored males. All these cheering signs of the times, following close upon the organization of the American Anti-Slavery Society, were well calculated to elate the editor of the *Liberator*. But one is made aware of a special exaltation seeking a vent in verse — mainly in sonnets — of which the last two, "Helen, if thus we tenderly deplore," and "Thou mistress of my heart! my chosen one!" reveal the cause.

Lib. 4:63.

Lib. 4:59, 79.

Lib. 4:27, 38.

Lib. 4:59, 63, *Garrison's Poems*, *pp.* 42, 43.

Ante, *p.* 338.

Of that touching farewell scene at the African Church in Providence in April, 1833, Miss Helen Benson was a witness, and for the first time looked on the speaker whose name was household in her father's family. They met again the next day at her brother's store — Mr. Garrison deeply impressed by her "sweet countenance and pleasant conversation"; she, who had found him to surpass even her imagination of him, "riveted to the spot," lingering long to hear him converse, and bidding him farewell, perhaps forever, with a dull weight upon her mind. In his fancy she accompanied him on his outward voyage and during his sojourn in England, and lightened the tedium of his return. On his subsequent journeys to and from Boston he never omitted an opportunity to visit the Bensons at Brooklyn, and every interview confirmed him in his admiration of her. She was a plump and rosy creature, with blue eyes and fair brown hair, just entering, when first seen by him, her twenty-third year.[2]

[1] First signified by a letter to the corresponding secretary of the Kentucky Colonization Society, dated July 15, 1834. Printed in pamphlet form by Garrison & Knapp in the same year. See, for Birney's general account of his change of mind, p. 76 of the 2d Annual Report of the American A. S. Society, 1835.

[2] Helen Eliza Benson was born in Providence, R. I., February 23, 1811. The family removed to Brooklyn, Conn., in 1824.

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"Peace and Plenty," they sometimes called her, not more in allusion to her uniformly placid disposition than to her easily aroused and irrepressible mirthfulness. By nature abstemious in her living, "a famous patron of cold water," simple in her tastes, and modest in her attire, "so generous and disinterested, so susceptible and obliging, so kind and attentive," the youngest daughter was a universal favorite.

Rev. Samuel May, p. 17, Memorial to Helen Eliza Garrison.

"She was the picture of health, and the sound mind and sound body were evidently united in her. The natural result of good spirits followed, and these were invariably present. But they were not the mere result of good health. Courtesy, thoughtfulness for others, gentle manners and kindly words were the rule of the household, and they found a ready disciple and their best soil in her, and united to form even at that early period a very attractive character. To a certain degree self-distrustful and sensitive, she would yet join as readily and easily in the mirth of her companions, when herself the subject of it, as any of them. She evidently knew the value of self-control; and if ever the hasty word or sharp reflection rose to her lips, it was repressed, and with evident good-will. In a quite long and intimate association with that circle of friends, old and young joining easily, I never saw in her an exception to this gentle spirit, this sweet and kindly disposition. It made sunshine whenever she came among us, and, with the accompaniment of a voice in unison with her temperament, never failed to insure her a joyful welcome."[1]

Helen Benson had, withal, both a thoughtful and a deeply religious mind, which had been early brought

[1] On the first anniversary of his marriage Mr. Garrison thus wrote of his wife to her brother George: "I did not marry her expecting that she would assume a prominent station in the anti-slavery cause, but for domestic quietude and happiness. So completely absorbed am I in that cause, that it was undoubtedly wise in me to select as a partner one who, while her benevolent feelings were in unison with mine, was less immediately and entirely connected with it. I knew she was naturally diffident, and distrustful of her own ability to do all that her heart might prompt. She is one of those who prefer to toil unseen — to give by stealth — and to sacrifice in seclusion. By her unwearied attentions to my wants, her sympathetic regards, her perfect equanimity of mind, and her sweet and endearing manners, she is no trifling support to abolitionism, inasmuch as she lightens my labors, and enables me to find exquisite delight in the family circle, as an offset to public adversity."

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under the happy influence of Samuel J. May, her neighbor, pastor, and warmest of warm friends. Although she frequently visited her brothers and married sister in Providence, she preferred the quiet and repose of the country as more favorable to serious reflection.

MS. May 15, 1881.

"Your grandfather's family," writes Mrs. Philleo of the Bensons, "was an honor to humanity, and your dear mother was their darling." Brooklyn was then the shire town of Windham County, and there were held the several trials which arose out of the persecution of Miss Crandall In a letter to his future father-in-law, Mr. Garrison wrote, May 31, 1834:

MS.

"Never shall I forget the emotions which arose in my bosom, on bidding you farewell at the close of my visit in March last. Your house was then thronged with colored pupils from Miss Crandall's school, who were summoned as witnesses at Mr. Olney's[1] trial, and who had no other place in Brooklyn 'where to lay their heads' than your hospitable dwelling. They were kindly received by you all; and although in number sufficient to overwhelm a quiet family like yours, yet your dear wife and daughters were as composed as if not one of them had been present. Some families, under such circumstances, would have been thrown into utter confusion — and bustle, bustle, nothing but bustle, and running to and fro, would have been the consequence. I was forcibly struck by the quietude of spirit manifested by you all, and by that domestic order which reigned paramount; but more especially by that benevolent condescension which is as rare as it is godlike, and that disinterested philanthropy which led you cheerfully to entertain and accommodate so many of those who are generally treated in society as the offscouring of the earth. In riding to Providence, my thoughts constantly reverted back to the scene which I had just left, and my heart grew liquid as water. 'Heavenly Father,' I inwardly ejaculated, 'let thy choicest blessings fall upon the head of that very dear and venerable philanthropist, and upon his dear wife, and all their children, for thus compassionating the condition of an injured and helpless race.'"

[1] A colored man, falsely accused of setting Miss Crandall's school on fire, and acquitted on trial.

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In truth, if any seal was needed on the match between Miss Benson and Mr. Garrison, it was to be found in the character and history of her father.[1] A retired merchant, whose moderate fortune had been earned in Providence, George Benson could look back on more than half a century of personal and associated opposition to slavery. He had a hand in founding and incorporating (1790) the third of those interesting abolition societies of the first years of the Republic, of which the Pennsylvania Society, with Franklin at its head, was the earliest and the longest-lived.[2] Of the Providence Society he was latterly made the Secretary; of the Pennsylvania Society promptly an honorary member (October, 1792). The fugitive slave had in him a friend at all hazards; and "it deserves to be recorded that while so many worthy persons were beguiled by the cunningly devised scheme of the American Colonization Society, Mr. Benson clearly comprehended its spirit and tendency, and wrote a long and an elaborate document in opposition to it even before the *Liberator* made its appearance." Lundy had been his guest on his lecturing tour in New England in 1828.[3] In May, 1833, against his gentle protest, Mr. Benson was chosen President of the New England Anti-Slavery Society, to fill the vacancy caused by the death of John Kenrick, and in February, 1834, was unanimously reëlected to the same office. His health was now very feeble, but his sympathy with the cause was undiminished, as with that other cause of which Abolition was but a part — the cause of Peace. He was one

Ante, p. 89. *Constitution of a Society for Abolishing the Slave Trade (Providence,* 1789).

[1] See, for details, the 'Benson Family of Newport, R. I.,' pp. 31–47; 'Memoir of S. J. May,' pp. 113-115, and his 'Brief Account of his Ministry,' p. 47; 'Helen Eliza Garrison: In Memoriam,' pp. 7–15; Larned's 'History of Windham County,' 2:473, 475, 484.

[2] According to a letter dated April 10, 1835, from Thomas Fowell Buxton to Prof. Elizur Wright, the former had then in his possession "the original document by which your first anti-slavery society was formed, and signed by Benjamin Franklin" (*Lib.* 5:87).

[3] "June 9th. Had a large meeting at Brooklyn, Ct., where I tarried at the house of George Benson, a zealous friend of Emancipation as well as of the Peace Society" ('Life of B. Lundy,' p. 26).

Larned's Windham County, 2:475. of the first vice-presidents of the Windham County Peace Society established in 1826 through the efforts of S. J. May, and died its president; and was likewise an

Ibid., 2:484. officer of the Windham County Temperance Society, at its organization in 1829. Reared in the Baptist faith, his views had gravitated towards those of the Society of Friends, to whose principles respecting war, slavery, and oaths he became a convert.[1] He "cherished their spirit, dressed very much in their style, and generally [while in Providence] attended their religious meetings." Two of his daughters became Friends "through convincement."

Religion, philanthropy and hospitality moulded the family life at "Friendship's Valley," as Prudence Crandall had gratefully denominated the Benson place, which lay on both sides of the Norwich and Worcester road, in an intervale at the foot of the long hill separating Brooklyn from Pomfret. Nowhere could Mr. Garrison have found an atmosphere more congenial to his moral sense, or more inimical to the solitary and unsettled life he had

Ante, *p.* 390. hitherto led. Almost in the ride to Canterbury he had offered himself to Miss Helen, his companion, but lacked the courage. In January, 1834, he began a correspondence which speedily culminated in a proposal of marriage on his part, and in a joyful yet self-distrustful acceptance on hers. In April, on his way to Philadelphia, he visited her for the first time as an acknowledged suitor, and, to his great satisfaction, was received by her in her

MS. April 24, 1834. customary simplicity of dress. "Truly," he writes, "not one young lady out of ten thousand, in a first interview with her lover, but would have endeavored falsely to

[1] This was rather a case of reversion than of conversion, for the affinity between the early Friends and the Baptists was very strong (see Tallack's 'George Fox, the Friends, and the Early Baptists'). One of Mr. Benson's ancestors, on the maternal side, was that Rev. Obadiah Holmes who was publicly whipt in Boston, in 1651, for holding service at the bedside of an invalid brother Baptist, and whose account of his behavior under this persecution (in Clarke's 'Ill Newes from New England') shows how little he differed in spirit and in manner from the equally outraged Quakers.

heighten her charms and allure by outward attractions."[1] Deep and genuine affection, modesty and self-respect determined her behavior on this and on every other occasion. The short hours spent together in rambles up the romantic Gray Mare hill which overhangs the little valley, or in the privacy of evening, or in the common intercourse of the amiable household, confirmed them in the wisdom and sacredness of their new relation. Other interviews, on Mr. Garrison's return to Boston (in May) and again in July, pleasantly interrupted and stimulated their ardent correspondence. CHAP. XIII. 1834.

At last the wedding was fixed for Thursday, September 4, when the ceremony was feelingly performed by Mr. May. All the appointments were plain and unostentatious. Wine of course was absent from the feast, and even cake was not provided, both bride and groom feeling the importance of their example to the colored population, whose interest in the event would naturally be keen.[2] As for the enemies of that race, accustomed to denounce Mr. Garrison as an amalgamationist, they were playfully informed in advance that they would soon "be enabled to decide whether the editor of the *Liberator* is to espouse a white or a black woman." *Lib.* 4: 131.

On the nuptial day, the journey for Boston was begun in carriages by way of Worcester, the couple being accompanied by Mr. Garrison's aunt Newell, his mother's youngest sister, the only one of his relatives present at the wedding. On the 5th, housekeeping began in "Freedom's Cottage," on Bower St., near Walnut St., Roxbury, in which Mr. Garrison had boarded during the first part

[1] "Premièrement ta parure, car tu n'en avais point, et tu sais bien que jamais tu n'es si dangereuse" (Rousseau, 'Nouvelle Héloïse').

[2] Speaking generally, Helen Benson wrote on May 22, 1834: "I am aware of the responsibility that will devolve upon me, and how much my example will be copied among that class you have so long labored to elevate and enlighten. I have been considering how much the colored people think of dress, and how much of their profits are expended for useless ornaments that foolishly tend to make a show and parade. As much stress will of course be laid on Garrison's *wife* by that class, it behooves me to be very circumspect in all things, when called upon to fill so important a station."

CHAP. XIII. 1834. of his courtship, and which he had now been enabled to secure for the honeymoon. The situation was of great seclusion, embracing a grove, and of great natural beauty; distant a little more than three miles from the heart of Boston, and a good half mile from the nearest omnibus.[1] Here for seven months the young wife and her husband rejoiced in their new existence, with Isaac Knapp as a pleasant and helpful inmate,— contributing generously to the common expenses,— the occasional companionship of his excellent sister Abigail from Newburyport, and visits of friends and relatives from Brooklyn and Providence—in short, with "open house," the beginning of a life-long hospitality. As the welcome ran out to the Mays:

MS. "If they are Grahamites, we have a fine spring of water in our cellar, and plenty of Graham flour upstairs. If they have an affection for coffee or tea, we have both. If they love retirement, we are in the midst of it. If they have an eye for natural scenery, we will show them as pretty a prospect as one could desire to see. Do they wish to be contiguous to the city, yet not implicated in its follies and fashions? Then they will assuredly come to Freedom's Cottage."

And yet, with all his imputed rashness, had the editor of the *Liberator* ever done a rasher thing than to get married and go to housekeeping? Hardly had he returned home from the Philadelphia Convention in *Lib.* 3:206. December, 1833, before he set off again for the same city, to represent the precarious condition of his paper. The first number of the new volume, meantime, showed a fresh enlargement, in the teeth of a distinct announce- *Lib* 4:2. ment in the same issue that "more patronage must be given to the *Liberator*, or it cannot long survive," especially with the increased expenses consequent upon enlargement. Both in Philadelphia and in New York the

[1] The midnight walk home from his office in Boston after the last "hourly" had left, exposed Mr. Garrison to the risk of being waylaid by murderous enemies. On these occasions his solicitous colored friends sometimes followed him, keeping him in sight, often without his knowledge.

colored people responded with gifts of money, and with promises of more extensive subscriptions to the paper, which in the former city were vigorously followed up by Arnold Buffum, with Joshua Coffin as an active canvasser. For a time things went swimmingly. Buffum found that the fraudulent non-delivery of the former carriers had disgusted the local subscribers, but upon his assurance that this should not happen again they gave in their renewals in large numbers. His dependence on Coffin, however, was fatal. That voluble and "huge personification of good humor" was the last person to import business strictness into any enterprise, and especially into one so loosely conducted at headquarters.[1] He lacked neither industry nor devotion, but the more subscribers he obtained in his fashion, the worse the confusion grew, and the louder the complaints directed against his host and backer, Arnold Buffum. Mr. Garrison's anxiety deepened as his suit prospered with Miss Benson. On April 12, he wrote her as follows:

MS. Jan. 5, 1834, to G. W. Benson.

MS. Jan. 29, 1834, to W. L. G.

MS. Feb. 4, 1834, A. Buffum to W. L. G.

"Hitherto, having had none to care or provide for but myself, I have felt contented in getting merely my daily bread. But duty to myself and to you requires that I should make such arrangements with the *Liberator* as shall afford me, if a moderate, at least a sure income. I am therefore resolved no longer to be shackled by the pecuniary responsibilities of the paper, but to have *a stipulated salary for my services.* This salary ought to be not less than one thousand dollars a year, for my editorial abilities will readily command more than that sum, if devoted to politics or literature: still, I shall be satisfied with $800 for the present. In order to make this new arrangement, I shall be induced to visit New York and Philadelphia in the course of a fortnight. . . . I shall endeavor to have my income fixed at $1000. Indeed, I can now get that sum by abandoning the *Liberator*, and acting as a general agent for the National Society; but how can I give up my paper?"

MS.

[1] Neither of the partners had any aptitude for bookkeeping. "Brother Knapp, you know," writes Mr. Garrison to G. W. Benson, Nov. 30, 1835, "resembles me very closely in his habits of procrastination. Indeed, I think he is rather worse than I am in this respect."

MS. April 12, 1834, to W. L. G.

At the same date Arnold Buffum wrote, kindly inviting him to make his house his home during the proposed visit to Philadelphia, sympathizing with him for being cramped for money, and relating his endeavors to push collections; but admitting that "this is indeed a dull place for abolition principles," and that he could not see that any (male) anti-slavery society would be started there.[1] Three days later a private circular appeal was put forth by Garrison & Knapp, addressed to the friends of the *Liberator*, and beginning with the startling enquiry, "SHALL THE LIBERATOR DIE?" Its pecuniary embarrassments had reached a crisis which must speedily determine its fate. "Unless they be met and obviated promptly by the combined efforts of its friends, the paper must cease on the first of July." Shall the editor "be compelled, by imperious necessity, to forsake the cause which is so near to his heart, and turn his attention to other pursuits in order to get his daily bread? Shall he be forced to occupy a station in which he can give instead of a constant and vigorous coöperation, but an incidental and trifling support to a cause which needs a vast accession of strength to secure its final triumph? In one sentence—SHALL THE LIBERATOR DIE?—not so much in consequence of the opposition of its enemies, as the indifference of its friends?"

"Permit us briefly to trace our career. We commenced the *Liberator* without having obtained previously a single subscriber. In the course of the first volume, about 500 subscribers were added to our list: of course, this number was inadequate to our support. It slowly increased, however, during the second and

[1] May 8, 1834, Lucretia Mott writes to J. M. McKim: "Last week we had the renewed pleasure of a visit from Wm. L. Garrison. He passed several days in the city, addressed the colored people at the Wesleyan and Bethel churches, and would have delivered a public address had he met with more encouragement from our timid Philadelphia friends. He was even discouraged in the desire he felt to say a few words to our young men on the evening of their founding themselves into a society. He was present, but, at the request of one or two, took no part, they thinking the feeling here of opposition to his zeal and ardent measures in the cause was such that it would be rather a disadvantage."

Arnold Buffum

third volumes, up to 1000, and then to about 1400; and so did its expenses increase, owing to its enlargement without enhancing the terms of subscription. All this time, we lived in the most frugal and humble manner, in order by the utmost self-denial to sustain the paper, and disappoint the hopes and predictions of its enemies. Still we struggled under many embarrassments, and were in bondage to penury. We gratefully acknowledge that several generous donations were made to us for the support of the paper, from various persons and societies; and had it not been for these, it would have long since ceased to exist. These were not sufficient to remove the burden, although they alleviated its pressure.

"In commencing our present volume (the fourth) we again enlarged the *Liberator*, still affording it at its original price. At first, the prospect looked very encouraging. In less than three months, six hundred new subscribers were added to our subscription list — principally obtained in the cities of New York and Philadelphia, but under such circumstances as to afford us no substantial aid: in fact, so remiss have they been up to this hour, in complying with the terms of the paper, that they have only increased our difficulties.

"We have been continually harassed and fettered in our pecuniary resources, then — 1st. Because at no one time since its commencement, anterior to the present volume, have there been subscribers enough to defray its expenses. 2d. Because there are over $2000 due us for the three volumes, a very large proportion of which sum we never expect to realize. 3d. Because the expense of postage, the discount on foreign bills, the payment for the transportation of bundles and distribution of papers by carriers, the allowance to agents, &c., &c., have reduced the sum of $2.00 on each subscriber who has punctually paid, to less than $1.50. 4th. Because, in our anxiety to advance the sacred cause of freedom, we have liberally distributed copies of the paper where we deemed they were specially needed, and also gratuitously printed and circulated addresses, tracts, pamphlets, &c., on the subject of slavery and colonization, to a large amount.[1]

[1] Thus, in a subsequent letter to S. J. May, July 28, 1834, Mr. Garrison says (MS.): "In reply to your favor of the 24th, my partner joins with me in consenting to print an edition of Miss Crandall's [defense], as large as the one proposed by you, at our own risk. As to the profits that may arise from the sale of the pamphlet, we do not expect to make any: on the contrary, we shall probably suffer some loss, in consequence of the difficulty

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"Besides all this, the editor has been put to great expense in travelling unremunerated from place to place, delivering addresses, attending public meetings, conventions, &c., &c. Moreover, the low price at which the paper is afforded to subscribers allows scarcely any profit, even when they are punctual in their payments.

"It is a remarkable fact, that, of the whole number of subscribers to the *Liberator*, only about one-fourth are white. The paper, then, belongs emphatically to the people of color — it is their organ — and to them its appeals will come with peculiar force. Let them remember that so strong are the prejudices of the whites against it, we cannot at present expect much support from them. And surely, by a very trifling combination of effort and means, the colored population might easily give vigor and stability to the paper. In Philadelphia, they number 25,000; in New York, 20,000; in Baltimore, 10,000; and they are numerous in other places. True, they are poor and trodden down; but how can they arise without having a press to lift up its voice in their behalf? They are poor — but taking the paper will not make them any poorer — it will add to their respectability, their intelligence, and their means. It is for them, therefore, to decide this question —

"SHALL THE LIBERATOR DIE?

"We now print and circulate 2300 copies of the *Liberator*, weekly. Of this number, 400 are taken in Philadelphia; 300 in New York; 200 in Boston; and the rest are scattered through the free States; making a total of about 2000 actual subscribers. Of the remaining 300 we send 40 to Hayti, and the same number to England. Our exchange with other papers has been about 150 — other copies are distributed gratuitously."

The partners next make an estimate of the cost of printing the *Liberator*, and, allowing $700 for the editor's support, show an annual deficit of $1700. They propose the raising of a fund of one thousand dollars, in shares of ten dollars each, to be paid over to the Treasurer of the New England Anti-Slavery Society on or before the

of disposing of any publication, however interesting or valuable in itself. But a trial so important as Miss C.'s — involving such momentous consequences to a large portion of our countrymen — implicating so deeply the character of this great nation — ought not to go unpublished, and *shall* not while we have the necessary materials for printing it." See, in fact, the pamphlet 'Report of the Arguments of Counsel,' etc., published by Garrison & Knapp, 1834.

middle of June, subject to the order of Garrison & Knapp; and a periodic examination of their accounts by the Managers of the Society, with an annual report from them to the several contributors. This rather vague scheme, coupled with anticipated voluntary efforts to extend the circulation of the paper, and a threatened rigid enforcement of the rule exacting payment in advance, apparently failed of approval, for on June 6 Mr. Garrison wrote to Miss Benson (who had promptly met the situation with "Bread-and-water agrees with me perfectly"): "I am happy to say that it is probable the Managers of the New England Anti-Slavery Society will determine, to-morrow afternoon, to take all the pecuniary liabilities of the *Liberator* hereafter, and give me a regular salary for editing it, and friend Knapp a fair price for printing it. My salary will not be less than $800 per annum, and perhaps it will be fixed at $1000. . . . The new arrangement will go into effect on the 1st of July."

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MS. April 14, 1834.

In November, however,[1] the continuance of the *Liberator* was still a question. It was the same old story — the paper could not pay its expenses; the arrears were excessive. The editor was again seriously contemplating giving it up, and again negotiating with the New England Anti-Slavery Society "to get rid of the bookkeeping, money-getting part of the business." He also approached the American Anti-Slavery Society, with the result of an offer on its part to purchase a certain number of the anti-slavery publications undertaken by Garrison & Knapp, if sufficient means were furnished them from other sources to relieve them from their present embarrassment.[2] Arnold Buffum had his plan of making Mr. Garrison the corresponding secretary of the New England Anti-Slavery Society, and the salaried editor of the *Liberator*, adopted as its organ. Elizur

MS. Nov. 10, 1834. Geo. Thompson to R. Purvis.

MS. Dec. 20, 1834, from A. L. Cox.

MS. Nov. 18, Dec. 13, 1834.

[1] Between the issues of the 4th and 11th of October the *Liberator* office was removed from Merchants' Hall to 31 Cornhill.

[2] Apparently a significant part of the indebtedness was carried by James Forten.

MS. Nov. 12, 1834, to W. L. G.

Wright, Jr., with much warm-heartedness and practical sympathy, urged Mr. Garrison to put delicacy aside, and quit his post for a few months and make a lecturing tour for the avowed purpose of gaining support for his *Liberator*. Finally, George Thompson, now Mr. Garrison's neighbor in Roxbury, and the confidant of his despair concerning his pecuniary prospects, exerted all his eloquence to arouse the abolitionists to a sense of their duty to the *Liberator* — a sense which had been weakened by the very success of the paper in multiplying anti-slavery societies and periodicals, as well as by the general financial distress of the country in the months following President Jackson's interference with the deposits in the United States Bank.

MS. Nov. 10, 1834, to R. Purvis.

Thompson had indeed arrived on these shores, having embarked with his family on the ship *Champlain*, and, after a five weeks' voyage, landed in New York, September 20, 1834. He had been preceded in April by Charles Stuart, who brought with him a thousand dollars which had been collected for the colored Manual Labor School, while to Mr. Thompson had been entrusted a splendid silver salver, "elegant books," and other gifts for Miss Crandall from the ladies of Glasgow and Edinburgh, by whom chiefly his own expenses were borne. Mr. Garrison had procured for both Englishmen the official invitation of the New England and American Anti-Slavery Societies, and had in the opening number of the fourth volume of the *Liberator* already heralded their approach. He paved the way for them by printing their private letters to himself, together with Stuart's circular appeal to his countrymen on behalf of the School, and his review of the Colonization Society; and reports of various meetings in Scotland complimentary to Mr. Thompson, and pledging him support while absent on his anti-slavery mission to America. "The name of George Thompson," said the editor, "is as sweet as the tones of a flute to my ears. . . . He is coming among us as an angel of mercy. . . . The spectacle of the

Lib. 4:155.

Lib. 4:59, 63.

Lib. 4:51, 59, 61.

Lib. 4:47

chivalrous Lafayette's embarkation for this country, to assist in redeeming it from a foreign yoke, has far less of sublimity in it than the high moral heroism and noble benevolence" of George Thompson. He comes, "not as a foreigner, but as 'a man and a brother,' feeling for those in bonds as bound with them." A young man of thirty years,[1] "his person is tall, graceful, and agile, his countenance fine and attractive, his voice mellifluent, and his action all that Demosthenes could desire. As an orator, he surpasses every speaker that I have ever heard," O'Connell not excepted. "His appeals are absolutely electrifying."

Cf. Lib. 5:139, 195.

Cf. Lib. 6:75.

The similarity in age between Mr. Garrison and the English orator favored a friendly attachment, but there were other circumstances — such as their having sprung from the middle class and been denied the higher education; above all, however, their deeply religious training and temperament — which drew them irresistibly together. Mr. Thompson's connection, too, with the anti-slavery cause began in the very year in which the *Liberator* was founded, and as agent of the London Anti-Slavery Society he preached the doctrine of immediate and unconditional emancipation throughout the kingdom, with an effectiveness which, in the judgment of such men as Brougham and John Bright, determined the success of the agitation two years afterwards, and entitled him to the name of "Liberator."[2] Mr. Garrison's natural prepossessions for such a character were confirmed on meeting Mr. Thompson, who on his part received him with a warmth proportioned to his changed opinion of him. The first time the English abolitionist had heard of the American, Elliott Cresson was his informant. "There is," said this unscrupulous person,

May's Recollections, p. 108, *seq.*

W. L. G. in Boston Transcript, Oct. 14, 1878.

May's Recollections, p. 113.

[1] George Thompson was born in Liverpool, June 18, 1804.

[2] "I have always considered Mr. Thompson as the real liberator of the slaves in the English colonies; for, without his commanding eloquence, made irresistible by the blessedness of his cause, I do not think all the other agencies then at work would have procured their freedom" (John Bright, London Farewell Soirée to George Thompson, 1864).

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"an incendiary paper, published in Boston by a madman who is in league with a man of the name of Walker, who has recommended the slaves to cut their masters' throats." A little later, encountering Captain Stuart, who had just returned from the United States, Thompson was presented with copies of the *Liberator* and the 'Thoughts on Colonization,' the perusal of which "more than prepared him to extend a brother's welcome to the founder and representative of the New England Anti-Slavery Society" on his reaching England in 1833. A shake of the hand by this "madman" turned the current of his life, and decided the character of his future occupations.

Lib. 3:50.

London Breakfast to W. L. G., p. 47.

The talents of George Thompson were such as would have insured him brilliant success at the bar, and he was strongly urged to enter the legal profession by such eminent members of it as Lord Brougham,[1] the Right Hon. Stephen Lushington and Mr. Serjeant Stephen, who were ready to direct his education and to guarantee the support of his family in the meantime. At this critical moment Mr. Garrison appeared upon the scene:

W. L. G. in Lectures of Geo. Thompson, p. xi.

"As the bill for the abolition of Colonial Slavery had passed both houses of Parliament, previous to my embarkation for the United States, and as the long-protracted contest in England was about drawing to a close, it occurred to me, that if I could succeed in inducing Mr. Thompson to visit America, and co-operate with the little band of abolitionists who were there struggling against wind and tide, my mission would be crowned with the highest success.

"One day as I was dining at the house of Thomas Fowell Buxton,* in London, our conversation naturally turned upon the state of the abolition question in the United States. In the

[1] Edmund Quincy writes to Mr. Garrison from Boston, Aug. 10, 1838: "I have just heard part of a letter from Charles Sumner, in which he says that he heard Lord Brougham's anti-slavery speech in the House of Lords, in which he paid the highest compliments to George Thompson, saying that he was one of the most eloquent men he had ever heard either in or out of Parliament, etc. This was suppressed, for some reason or other, in the Reports." Brougham's speech was made July 16 (*Lib.* 8·151).

"* The successor of Wilberforce in Parliament."

course of many inquiries, he kindly remarked, that, as the friends of negro emancipation in England had nearly accomplished their work in the Colonies, they would soon be enabled to give their sympathies and aid to their brethren in America, in a more direct and efficient manner than they had hitherto done; and he was sure they would readily do what they could, consistently with duty, the relations that subsisted between the two countries, &c. 'In what way, then, Mr. Garrison,' he inquired, 'can we best assist your cause?' '*By giving us George Thompson*,' I replied. 'But,' he asked, 'would there not be strong prejudices excited against him, on account of his being an Englishman? Do you think he could obtain a fair hearing before the American people? Would not the slaveholders, especially, and their violent adherents, endeavor to inflame the jealousy of the nation, and misrepresent the real object of his mission?'

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"To these questions I replied, that the coming of Mr. Thompson among us would undoubtedly stir up the bile of all those who were opposed to the abolition of slavery; that he might expect to encounter severe ridicule and bitter denunciation; that it would not be safe for him (as it was not safe for any New-Englander who was an abolitionist) to travel and lecture in the slave States; and that he would have to take his chance — probably an unequal chance — with the rest of us who were proscribed for our abhorrence of the slave system. Still, I believed he would find opportunities to speak in public, especially in New England, as often as he could desire; and I felt confident, that whenever and wherever he should succeed in making himself heard, he would disarm prejudice, extort admiration, and multiply converts to our cause; and that he would finally remove every obstacle in his path, arising from his transatlantic origin. As to his personal safety in New England, I did not think there would be any hazard. . . .

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"an incendiary paper, published in Boston by a madman who is in league with a man of the name of Walker, who has recommended the slaves to cut their masters' throats." A little later, encountering Captain Stuart, who had just returned from the United States, Thompson was presented with copies of the *Liberator* and the 'Thoughts on Colonization,' the perusal of which "more than prepared him to extend a brother's welcome to the founder and representative of the New England Anti-Slavery Society" on his reaching England in 1833. A shake of the hand by this "madman" turned the current of his life, and decided the character of his future occupations.

Lib. 3:50.

London Breakfast to W. L. G., p. 47.

The talents of George Thompson were such as would have insured him brilliant success at the bar, and he was strongly urged to enter the legal profession by such eminent members of it as Lord Brougham,[1] the Right Hon. Stephen Lushington and Mr. Serjeant Stephen, who were ready to direct his education and to guarantee the support of his family in the meantime. At this critical moment Mr. Garrison appeared upon the scene:

W. L. G. in Lectures of Geo. Thompson, p. xi.

"As the bill for the abolition of Colonial Slavery had passed both houses of Parliament, previous to my embarkation for the United States, and as the long-protracted contest in England was about drawing to a close, it occurred to me, that if I could succeed in inducing Mr. Thompson to visit America, and co-operate with the little band of abolitionists who were there struggling against wind and tide, my mission would be crowned with the highest success.

"One day as I was dining at the house of Thomas Fowell Buxton,* in London, our conversation naturally turned upon the state of the abolition question in the United States. In the

[1] Edmund Quincy writes to Mr. Garrison from Boston, Aug. 10, 1838: "I have just heard part of a letter from Charles Sumner, in which he says that he heard Lord Brougham's anti-slavery speech in the House of Lords, in which he paid the highest compliments to George Thompson, saying that he was one of the most eloquent men he had ever heard either in or out of Parliament, etc. This was suppressed, for some reason or other, in the Reports." Brougham's speech was made July 16 (*Lib.* 8·151).

"* The successor of Wilberforce in Parliament."

course of many inquiries, he kindly remarked, that, as the friends of negro emancipation in England had nearly accomplished their work in the Colonies, they would soon be enabled to give their sympathies and aid to their brethren in America, in a more direct and efficient manner than they had hitherto done; and he was sure they would readily do what they could, consistently with duty, the relations that subsisted between the two countries, &c. 'In what way, then, Mr. Garrison,' he inquired, 'can we best assist your cause?' '*By giving us George Thompson*,' I replied. 'But,' he asked, 'would there not be strong prejudices excited against him, on account of his being an Englishman? Do you think he could obtain a fair hearing before the American people? Would not the slaveholders, especially, and their violent adherents, endeavor to inflame the jealousy of the nation, and misrepresent the real object of his mission?'

"To these questions I replied, that the coming of Mr. Thompson among us would undoubtedly stir up the bile of all those who were opposed to the abolition of slavery; that he might expect to encounter severe ridicule and bitter denunciation; that it would not be safe for him (as it was not safe for any New-Englander who was an abolitionist) to travel and lecture in the slave States; and that he would have to take his chance — probably an unequal chance — with the rest of us who were proscribed for our abhorrence of the slave system. Still, I believed he would find opportunities to speak in public, especially in New England, as often as he could desire; and I felt confident, that whenever and wherever he should succeed in making himself heard, he would disarm prejudice, extort admiration, and multiply converts to our cause; and that he would finally remove every obstacle in his path, arising from his transatlantic origin. As to his personal safety in New England, I did not think there would be any hazard. . . .

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great people could or should have borne with equanimity" this practical exemplification of the "cosmopolitan vagueness and extravagance" embodied in the *Liberator* motto, "Our country is the world, our countrymen are all mankind." Further, that while it would now be foolish and unjust to throw stones at the abolitionists for seeking foreign coadjutors, "it would be at least as foolish and unjust to make it a reproach to the rest of the American people, that they felt the dragging of foreigners into the most difficult and important question of their politics to be an insult *(Schimpf)*, and that they did not regard this question simply from the point of view of human beings *(Menschen)*, or citizens of the world, but, before all, approached it as Americans."[1]

This dictum is open to the comment that the "cosmopolitan vagueness and extravagance" of the Declaration of Independence on which the abolitionists relied for their own justification, was designed to command universal assent, and has, in fact, as a seminal principle, never ceased to work changes and upheavals in foreign countries from the first French Revolution downwards. Further, that mouths which were repeating and applauding, every Fourth of July, the self-evident truth that "all men are created equal" were, morally speaking, choked against crying down a foreigner who joined them in offering homage to it.[2] It must also be clear that a people which had blessed Polish banners in Faneuil Hall had nothing to complain of in an agitation conducted by non-partisan non-resistants, and kept strictly within the

Ante, p. 250.

[1] See in *Lib.* 4:201 the Boston *Courier's* approval of the Salem *Gazette*, which called Thompson an "itinerant stirrer up of strife," and declared, "The pride of our countrymen will not long submit to *foreign* interference."

[2] "Meanwhile, every true citizen of that country must necessarily be content to have his self-government tried by the test of these principles [the truths of the Declaration], to which, by his citizenship, he has become a subscriber, . . . and he will quarrel with no results fairly brought out by such a test, whether they inspire him with shame or with complacency. In either case, he will be animated by them" (Harriet Martineau's 'Society in America,' Part 1, Politics).

Constitution in its methods and scope, even if among them there happened to be some of foreign birth. Finally, though a blind and wicked Americanism doubtless heightened the fury of the mobs to which both Stuart and Thompson were exposed, their treatment was not different in kind from that of the native abolitionists, and the want of "equanimity" was as much an evidence of "national spirit" in the case of the latter as of the former. CHAP. XIII. 1834. *Lib.* 5:205.

But let us see how a great people should have regarded the case of another foreigner, the Rev. Charles Follen, a fugitive from the tyranny of the Old World, at this time Professor of the German Language and Literature at Harvard College.[1] Dr. Follen had first openly allied himself with the abolitionists at the second annual meeting of the New England Anti-Slavery Society in March, 1834, where he made a speech in fullest sympathy with their aims, while deprecating the use of "harsh language." In May following, he participated in the important convention of delegates from all the anti-slavery organizations in New England held at Boston, being one of the committee of arrangements, and also chairman of a committee to prepare an address to the people of New England. In the latter capacity he composed a long, able and temperate document, towards the close of which occurs the oft-quoted passage: *Lib.* 4:42. *Lib.* 4:86. *Lib.* 4:141-143.

"Europe, which had rekindled the extinguished lamp of liberty at the altar of our Revolution, still nourishes the holy fire; England goes before us as a torch-bearer, leading the way to the liberation of mankind. The despotism which our forefathers could not bear in their native country is expiring, and the sword of justice, in her reformed hands, has applied its exterminating edge to slavery. Shall the United States, the free United States, which could not bear the bonds of a King, *Lib.* 4:143.

[1] It is not irrelevant to notice here that the same ship which brought over Lafayette on his last visit to this country, also bore Follen hither shortly afterwards, and that Lafayette was the first person to whom Follen wrote on his arrival, as being the only person he knew in this country ('Life of Follen,' p. 139).

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cradle the bondage which a King is abolishing? Shall a republic be less free than a monarchy? Shall we, in the vigor and buoyancy of our manhood, be less energetic in righteousness than a kingdom in its age?"

The descendants of those respectable citizens of Boston and Cambridge who afterwards persecuted Dr. Follen for sentiments like these, may be trusted not to pride themselves on the circumstance. What is more to our purpose is to ask whether those who resented his foreign intermeddling were the true Americans,[1] or were Garrison, who wrote, "We can only say that we wish we had many more such foreigners among us," and Whittier, who caught up the passage we have just cited, and poetized it in his glowing "Stanzas"? —

Lib. 4: 143.

"Our fellow-countrymen in chains!
. . . . . .
"Speak! shall their agony of prayer
Come thrilling to our hearts in vain?
To us whose fathers scorned to bear
The paltry *menace* of a chain?
. . . . . .
"What! shall we send, with lavish breath,
Our sympathies across the wave,
Where Manhood, on the field of death,
Strikes for his freedom or a grave?
Shall prayers go up, and hymns be sung
For Greece, the Moslem fetters spurning,
And millions hail with pen and tongue
Our light on all her altars burning?

"Shall Belgium feel, and gallant France,
By Vendome's pile and Schoenbrun's wall,
And Poland, gasping on her lance,
The impulse of our cheering call?
And shall the SLAVE, beneath our eye,
Clank o'er *our* fields his hateful chain?
And toss his fettered arms on high,
And groan for Freedom's gift, in vain?
. . . . . .

[1] The fact that Dr. Follen had been newly naturalized — he became a citizen in March, 1830 ('Life,' p. 267) — may even have furnished a new ground of resentment, viz., "ingratitude."

"Just God! and shall we calmly rest,
The Christian's scorn, — the heathen's mirth, —
Content to live the lingering jest
And byword of a mocking Earth?
Shall our own glorious land retain
That curse which Europe scorns to bear?
Shall our own brethren drag the chain
Which not even Russia's menials wear?"

The truth is, that had Thompson and Stuart had a pro-slavery message to deliver, their nativity would have been forgotten, or made to emphasize their support of the "peculiar institution." They would have been cheered and fêted instead of mobbed. It was the ***humani nil a me alienum***[1] which made them "foreigners," as it had already, in the eyes of slaveholders and their apologists, denationalized the abolitionists of the North. Now let each show, in a few words, his care to avoid the special opposition aroused against him, and both the American and the Christian scope of his mission. Thus Charles Stuart, in the circular appeal, already mentioned, to the English friends of humanity and religion "on behalf of the colored Manual Labor School" (London, November 1, 1833):

Ante, p. 389.

Ante, p. 434.

"The sympathy and the aid of Great Britain are not invited with even the remotest view of interfering with the political establishments of the United States; for with these we have nothing — and ought to have nothing — to do. But for the purpose of giving our cordial countenance and encouragement to all which is truly honorable amongst them — to all that confirms and purifies their power and their happiness; for the purpose of uniting in the glorious effort which the real patriots amongst themselves are making to extirpate the prejudice and the slavery which tarnish their honor and blight their prosperity."

Lib. 4:58.

[1] "He knew it might be asked, how he could presume to make foreign matters the subject of his criticism and condemnation. He would answer in the words of Terence — *Homo sum: nil humani a me alienum puto.* . . . The apostolic precept, 'Remember them that are in bonds,' was restricted in its application by no territorial limitations" (George Thompson at Edinburgh, November, 1833 (*Lib.* 4:58). See also his speech at the second annual meeting of the American Anti-Slavery Society (*Lib.* 5:82).

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And thus George Thompson, in a lecture on "Slavery in the United States" at Edinburgh (October 25, 1833):

Lib. 4:65.

"Leave it to the Government, said some, and slavery will soon be abolished. Why, in the Government, the slaveholders were omnipotent, and would not. Leave it to the other individual free States, said others. Why, they had no power. How then were they to propose to attack slavery? — what lever were they to use to overthrow it, and where would they take their stand? They should attack it with the same weapons by which the victory had been gained in this country, by the weapons of mercy, justice, truth, and love; they should overthrow it by the lever of public opinion; and they should take their stand upon the Declaration of Independence — upon the Constitution of the United States — liberty and equality, and that every man is equal in the sight of God."[1]

This purely moral agitation was, of course, calculated to work a *political* revolution in a country where the ruling power reposed on the "sum of all villanies" — a fact which made it appear to some of the English abolitionists a delicate matter to send over missionaries. "I hope our good friend Stuart," writes James Cropper to Mr. Garrison, "will be safely arrived in America before this time. I have taken no part in promoting missions to America. I did, however, contribute to the fund which is placed at Stuart's disposal. I am a little afraid of our stepping out of our proper place in paying agents to travel in the United States, but I am satisfied there is a degree of apathy from which it is needful the people in your country should by some means be aroused." To Cropper's correspondent the employment of such agents was as patriotic as his own propagandism in England. Thompson and Stuart in America were merely Exeter Hall transported and made visible — English opinion personified and brought home — a judgment and a censure no longer felt as afar off, but present and hourly delivered with burning eloquence. To invoke and enforce this censure without striving to remove the cause,

MS. May 17, 1834.

[1] This report is not *verbatim*.

would justly have exposed the abolitionists to the charge of want of patriotism. On this score Mr. Garrison's conscience was easy; witness part of his speech at the annual meeting of the New England Anti-Slavery Society in March: CHAP. XIII. 1834.

"Sir, our professions of republicanism and Christianity are lofty; but neither God nor the world will judge us by our professions, but by our practices. If the picture I have drawn be a correct one, are we not *practically* a false, hypocritical and tyrannical nation? *Lib.* 4: 42.

"I speak the truth, painful, humiliating and terrible as it is; and because I am bold and faithful to do so, am I to be branded as the calumniator and enemy of my country? If to suffer sin upon my brother be to hate him in my heart, then to suffer sin upon my country would be an evidence not of my love but hatred of her. Sir, it is because my affection for her is intense, and paramount to all selfish considerations, that I do not parley with her crimes. I know that she can neither be truly happy nor prosperous while she continues to manacle and brutalize every sixth child born on her soil. Lying lips are speaking 'peace, peace,' to her; but she shall not see peace until the tears of her repentance shall have washed away every stain of blood from her escutcheon.

"They who are defiling her purity, and by their tyrannous acts disgracing her character, have the brazen audacity to pretend that they are jealous of her good name and fame in Europe, and throughout the world! Yes, sir, they who are constantly trading in the bodies and souls of men — ay, the bodies and souls of their own children — who are cracking their bloody whips over the heads and upon the bodies of their lacerated bondmen — who are for banishing the Bible and extinguishing the light of divine revelation — who make it a crime to teach a human being to read — these are the men, and their apologists and abettors, who are full of solicitude for the honor of the nation, that it may appear spotless in the eyes of the world! The hypocrites! they shall at least respect my understanding — they shall know that I am not to be dismayed by their cries of slander, and by their threats of assassination. I tell them, once for all, that I am not their enemy — that it is not in their power, by any exhibition of their malice or revenge, to make me their enemy. It is true, my detestation of their robberies and outrages is unutterable; but I desire nothing so

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much as to promote their temporal and eternal welfare, and to exalt the character of the United States. 'This is my own, my native land'— and I shall ever be ready — ay, a thousand times more ready — to vindicate its reputation from the aspersions of its enemies, than to defend my own. I acknowledge no boundaries to my patriotism or love, but still I have my local attachment, and prefer the land of my birth to every other."

Thompson, as we say, had arrived. His coming had been well advertised in the *Liberator*, and the New York colonization dailies prepared to incite the rabble to do violence on him. The uncertainty and postponement of his departure happily saved him from such a reception as had been contrived for Mr. Garrison a year before. He was to have taken passage in the *United States*, which brought over Harriet Martineau a little in advance of him, and of which the captain was admonished by the pilot to hide Mr. Thompson for his life if he had him on board. This precaution might have been justified. Toward the close of September, however, there was a temporary lull in the mob energy which for two months had displayed itself in every part of the North, beginning with New York; and the efforts of the *Courier and Enquirer* to revive it for Mr. Thompson's benefit failed of success.

H. Martineau's Autobiography, 1:335, *and Retrospect of Western Travel*, *Chap.* 1.

Lib. 4:155.

Lib. 4:78.

On the 6th of May the American Anti-Slavery Society had held unmolested its first anniversary in the same Chatham-Street Chapel in which, the year before, the New York City Anti-Slavery Society had been forced to organize by stealth, and to adjourn precipitately in advance of the mob at the gates. Arthur Tappan presided. Mr. Garrison was present, and spoke, though but little, on account of a severe cold. Charles Stuart likewise addressed the Society, and pointed the contrast between October, 1833, and May, 1834, by defending his friend against the charge of having slandered his country abroad. Still another church was found in which to protract the meeting, which in all occupied four days. The

Ante, p. 382.

Lib. 4:79.

Colonizationists, who had held a counter meeting in palliation of slavery, kept aloof till a pretext for interfering was furnished by the unfavorable testimony of a returned colonist as to the condition of Liberia. The last two days, at the Chapel, were marked by interruptions, and at the close on Saturday afternoon the hall was seized by Gurley, the Rev. G. W. Bethune, a Methodist bishop from Virginia and others, for a colonizationist demonstration. "Some of the ruffians bawled out for Garrison," but he "was out of their murderous reach." This was far from satisfying the *Courier and Enquirer*, which warned the abolitionists never to meet again in New York.

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Lib. 4: 79.

Lib. 4: 85.

Disregarding this prohibition, the abolitionists of that city reassembled on the 4th of July at the Chapel, with David Paul Brown, of Philadelphia, as the orator of the day. "Hundreds of young men, who sat near the doors," drowned his voice with derisive cheers and completely prevented a hearing. Their triumph was the beginning of an era of lawlessness which, fanned by the *Courier and Enquirer*, and first directed against the black population, was speedily turned against their friends. Lewis Tappan's house was gutted (July 9), Arthur Tappan's store attacked (July 10), and only saved by armed defence from within, various private residences and several churches and schools more or less damaged, the colored people barbarously assaulted on the streets and in their homes; and not until the third day of mob rule did the civil and military authorities succeed in restoring security not only to the victims of the outbreak, but to all the "respectable" and moneyed classes, whose indifference to "nigger" persecution was changed into the liveliest alarm concerning their own safety. After this, through July and August, we read of pro-slavery riots or attempts in New Jersey, Pennsylvania (a terrific three days' raid on the colored quarter in Philadelphia, among smaller disturbances), Ohio, Connecticut (the *coup de grâce* to Miss Crandall's school), yes, in

Lib. 4: 110.

Life of Arthur Tappan, p. 204.

Ibid., pp. 209–224; *Lib.* 4: 111, 114; *Niles' Register*, 46: 357–360.

Lib. 4: 115, 133, 134, 136, 139, 147, 151, 156; *Niles' Register*, 46: 413, 435.

Niles' Register, 46: 413, 436; 47: 15, 92.

Michigan; and even the sacking of the Ursuline Convent (August 11) at Charlestown, Mass., seemed part of the mania for violence which had its origin in the newspaper offices of Stone and Webb and the councils of the New York colonizationists.

Lib. 4: 119.

MS. Aug. 18, 1834.

Mr. Garrison, to whom "these things give hope and courage," as he writes to Miss Benson, assuredly was not disheartened because the general condemnation of them by the press of the country was usually accompanied by abuse of the abolitionists. Rather he had the satisfaction of seeing poetic justice meted out in Boston, where the feeling in sympathy with New York ruffianism was strong enough to react even upon the instigators of the latter. On July 28, he writes to Mr. May:

MS.

"Messrs. Robert J. Breckinridge, John Breckinridge, and Leonard Bacon, and Rev. Mr. M'Kenney, Agent of the Maryland Colonization Society, are now in this city, with two African Princes. They have come *en masse*, to make a grand attack upon us, but will be defeated, according to present appearances. On Saturday, our city papers contained a bold and showy advertisement, stating that a meeting would be held by these gentlemen at the Bromfield-Street (Methodist) Church on Sabbath evening, to urge the claims of the Maryland Colonization Society; and that other meetings for the same object would be held successively during the same week. Of course, this created much animation in our ranks. Brother Phelps was just on the eve of embarking for Portland, but concluded to tarry and encounter the shock of these potent antagonists. However, the evening papers of Saturday contained a notice, that the contemplated meetings would be postponed until further notice, which you may read, 'postponed indefinitely.' It is said that they received a visit from the Mayor, who urged them not to hold their meetings at this juncture — stating, among other things, that the mob would not be likely to discriminate between colonizationists and abolitionists, but would readily seize any pretext to create a disturbance. It is said, moreover, that the trustees of the church reconsidered their vote granting these gentlemen the use of their house. Thus matters stand at present. . . .

Rev. A. A. Phelps.

Theodore Lyman.

July 25, 1834.

"On Friday evening, I called upon the Rev. John Breckinridge, in company with brother Phelps. The interview lasted

till between 11 and 12 o'clock. The first half hour was spent in an amicable and argumentative discussion, respecting the duty of immediate emancipation. Brother Phelps left me to manage the case, only now and then thrusting in a keen, pithy and pertinent remark. Mr. B., I am sorry to say, soon lost his temper, and overwhelmed us poor abolitionists with a tempest of epithets. His nervous system is extremely sensitive, and when it is excited he almost becomes frantic. His language towards me was really abusive, and unworthy of a Christian minister. Notwithstanding the provocations which he gave me, I endeavored — and I trust not without success — to preserve my equanimity. I said to him — 'Mr. Breckinridge, we are both aware that the best men in our land are divided on the question of African colonization, and they need and are calling for more light. They wish to hear both sides of the question. Will you discuss it with me before the citizens of Boston?' 'No,' said he, 'I do not consider you my equal. You are too debased and degraded in community for me, occupying the station that I do, to hold a controversy with you.' 'This,' I replied, 'is a convenient mode of escape. Will you encounter my brother Phelps?' 'No.' 'Will you discuss the question with any abolitionist?' 'No.' He was much excited when we separated, and intimated that he did not desire to have me call upon him again. I went home lamenting that our interview had not been more placid, but feeling no unkindness, but rather much pity, toward him. I fell down on my knees, and besought the Lord to forgive him for all his accusations against me, to open his eyes if he were in error, and to grant that no ill-will should be left to rankle in our hearts. I also earnestly besought forgiveness for myself, if I had said or done aught amiss. My mind was very tranquil."

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The meeting was finally held in the lower hall of the Masonic Temple, in spite of direct incitement to violence by the press and by means of placards.[1] Mr. Garrison was present, and, during the slight interruptions which ensued, besought the chairman, Horace Mann, to do his duty by the disturbers; though for his own part he regarded the Rev. John Breckinridge's speech as "fero-

Lib. 4 : 123.

Lib. 4 : 127.

[1] In his debate with George Thompson in Glasgow, in June, 1836, Mr. Breckinridge accused Mr. Garrison of having concocted and printed a mobbing placard (*Lib.* 6 : 135).

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cious and diabolical." On August 11 he wrote to G. W. Benson:

MS.

"You will have seen by the *Liberator*, that a grand attack by all the combined forces of colonization and slavery has lately been made upon Boston, in relation to the Maryland scheme of expatriation. They have met with a Waterloo defeat, and yet they fought *pugnis et calcibus* — with tooth and nails, and even horns. The Messrs. Breckinridge complained piteously of their treatment in Providence. Not a meeting-house could they obtain in that city! Alas! 'there's none so poor would do them reverence.' Even in this city it was with the utmost difficulty they could find a place in which to exhibit those young humbugs, the two 'African princes,' and their *emancipation* scheme, which is the greatest humbug of all! They could get into no churches but the Methodist — not even into Park Street! Now let them ask, with a sneer, What have abolitionists done?"[1]

This unfriendly reception of the colonizationists, however, was a sacrifice of real to outward logic.[2] The abolitionists had equally been obliged to give up a public celebration in Boston on the date of emancipation in the British West Indies.[3] The *Commercial Gazette* was meantime recommending the indictment by the grand jury of Garrison and his associates as public nuisances, or, in default of this, "provision at the public expense with a wholesome and salutary coat of tar and feathers." Such was the Boston to which Mr. Garrison was about to bring his young bride, and to welcome George Thompson.

Lib. 4:118, 133.

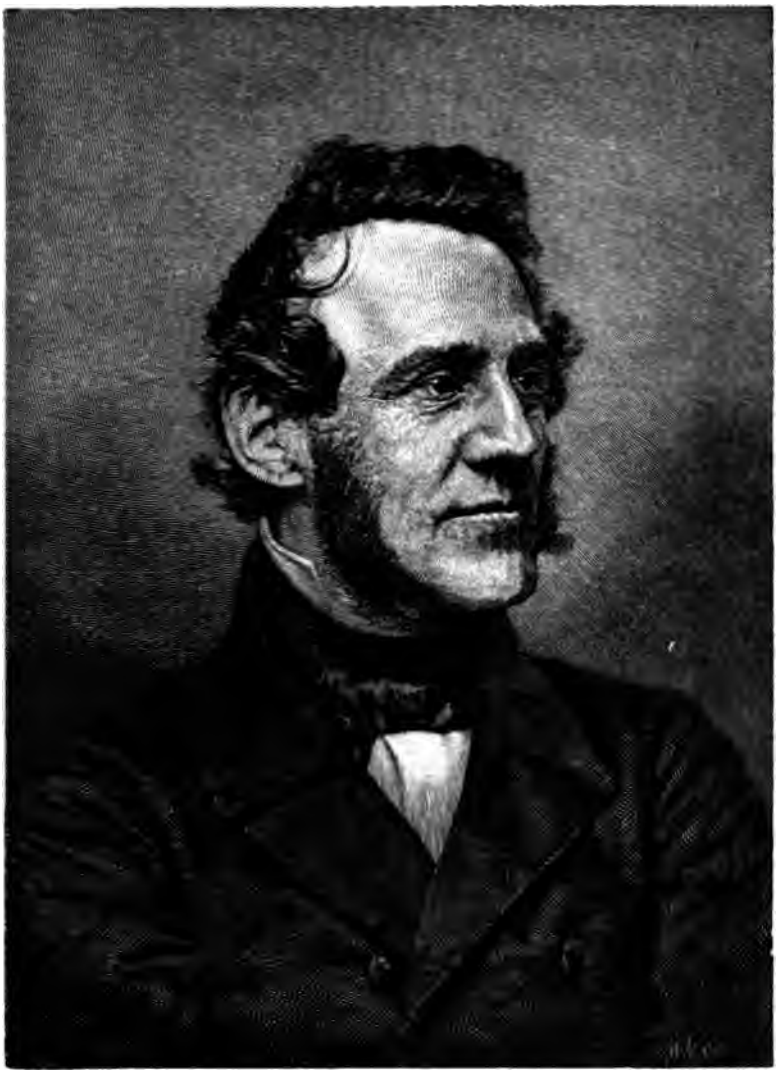
MS. 130 *Nassau St.*

"My dear friend and brother," wrote the latter from the Anti-Slavery Office in New York, on Wednesday, September 24,

[1] The Rev. Orson S. Murray writes to Mr. Garrison (MS. Oct. 11, 1834) of Congregational clergymen in Vermont who would no longer take up collections for the Colonization Society.

[2] "The people of Boston should know no difference between IMMEDIATE ABOLITION and COLONIZATION, if they are calculated to destroy the harmony which should subsist between the North and the South" (*Commercial Gazette*, in *Lib.* 4:123. *Cf. ante, pp.* 303, 304.)

[3] MS. July 23, 1834, W. L. G. to S. J. May. This celebration on the 1st of August, which was continued throughout the anti-slavery struggle, was first proposed by Mr. Garrison (*Lib.* 4:87).



Geo: Thompson

1834, "I arrived upon your shores on Saturday last, bringing with me Mrs. Thompson, our dear children, and our servant. I was warmly greeted by the abolitionists of this city, but somewhat curiously received by the other dwellers in this the commercial metropolis of the *freest empire* under the sun. The particulars you shall have when we meet. They will bring another blush for your country upon your cheek. . . . I have been delighted with all I have yet witnessed in this country, save the conduct and dispositions of its rational and accountable inhabitants. I feel that I could love this land and its people with all my heart, were but oppression banished, and the language of all hearts this — *Sept.* 20.

"'The liberty we love we will bestow.'"

The curious reception here referred to was nothing less than the turning Mr. Thompson and his family out of the Atlantic Hotel, to gratify an indignant Southern guest. Prudence dictated that the object of this brutality should not begin his public addresses on the spot where he landed, and where the embers of the July riots were hardly cold. In the *Courier and Enquirer* of September 23, Mr. Thompson could read of himself as "another apostle of fanaticism [like Stuart], hired by the immediate abolitionists to come among us and disseminate those precious doctrines of social equality and physical amalgamation." The same paper warned him "not to venture upon a lecture in favor of immediate abolition," and thus court mob violence; called upon the police to stop him; and added: "If our people will not suffer our own citizens to tamper with the question of slavery, it is not to be supposed that they will tolerate the officious intermeddling of a Foreign Fanatic." *Lib.* 4: 155, 194; 5: 195; *London Abolitionist*, 1: 98. *MS. Oct. 7, 1834, Lewis Tappan to W. L. G.* *Lib.* 4: 161.

The town of Groton, Massachusetts, was destined to be the scene of the first public utterance of George Thompson in America. He had reached Freedom's Cottage the day before (September 30), where he was presently joined by S. J. May, in whose company and Mr. Garrison's he set out, on the morning of October 1, for the meeting of the Middlesex County Anti-Slavery Society. His two companions were the only reporters of *London Abolitionist*, 1: 149. *Lib.* 4: 163;

May's Recollections, p. 117.

his speech. Mr. May's graphic account of it leaves no doubt of the impression it must have made on all who heard it. Mr. Garrison had not overrated his friend's eloquence. Invitations began to pour in on him from all quarters, and a New England tour was the immediate result. His course through Eastern Massachusetts, Maine, New Hampshire, and Rhode Island may be traced in the pages of the *Liberator*. Churches were as readily thrown open to him as were anti-slavery conventions, and a large part of the thirty addresses or more he had made before the end of the year were delivered in them. Occasionally he would give a common pulpit discourse, in the clergyman's place, for which his religious spirit fitted him so well that the Richmond (Va.) *Enquirer* was quite right in designating him as an incendiary British "missionary" rather than emissary.[1]

Lib. 4: 163, 166, 167, 174, 175, 191; *London Abolitionist*, 1: 150–157.

Lib. 4: 193.

Nevertheless, he did not entirely escape that species of "warm reception" with which the *Enquirer* menaced him in case he should cross the Potomac. His windows were broken in Augusta, Maine, where a State Anti-Slavery Convention was in progress; and a committee of citizens requested him to leave town immediately under pain of being mobbed if he reëntered the Convention. Disturbers followed him from Augusta to Hallowell, but were overawed. At Concord, New Hampshire, he was interrupted with missiles while addressing a ladies' meeting. At Lowell, Mass., on his second visit, in the Town Hall, a brickbat thrown from without through the window narrowly escaped his head, and, in spite of the manliness of the selectmen, a meeting the next evening was abandoned in the certainty of fresh and deadly

London Abolitionist, 1: 152; *Lib.* 4: 174.

Lib. 4: 175.

Lib. 5: 4.

Lib. 4: 194; *Cowley's History of Lowell, p.* 82, *and Reminiscences of J. C. Ayer, p.* 154.

[1] Some of the Philadelphia Quakers objected to Thompson because he made such long prayers (MS. Mar. 27, 1835, Henry Benson to G. W. Benson). In his youth he was employed as one of the under-secretaries in the London Methodist Mission House, and used to hold evening meetings in some of the poor districts of the metropolis, and go about on Sundays distributing Bibles and tracts (May's 'Recollections,' p. 109). He is often styled "Rev." in the reports of his meetings in America (*Lib.* 5: 1; 6: 8; and 2d Annual Report of the American A. S. Society, p. 47).

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assaults. Before this conclusion was known, a placard in the streets (December 2), declaring that agitation of the slavery question would "endanger the safety of the Union," asked: "Do you wish instruction from an Englishman?" and invited a rally at the hall that evening, to convince Southerners that their rights would not be interfered with by their Northern brethren. The mob found the premises empty, but took possession, and adopted resolutions, framed by three of the foremost citizens of Lowell,[1] embodying the sense of the placard, though condescending to "deplore the existence of slavery" as a "blot on the reputation of our otherwise free country."

Lib. 4:195.

In Boston, after this, no other hall could be found for Mr. Thompson but that of the New England Anti-Slavery Society, though some churches, particularly the Methodist, were yet open to him. Meantime, after having enjoyed the hospitality of Freedom's Cottage[2] for several weeks, he took permanent lodgings in Roxbury not far away, where the premature confinement of his wife gave him time to reflect on the superior patriotism of Lowell, Augusta, and Concord, as contrasted with the un-American cordiality manifested towards him at Portland, Brunswick, Providence, and elsewhere. Kindred thoughts were also suggested by the press abuse of himself as reproduced in the *Liberator's* new department, "The Refuge of Oppression,"[3] and by the consequent notoriety which for the moment eclipsed that of his friend and host.

Lib. 4:199.

[1] Including John P. Robinson and Thomas (afterwards Judge) Hopkinson, leading lawyers. From the latter's office Wendell Phillips had lately gone to be admitted to the bar at Concord, Mass. (Crowley's Lowell, p. 119).

[2] "The cottage in the wood, where, on a bleak winter's night, we huddled round a log fire and talked over our plans for the future" (MS. fragment, 185—, Geo. Thompson to W. L. G.)

[3] A natural development of the original "Slavery Record" of the first volume; "into which we propose to copy some of the choicest specimens of anti-abolition morality, decency, logic and humanity — generally without note or comment" (*Lib.* 4:3). A year later: "It has already opened the eyes of many to see how cruelly abolitionists are calumniated by their enemies; and it proves that we are ready to let both sides of the controversy be seen in our columns" (*Lib.* 5:3).

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May's Recollections, p. 102; Life of Arthur Tappan, Chap. 13.

This is not the place, looking backward, to dwell at length on the great incidents of the year already alluded to—the anti-slavery uprising and secession at Lane Seminary, under the leadership of Theodore D. Weld, against the suppression of free debate by the Trustees, with Dr. Lyman Beecher's assent: a revolt in which the names of James A. Thome, of Kentucky, Marius R. Robinson, of Tennessee, and Henry B. Stanton were also prominent;

May's Recollections, p. 203; Mass. Abolitionist, 2: 133.

and the formal abandonment of the Colonization Society by an ex-slaveholder, J. G. Birney,[1] on grounds apparently worked out independently of the 'Thoughts,' and therefore all the more confirmatory of that arraignment (with which, however, he was pretty certainly acquainted). Gerrit Smith, too, was getting ready to break off from the

Lib. 4: 206, 207.

same connection, and exhibiting in the process his characteristic singleness of moral purpose and cloudiness of logic. We remark, further, the first appearance in the anti-slavery ranks of Nathaniel Peabody Rogers, of Plymouth, N. H., already seeming a warm personal friend of

Lib. 4: 38.

Mr. Garrison, and vouched for by the latter as "an able lawyer and an enlightened Christian";[2] of Rogers's

Lib. 4: 175.

neighbor, John Farmer, the antiquarian; of Farmer's constant correspondent in Boston, Francis Jackson;[3] of the Rev. George B. Cheever, and others.

[1] "The emancipated and emancipator" (MS. May 11, 1835, W. L. G. to his wife).

[2] Rogers was corresponding secretary of the local anti-slavery society, and, together with D. L. Child and S. E. Sewall, one of the trustees of the Noyes Academy at Canaan, N. H., which was opened in the fall of 1834 to colored youth on equal terms with white (*Lib.* 4: 38, 169).

[3] Francis Jackson was born in Newton, Mass., in 1789, and became the historian of that town. His father, Timothy Jackson, was a minute-man who joined in the pursuit of the retreating British on April 19, 1775. He himself was a soldier at Fort Warren in Boston harbor in the War of 1812. He early took an active part in the municipal affairs of Boston, and directed some of its chief territorial improvements, but did not seek office. He was a very tower of strong will, solid judgment, shrewd forecast, sturdy common sense; sparing of words, yet a master of terse, homely English; simple and frugal in his habits, but charitable and hospitable in an unusual degree. He was one of John Pierpont's parishioners, at Hollis-Street Church, vigorously taking his part in the bitter conflict with the rum-selling and pro-slavery element of the congregation. Afterwards he rendered similar services to Theodore Parker.

We return to Mr. Garrison, who had still one powerful shaft in his quiver — the direct application of anti-slavery sentiment to the making and unmaking of political fortunes. At the annual meeting of the American Colonization Society in Washington in January, 1834, the Rev. Leonard Bacon charged the leaders of the anti-slavery movement with "a design to make it a political party. I have," he continued, "reason to believe they mean to make adhesion to their sentiments a test of office. And there will not be wanting political desperadoes who are willing to be arrayed under that banner." He was more correct in his prediction than in his choice of terms. On the 28th of October following, Mr. Abbott Lawrence, the Whig candidate for Congress in the First District of Massachusetts, was honored with a letter from sundry citizens and voters of that district (among whom we remark, together with Sewall, Loring, Child, and other officers of the New England Anti-Slavery Society, Francis Jackson), asking his attention to slavery and the slave trade in the District of Columbia, and calling for an expression of his sentiments on this subject. No pledge was exacted of Mr. Lawrence, but he was urged to aid in the early suppression of this national iniquity, and a plain intimation was given that upon his sentiments about it would depend the political support of the subscribers.

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Lib. 4 : 22.

Lib. 4 : 178.

Mr. Lawrence, in reply, admitted slavery to be (as in the language of his interrogators) the "greatest moral question that has ever been presented to the people of this country," and, in his own opinion, "not less important in a political point of view." He promised to make a careful examination of his duty, but must go to Congress unpledged and untrammelled. This response did not satisfy Mr. Garrison, who, on printing the correspondence in the *Liberator*, said he preferred to give his influence in favor of Amasa Walker (an outspoken abolitionist). He did more, he gave him his vote — the one political vote of his lifetime; and after the election

Niles' Register, 47 : 162.

Lib. 4 : 179.

Lib. 4 : 203.

CHAP. XIII. 1834. had gone as it could only go at that anti-Republican epoch in Massachusetts, he took the colored voters of the district to task for having supported Abbott Lawrence. He had, he said, never attempted to bias their minds on any points, religious or political. He had avoided their special meetings in order to leave them independent. He had no political bias in his present reprimand. He belonged to no party in particular, but to all in general; he was not deceived or influenced by *names*, but governed by principles. National politics were now corrupt, proscriptive, and ferocious. He cordially detested *Jacksonism* in principle and practice, "nor," added Mr. Garrison, "do I think much better of its antagonist, *Whiggism*. The organs of each are marked for their slander, vituperation, and baseness." The Whig party the colored voters "should dread and oppose more than any other." It was in close alliance with the South, and had incited all the pro-slavery mobs of the past summer through its presses, the New York *Courier and Enquirer* and *Commercial Advertiser*, the Philadelphia *Inquirer*, the Washington *Intelligencer*, the Boston *Commercial Gazette*. Whigs, with Henry Clay at their head, were the leaders in the colonization crusade. They had made a cat's-paw of the colored voters, who thus only incurred Democratic hatred for nothing.

Lib. 4: 207. Later, Mr. Garrison, on being remonstrated with for these admonitions, gave warning that slavery was going to be made a political question: "The IMMEDIATE EMANCIPATION of the slaves in the District of Columbia and the Territories is to be made A TEST AT THE BALLOT-BOXES, in the choice of representatives in Congress"; and "no man who is a slaveholder will receive the votes of conscientious and consistent abolitionists for any station in the gift of the people — especially for the Presidency of the United States."[1]

[1] This was in full accord with the official views of the New England Anti-Slavery Society, witness the following extract from the third annual report, Jan. 21, 1835 (by S. E. Sewall): "But while, in voting for candi-

Towards the close of the year, fresh expostulations with Mr. Garrison for his so-called harsh and sweeping language began to be heard. It afflicted not only the recognized apologists for slavery "much more grievously than the daring transgression of the Southern kidnappers, or the wrongs and sufferings of our immense slave population," but also natures like Follen, whose first speech on the anti-slavery platform especially deprecated intemperate language and personal abuse (*videlicet* Mr. Garrison's); or like Stuart, who, on learning of Miss Benson's betrothal, bade her write her lover that "the only jangle of words we ever had together was when I cautioned him on the severity of his language; remind him of my advice, and tell him not to forget it." Similarly, Lewis Tappan wrote from New York to George Thompson, on January 2, 1835: "The fact need not be concealed from you that several of our emancipationists so disapprove of the harsh and, as they think, the unchristian language of the *Liberator*, that they do not feel justified in upholding it. For one, I have abstained from mentioning this to our friend Garrison, and have vindicated him so far as I could. Mr. G.'s error, they say, is in applying severe epithets to *individuals* rather than to *bodies of men* and *principles*." Short memories, that had forgotten the cause of Mr. Garrison's imprisonment in Baltimore, and the "severe epithets" applied to Francis Todd, and the covering of "thick infamy" which the junior editor of the *Genius* held ready for any Northerner guilty of complicity with slaveholding — and all that had come of it! No wonder if Mr. Garrison's patience was tried, and that he once more defended himself in his

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Lib. 4: 207.

Lib. 4: 11.

Lib. 4: 42.

MS. June 23, 1834, H. E. B. to W. L. G.

MS.

dates to offices in which the persons elected are likely to be called on to act on important questions in regard to slavery, it is earnestly recommended to abolitionists to support those only in whose principles they can confide; the Managers would caution their friends against making anti-slavery opinions the test of qualification for other offices, where similar questions cannot arise. Thus, though no representative to Congress should be supported who is not in favor of abolishing slavery in the District of Columbia, it would be most unjust and absurd to refuse to support a person for a municipal office unless he held the same opinions" (p. 16).

CHAP. XIII. 1834. fourth article vindicating James G. Birney against the *African Repository*. Recalling his words on this subject in the very first number of the *Liberator*, he continued:

Lib. 4 : 207. "The above was written four years ago. At that time, there was scarcely a man in all the land who dared to peep or mutter on the subject of slavery; the pulpit and the press were dumb; no anti-slavery organizations were made; no public addresses were delivered; no reproofs, no warnings, no entreaties were uttered in the ears of the people; silence, almost unbroken silence, prevailed universally. Even the doctrine of gradual emancipation was rarely enforced; and an indignant essay, in view of the horrid condition of two millions of slaves, was an anomaly. Well, without a single friend to stand by me, without encouragement, and without a subscriber, — and admonished on all hands how much injury I was doing, — I commenced the *Liberator*. My readers will bear witness that, from the first number to the present, its tone, and temper, and principles, have been unchangingly the same. Now then, I ask, has the cause of emancipation been injured or benefited by my advocacy?

"What has transpired since the *Liberator* was established? In referring to this subject by way of self-defence, (and I am rarely induced to say one word defensively,) they who accuse me of dealing in scandalous accusations, will also accuse me of egotism. With no pride of heart, however, but with much confidence of right action, with much virtuous accusation, and with real gratitude to God, I survey the past, and challenge mankind to produce an instance in which the cause of moral reform, surrounded by equal difficulties and dangers, has advanced more rapidly than the present. In seizing 'the trump of God,' I had indeed to blow 'a jarring blast' — but it was necessary to wake up a nation then slumbering in the lap of moral death. Thanks be to God, that blast was effectual: it pierced the ears of the deaf, it startled the lethargic from their criminal sleep, and it shook the land as a leaf is shaken by the wind. Within four years, I have seen my principles embraced, cordially and unalterably, by thousands of the best men in the nation. I have seen hundreds of anti-slavery societies organized on the principle of immediate emancipation. I have seen prejudices which were deemed incurable, utterly eradicated from the breasts of a great multitude. I have seen national and State anti-slavery conventions assembled in solemn deliberation, and a national

anti-slavery society established, with a host of auxiliaries. I have seen the press teeming with books, pamphlets, tracts, and periodicals, all in favor of the bondman and against his oppressor. I have seen crowds rushing to hear the tale of wo and of blood, and to learn how they might assist in saving their country from impending ruin. I have seen the Christian sympathies and generous assistance of a foreign nation secured in behalf of universal emancipation. I have seen discussions of slavery going on in public and private, in popular gatherings and in domestic circles, among all classes, and in all parts of the land; and more spoken, and written, and printed, and circulated, in one month, than there formerly was in many years. I have seen many beneficent schemes devised for the protection and improvement of the colored population of the free States. I have seen that population rising rapidly in the scale of civilization, and manifesting in the midst of terrible persecutions a spirit of forgiveness and patience, and a steadfastness of trust in God, worthy of angels. I have seen a mighty combination, formed for the expatriation of a guiltless people, shorn of its strength, and brought down to the earth. I have seen Christian believers everywhere assembling in monthly convocations, to pray for the deliverance of the poor and needy, the helpless and oppressed, from the rod and the chains of slavery. In short, I have seen persons of all political parties, of all religious sects, of all ages and conditions, uniting in one vast phalanx, with the cry of LIBERTY upon their lips, and the banner of IMMEDIATE EMANCIPATION waving over their heads, and moving onward to the conflict in unbroken array — deterred by no peril, weakened by no attack, diverted by no stratagem — courageous, invincible, victorious!

"If God has made me a signal instrument in the accomplishment of this astonishing change, it is not for me to glory, but to be thankful. What else but the *Liberator primarily*, (and of course instrumentally,) has effected this change? Greater success than I have had, no man could reasonably desire, or humbly expect. Greater success no man could obtain, peradventure, without endangering his reliance upon an almighty arm.

"Yet, in view of these instructive events, the same 'cuckoo cry' is raised against me now as I heard when I stood forth alone; and the same sagacious predictions and grave admonitions are uttered now as were then spoken with the infallibility of ignorance, the disinterestedness of cowardice, and the pru-

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dence of imbecility. There are many calling themselves anti-slavery men who, because they are only 'half-fledged' themselves, and have neither the strength nor the courage to soar, must needs flutter and scream because my spirit will not stoop in its flight heavenward, and come down to their filthy nest. It has gone, it is going upward, with a strong and steady wing, and it shall neither sink nor rest until it reach an eternal dwelling-place.

"To those who, with more labor than profit, and more captiousness than courage, in secret prepare, and anonymously send, grave indictments of my language, I will once for all remark, that they cannot possibly write their pieces with more complacency than I read them; that I am ever ready to publish any of their strictures; that I do not aim at the graces of composition; and that, so long as they only impeach my *words*, and acknowledge the soundness of my *principles*, I shall not be specially troubled in spirit, nor be induced to engage in a contest which must be confessedly a '*wordy*' one. To quarrel with my style is only to dispute my taste — and where is the standard of taste? — but to accuse me of holding corrupt and dangerous principles is a question of morality. My language may not be, and I am sure is not, always happily chosen; but let it be remembered that I usually and necessarily, as an editor, write in great haste, and cannot remodel and criticise *ad libitum*. Such errors, however, are trivial, to which every writer is liable. To carp at my composition, and yet confess the justness of my principles, as many do, is very much like sneering at the black man on account of his complexion, and yet conceding that he has all the marks and attributes of manhood. Fine and delicate phraseology may please the ear; but masculine truths are utterly divorced from effeminate words, and cannot be united without begetting a dwarfish progeny.

"This long episode, in the present review, is not without a pertinent application. It can easily be determined whether there is any sincerity or justness in the charge, so confidently and so incessantly made, that I am retarding the cause (*i. e.*, the *principles*) of emancipation by my '*hard language*.' Of those who say that they like my principles, but object to my language, I would inquire, How do you know my principles but by my language? Now, every writer's *style* is his own — it may be smooth or rough, plain or obscure, simple or grand, feeble or strong — but *principles* are immutable. There are many able writers and advocates in the ranks of abolitionists, and they all

agree in principle, but differ essentially in their manner of writing. WHITTIER, for instance, is highly poetical, exuberant and beautiful. STUART is solemn, pungent and severe. WRIGHT is a thorough logician, dextrous, transparent, straightforward. BERIAH GREEN is manly, eloquent, vigorous, devotional. MAY is persuasive, zealous, overflowing with the milk of human kindness. COX is diffusive, sanguine, magnificent, grand. BOURNE thunders and lightens. PHELPS is one great, clear, infallible argument—demonstration itself. JOCELYN is full of heavenly-mindedness, and feels and speaks and acts with 'a zeal according to knowledge.' FOLLEN is chaste, profound, and elaborately polished. GOODELL is perceptive, analytical, expert and solid. CHILD (David L.) is generously indignant, courageous, and demonstrative. His lady combines strength with beauty, argumentation with persuasiveness, greatness with humility. BIRNEY is collected, courteous, dispassionate—his fearlessness excites admiration, his conscientiousness commands respect.

J. G. Whittier. C. Stuart. Elisur Wright, Jr. Rev. S. J. May. Rev. S. H. Cox. Rev. G. Bourne. Rev. A. A. Phelps. Rev. S. S. Jocelyn. Rev. C. Follen. Wm. Goodell. L. M. Child. J. G. Birney.

"Of the foregoing list, who is viewed with complacency, or preferred over another, by slaveholders or their apologists? Are not all their names cast out as evil? Are they not all branded as fanatics, disorganizers and madmen? Has not one of them (Dr. Cox) had his dwelling and meeting-house rudely and riotously assaulted, and even been hunted in the streets of New York? Has not another (Beriah Green) been burnt in effigy in the city of Utica? (To say nothing of the sufferings and persecutions of ARTHUR and LEWIS TAPPAN, and other individuals.) Why are they thus maltreated and calumniated? Certainly, not for the *phraseology* which they use, but for the *principles* which they adopt. Are they not all tauntingly stigmatized as '*Garrison-men*'? As soon as any man becomes hostile to colonization, and friendly to abolition, is he not at once recognized and stamped by the enemy as a *Garrisonite*? Then how can it be averred that it is my language that gives offence, seeing that it is only my principles that offend? . . .

Lib. 4: 114. *Lib.* 4: 23.

"In concluding this number I will venture to remind those liberal advisers who are so anxious to keep a censorship over the *Liberator*, that reproaches, falsehoods, misrepresentations and injuries are heaped upon my head in every quarter—I am at the mercy of despiteful, wicked and cruel men; but which of these advisers cares for the treatment I receive, or stands forth to vindicate me on the score of principle? Will they soberly and honestly inquire of themselves whether they

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think, or speak, or write, half as much against a bloody, polluted and soul-destroying system as against my 'hard language'? whether they feel indignant when they see false accusations brought against me, and take up the pen in my defence? As for myself, I deem it, with the apostle, a small thing to be judged of man's judgment. I solicit no man's praise — I fear no man's censure."

The allusion to a censorship over the *Liberator* leads us to a new phase of opposition to its editor. We find the Rev. Henry Ware, Jr.'s, name subscribed with Professor Follen's to the call for the New England Convention of Anti-Slavery Societies, and presently among the committee on the address to the people of New England. Later still, he addressed the newly formed Cambridge Anti-Slavery Society, and joined in the general prudent assertion of that body's independence of the New England Society, and in general reprobation of intemperate language. A few months afterwards (Cambridge, October 15, 1834), in a letter to his fellow Unitarian, S. J. May, a man with a large gift of humor, Mr. Ware made the following highly amusing proposition:

Lib. 4:71, 86; *ante*, *p.* 441.

Lib. 4:97, 103.

Memoir of H. Ware, Jr., *p.* 365.

"One point on which I wished to talk with you when here was, the character of the *Liberator*. If you sympathize with it, and approve wholly of its spirit, it would be in vain to say to you what I wish. But if not, if you feel how objectionable is its tone, how frequently unchristian its spirit, and how seriously it prejudices a great cause in the minds of many good men; then you will be ready to hear my question — a question which has been agitated amongst a few of us here, viz.: Would it be possible to induce six or seven gentlemen, of calm and trustworthy judgment, to form themselves into a committee, each of whom should, a week at a time, examine all articles intended for the *Liberator*, and induce Mr. Garrison to promise to publish nothing there which should not have been approved by them? Is this possible? Would it not secure an unexceptionable paper, without injuring Mr. Garrison's interest? Would you be willing to aid in promoting such a scheme — or can you suggest a better? Pray answer these questions at your first convenience."

The real object of the Cambridge Anti-Slavery Society and the natural fate of this robust organization are set

forth in a letter from Mr. Ware to a friend who still thought he had not sufficiently demonstrated his want of connection with the Boston abolitionists. It is dated Cambridge, October 23, 1835 — a year later than the foregoing: CHAP. XIII. 1834.

"When I saw how outrageously Garrison and some others were abusing this great cause, mismanaging it by their unreasonable violence, and by what I thought unchristian language, and a convention was proposed in Massachusetts, I joined a few gentlemen in Cambridge[1] in an association for the purpose of inquiring whether something might not be done to moderate the tone they were using, and prevent the mischief which we thought likely to ensue. We were foolish enough to imagine that we might possibly exert some favorable influence. We attempted it, and of course we failed; for all who know Mr. Garrison know that he is not a man to be controlled or advised. Our Society lived about a year, and has now virtually expired. I never belonged to any other. I have attended but four anti-slavery meetings, three in Boston and one in Cambridge. I have never had any acquaintance with Thompson, who, I thought, had no business in the country;[2] only a speaking acquaintance with Garrison; and I was never in the Anti-Slavery rooms but once." *Memoir, pp.* 366, 367.

Fresh from the inspiration of the Philadelphia Convention of December, 1833, Mr. May appears to have made an earnest effort to win over to the cause the leading clergy of his own denomination. The adhesion of Follen, if so *Memoir of Henry Ware, Jr., p.* 365.

[1] Twenty-three in number, most if not all Unitarians. The first four names on the list were Henry Ware, Sidney Willard, Charles Follen, H. Ware, Jr. Further on came W. H. Channing, Charles T. Brooks, Frederick H. Hedge, etc. (see the preamble and Constitution in A. B. Muzzey's 'Reminiscences and Memorials,' p. 294).

[2] So thought the Unitarian *Christian Register*, which spoke of Thompson as "an itinerate foreigner," and doubted the wisdom of enlisting him (*Lib.* 4:179). Mr. Ware's letter was written two days after the Boston mob intended for Thompson, and is perhaps the mildest commentary on that outrage to be found in print. "You are correct," writes Mr. Garrison to G. W. Benson, Sept. 4, 1835; "those religious persons and papers that denounce our brother George Thompson as a foreigner, are virtually rebuking every foreign missionary who has been sent from our shores to evangelize a rebellious world; and they will find, ere long, that infidelity will meet and vanquish them with their own weapons."

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brought about, was a sufficient return for his labor; but elsewhere he encountered timidity, as in the case of Professor Ware, or antipathy, as in the case of Professor Palfrey, or virulence, as in the case of Dr. Gannett. It was perhaps at his instigation that Mr. Garrison addressed the following stirring appeal to the greatest light of the Unitarian world, the Rev. Dr. Channing:

Lib. 4: 165, 47.

W. L. Garrison to William Ellery Channing.

MS. in possession of Dr. W. F. Channing, Providence, R. I.

BOSTON, January 20, 1834.

REV. AND DEAR SIR: I have taken the liberty to send you a few anti-slavery publications, the perusal of which, by you, I shall esteem a noble recompense. Let me invite your attention particularly to the Lectures of the Rev. Mr. Phelps, which cover the whole ground of controversy, and which I deem unanswerable.

Guilty as it is, there is yet hope for this nation. There are more than seven thousand men who have not bowed the knee to Baal. The slumber of half a century has been broken up, and henceforth there is to be no repose until the monster SLAVERY be slain. The deaf begin to hear, and the blind to see. The weak are made valiant, and the timid strengthened through faith in the promises of Him who is pledged to "maintain the cause of the afflicted and the right of the poor." The noise of the conflict is already like the voice of many waters. Truth is going on from conquering to conquer. The mystery of iniquity, alias the American Colonization Society, is now stripped of its disguise, and seen in its naked deformity. *There is hope for the nation.*

It is true, not many mighty have as yet been called to this sacred strife. Like every other great reform, it has been commenced by obscure and ignorant men. It is God's mode, commonly, to choose the foolish things of the world to confound the wise; because his foolishness is wiser than men, and his weakness stronger than men. In having entered early into this great cause, I arrogate not to myself any superior wisdom or goodness. Some providential circumstances turned my attention to it; and humble as I was, I feared my God too much, and hated the base plunderers of my species too cordially, and pitied the poor bleeding slaves too sincerely, to shrink even single-handed from a conflict with the enemies of

justice and humanity. I then told the American slaveholders that they should hear me, of me, and from me, in a tone and with a frequency that should make them tremble — not that I was the enemy of their happiness or safety, but that I detested their crimes. How faithful I have been in the performance of my pledge, a quickened, an astonished, and a repenting nation may testify. Ridiculed, reviled, threatened, persecuted and imprisoned, still God has wonderfully blessed my humble labors. I give him all the glory — I sink myself into nothingness.

In a cause like this, there are two things to be remembered — 1st, that a tremendous responsibility rests upon him who perverts his influence; and 2nd, that an equally fearful responsibility *rests upon him who withholds his influence.* Why should a Christian, however distinguished, wait for the movements of a concurrent populace before he espouse the side of the outraged and guiltless slaves? That which claims the sympathy and attention of Jehovah of hosts, is not beneath the dignity of his creatures. That which has elicited the best efforts of a Wilberforce, a Clarkson, a Pitt, a Fox, a Brougham, and a Buxton, is neither trivial nor despicable.

I thought of beseeching you, in this letter, to exert your victorious influence for the deliverance of this country from impending ruin. But if the slaughter of two millions of victims who have gone down to their graves with their chains around them; if the cries of more than that number of tortured slaves now living; if a soil red with innocent blood; if a desecrated Sabbath; if a vast system of adultery, and pollution, and robbery; if perpetuated ignorance and legalized barbarity; if the invasion of the dearest rights of man, and a disruption of the holiest ties of life; and, above all, if the clear and imperious injunctions of the most high God, fail to stimulate you to plead for the suffering and the dumb, it is scarcely possible that any appeal can succeed from

Yours, most affectionately and respectfully,

WM. LLOYD GARRISON.

Rev. Dr. Channing.

It is not known that any answer was ever returned to this letter by its recipient. Professor Ware, in the letter to Mr. May already cited, remarks: "Dr. Channing is said to have given on Sunday [October 12, 1834] a most powerful sermon on the late public commotions

Ante, p. 462.

CHAP. XIII. 1834. at Charlestown,[1] New York, and Harvard College. . . . Dr. Follen calls it an *abolition sermon.*" One who heard it wrote that Channing had come out an abolitionist. "'Property in man! property in man!' he [the preacher] exclaimed, 'you may claim matter as property to any extent you please — the earth, the ocean, and the planets; but you cannot touch a soul. I can as readily conceive of the angels in Heaven being property, as man.'" Mr. May was not so credulous. "What am I to believe respecting Dr. Channing? Has he indeed taken the position of a real abolitionist? Or has he only denounced slavery in the abstract? I wish he could have an opportunity to converse with Thompson."

Lib. 4: 188.

MS. Nov. 24, 1834, to W. L. G.

Dr. Channing's wish would have been anything but that — anything, except to meet Mr. Garrison himself. His failure to acknowledge the latter's appeal was perhaps owing to sickness.[2] There was, however, nothing in Dr. Channing's physical or mental constitution to make him anxious to exchange views with the arch-agitator. He had lived in the midst of slavery (in Virginia) at an age when his humanity should have been tender and sensitive to cruelty; mature and a clergyman he witnessed it in the West Indies; it was still two years after Mr. Garrison had in vain besought him to cast in the weight of his mighty influence with the despised abolitionists, before he put forth his little work on 'Slavery,' which finished his reputation at the South as completely as if he had accepted the presidency of an

[1] The burning of the Ursuline Convent. (See above, p. 448.) Rumors of a retaliatory attack on Harvard College caused a defensive organization there.

[2] March 13, 1834, Mr. Garrison wrote to G. W. Benson: "Sickness prevented the Rev. Dr. Channing from being present at our meeting [of the New England A. S. Society in the Tremont Temple, March 10]; otherwise we should in all probability have had a speech from him. I understand he fully agrees with us on the great question of immediate emancipation." In July, Dr. Channing was accounting for the New York riots by the "fatal mistake" of the abolition watchword "immediate." (See p. 531 of the centenary edition of his Life.) In the fall, Mr. May was still laboring with him to reconcile him to the word and the idea. (See pp. 170–185 of his 'Recollections,' and pp. 528–536 of the Life just cited.)

Samuel J. May.

anti-slavery society. Meantime, his sermon had made the Norfolk (Va.) *Beacon* (a colonization organ) explicitly give him up as ranged under the banners of Garrison. *Lib.* 4 : 193.

In this year 1834 now passing from view, the American nativity of the editor of the *Liberator* was first doubted and denied. His deep feeling for Newburyport, not smothered by a later attachment (also of the deepest) for his adopted city, Boston, found expression in the following sonnet:

Lib. 4 : 15; *Writings of W. L. G.*, *p.* 173.

Whether a persecuted child of thine
  Thou deign to own, my lovely native place!
  In characters that time can not efface,
Thy worth is graved upon this heart of mine.
Forsake me not in anger, nor repine
  That with this nation I am in disgrace:
  From ruthless bondage to redeem my race,
And save my country, is my great design.
How much soe'er my conduct thou dost blame,
  (For Hate and Calumny belie my course,)
My labors shall not sully thy fair fame;
  But they shall be to thee a fountain-source
Of joyfulness hereafter — when my name
  Shall e'en from tyrants a high tribute force.

CHAPTER XIV.

THE BOSTON MOB (FIRST STAGE).—1835.

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ALWAYS the opening year brought fresh anxiety to the editor of the *Liberator*. January, 1835, found him hampered with the expenses of the withdrawn Canterbury suits, and staggering under the load of the paper, which had latterly been issued quite irregularly, though without a lapse in the series:

MS. Dec. 3, 1834, Arnold Buffum to B. C. Bacon.

MS. to Geo. Benson.

"The truth is," he wrote to his father-in-law on January 12, 1835, "we have been hesitating whether to stop or proceed with it, in consequence of the non-payment of our numerous subscribers, and the faithlessness of a majority of our agents;

Jan. 9, 1835.

and on Friday last I went home to write my valedictory, and to advertise the world of the downfall of the *Liberator!* It was truly an afflicting period, and I felt as if I was about cutting off my right arm, or plucking out my right eye. Ascertaining my purpose, several of my anti-slavery brethren rallied together, and have resolved to sustain me and the paper if I will proceed; so, hereafter, I trust, you will get it regularly."

But now a new danger loomed up — to the cause, to its pioneer, and to his organ. The disaffection in the anti-slavery ranks towards Mr. Garrison on account of his "harsh" and "unchristian" language, as described in the last chapter, had not escaped the clerical supporters of the Colonization Society. They saw in it the means, and the only means, to check the advance of abolitionism, by breaking down the editor of the *Liberator*. To this end they craftily devised a new organization, with a title and with aims vague enough to include everybody who felt any concern for the blacks, and hence

calculated to draw off from the bold and specific agitation of the abolitionists such of their number as deplored the separation from colonization philanthropy. After several months of incubation and many announcements in the Boston *Recorder*, on Christmas Day, 1834, a call was issued through that journal for a convention to form an American Union for the Relief and Improvement of the Colored Race, to be held in Boston on January 14, 1835. Among the eight signers were Joseph Tracy and two other editors of the *Recorder*. Its postulate was: "The system of slavery is wrong, and ought to be abandoned with the least possible delay." Since not only "abolitionists" but "Garrisonites" could subscribe to this, the invitation was modified in season so as expressly to except from it those who did not believe a new organization needed to exert "a kind moral influence upon the community."

Lib. 7:150. *Lib.* 5:3. *Lib.* 5:3. *Lib.* 5:7, 11. *Lib.* 5:7.

The Congregational clergymen who were managing the convention were certainly displeased and embarrassed, but could hardly have been surprised, by the appearance of the Garrisonites asking to be enrolled as members under the original call. However, they promptly voted that organization should proceed under the second call; rebuked Mr. Thompson for his impertinence in obtruding himself upon the meeting; refused to allow any opponent of the proposed organization to be heard;[1] and dodged the question formally presented by Amos A. Phelps, Cyrus P. Grosvenor, George Thompson, Joshua V. Himes, Ellis Gray Loring, and Mr. Garrison, whether the organization differed in principle from the existing anti-slavery organizations, or was merely additional and coöperative. They ended by adopting a cut-and-dried constitution, after a debate in which motions to substitute "sin" for "wrong" in describing slavery, and "universally and immediately" for "with the least possible delay" in urging that slavery be "abandoned," were

Lib. 5:16.

[1] The Rev. J. S. C. Abbott had the fairness to propose that this courtesy should be granted.

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rejected by large majorities. The Rev. Leonard Bacon was a spectator of the closing scenes, but was not among the officers chosen, who all belonged to some one of the four Northern New England States.

Mr. Garrison was cautioned by estimable abolition brethren "not to be too precipitate, or too uncharitable, or too harsh in passing judgment on the new Society." *Lib.* 5:11. Accordingly, he let it off by branding it "as cold and proud in its spirit, defective in its organization, corrupt in its origin, deceitful in its object, and delusive in its action"; "a wretched imposition," doomed to come to naught; "a soulless organization with a sounding title." Its chief promoters were Joseph Tracy, formerly of Vermont, and Leonard Bacon, colonizationists like the majority of their associates, and therefore incapacitated from winning the confidence of the colored population whom they proposed to "relieve." Their constitution would not prevent coöperation with the Colonization Society in "relieving" that population off the face of the land. Their organization was narrowly sectarian, being almost wholly within the Orthodox-Congregational body;[1] and their membership was by election—an odd feature in a philanthropic society.

Arthur Tappan, to Mr. Garrison's sorrow, was the first and the only prominent abolitionist who fell into a trap set, doubtless, for him more than for any other man. His elder brothers, John and Charles, had had a considerable share in the preparation and direction of the convention, and their private representations to him could hardly have failed of effect. What ensued is thus described in a letter from G. W. Benson to S. J. May:

[1] Profs. Sidney Willard and Henry Ware, Jr., and the Rev. E. S. Gannett, all Unitarians, were among the vice-presidents chosen; but all were removed at the first meeting of the Union, except Prof. Willard, whose presence made it awkward to get rid of him too (*Lib.* 5:11, 17, 19). This was baseness itself, considering the Union's virtual appropriation subsequently of the constitution of the Cambridge A. S. Society (which see in Muzzey's 'Reminiscences,' pp. 294, 295). Channing's name, proposed as "friendly" to the nominating committee, was not reported back (*Lib.* 5:19).

"The news from Boston respecting the abolition movements of last week is not very agreeable. You have seen, I suppose, the doings of the convention that formed a society called the American Union, and the course pursued toward them by Garrison. Well, at the close of the convention, Arthur Tappan appeared in Boston, and spent nearly a day or more. The evening before his departure, he met with a large number of the anti-slavery men of that city, and put to them several queries: first, if it was the intention of the Anti-Slavery Society to carry on a war of extermination against the Colonization Society; to which they all answered in the affirmative. Secondly, Does the Anti-Slavery Society mean to endorse and approve of all the sentiments put forth by Garrison? They all assented to the reply of Mr. Sewall, that they did approve of the principles advanced by Mr. Garrison heretofore; that Garrison acted on his own responsibility; that by that they did not feel bound to sustain him in anything he might hereafter do, without they approved of it. He then wished to know what they meant by political action. They explained in reply what they meant — in substance, the same as the *Liberator*. *MS. Providence, Jan. 27, 1835.*

"At this stage of the interview, Mr. Garrison, who had till then sat in profound silence, rose, and said he felt very much embarrassed. 'There,' said he, 'is the man who relieved me from a prison, and who has heaped upon me innumerable favors.' He then went on to state his view of duty in relation to the above queries, and what he thought of the American Union; and asked, with considerable emotion, whether he should compromise principle and sacrifice what he believed to be his duty to his colored brethren, to gratify that man to whom he felt under so many and great obligations. He said, after a pause, 'No, I cannot,' and immediately left the room.

"The conference continued till near midnight, and then broke up, without Mr. Tappan's fully explaining himself, except that he said he did not mean to lower the standard of his principles on this subject, but that he thought we might unite with the Union men so far as they felt disposed. He left Boston the next morning for New Haven, where he penned the letter to the Boston *Recorder* which you can see by referring to that paper of the 23d inst. I give you these facts as I received them from Mr. Prentice, who spent several days in Boston last week. I believe I have got the substance correct. A breach is confidently anticipated by the Boston abolitionists. Several persons have written Mr. Tappan from different places, I understand, enquiring *Also, Lib.* 5:19.

CHAP. XIV. 1835. if he meant the sentiments contained in that letter should be received as coming from an individual, or the President of the American A. S. Society. . . . I sincerely hope the difficulty will be healed, if it can be, without yielding principle."

Mr. Tappan's letter to the *Recorder*, which was eagerly
Lib. 5:27. copied by pro-slavery papers, expressed the hope that the Union and the anti-slavery societies could work in harmony, as he believed there already existed a substantial agreement in principle. He defended Mr. Garrison against the charge of atheism;[1] said his friends were not insensible of his faults, of which "the most prominent is the severe and denunciatory language with which he often assails his opponents and repels their attacks," but hoped "to see this corrected, and that argument will take the place of invective"; and declared that much was due him for his noble and disinterested efforts.

Lib. 5:19. Mr. Garrison replied by denying that the leading anti-slavery men were in sympathy or connection with the new organization: it was the laughing-stock of abolitionists. He took the liberty of appending a private letter from Lewis Tappan, in reference to "the late convention in Boston to form what I should call AN ANTI-GARRISON SOCIETY."[2] To the *Liberator's* editorial comments on its proceedings this writer gave his approval: "They will meet a hearty response from every true-hearted emancipationist in the land. The times require decision and courage, and I feel thankful to God for your steadfastness at the post which His providence has assigned you. Go on and prosper, thou friend of the oppressed! The Lord will be thy shield and buckler."[3]

[1] Preferred by the *Recorder*, which absurdly ranked Mr. Garrison with Paine, Rousseau, and the French Jacobins (*Lib.* 5:3).

[2] Amasa Walker called this hitting the nail on the head (*Lib.* 5:27). The promoters of the American Union, said a writer in the N. E. *Spectator*, "hate Garrisonism more than they detest slavery" (*Lib.* 5:26). And a correspondent of the *Liberator* described the proceedings of the convention as "thoroughly imbued with the 'Hang Garrison' spirit" (*Lib.* 5:22).

[3] Even more plainly spoke Lewis Tappan in a letter pardoning Mr. Garrison for having placed him before the public as antagonistic to his brother (MS. Feb. 5, 1835): "When I first heard of the American Union, I looked upon it as a device of Satan, using many good men to effect his nefarious purposes."

Arthur Tappan's aberration, however, was but momentary. Within a fortnight after his return from Boston he subscribed five thousand dollars for the year to the funds of the American Anti-Slavery Society, and waited for developments as to the course of the American Union, which lost no time in making itself ridiculous.[1] It held one meeting, at which Leonard Bacon proposed getting statistics of the colored population, and information about the results of emancipation in other countries; and at which the constitution adopted the same day was amended by leaving the "abandonment" of slavery absolutely indeterminate. On the following day it would not listen to the statistics offered to be read, and eliminated the Unitarians from the board of officers. Some weeks later it brought out its "plans," which included the incidental abolition of slavery, and much of Mr. Garrison's thunder,—such as the improvement of the colored people in the large cities and towns by religious and secular instruction, furthering their employment, and inculcating saving habits; and the higher education of the more promising young men, to fit them to civilize the West Indies; but above all, statistics, statistics, as the basis of action by the Union! It professed no hostility to slaveholders, nor any opposition to the American Anti-Slavery or American Colonization Society. It sought to gather-in the clergy and churches and individuals who could coöperate with neither organization. With much difficulty it formed one or two microscopic auxiliary societies; in July despatched Prof. E. A. Andrews[2] on a

MS. Feb. 5, 1835, Lewis Tappan to W. L. G.

Lib. 5:19.

Lib. 5:19.

Lib. 5:49.

Lib. 5:55, 63, 99.

[1] "Arthur Tappan is still firmly with us. He keeps very still respecting the American Union, but the impression is that he regrets the course he pursued in regard to it. He has given the American A. S. Society $1000 this month" (MS. New York, Feb. 25, 1835, Henry E. Benson to his brother George). On March 16, Mr. Garrison wrote from New York to his wife, of an Executive-Committee meeting on March 14: "Arthur Tappan was in the chair, and manifested a truly noble spirit. When the American Union caught him, 'it caught a Tartar,' and it will be glad to get rid of him."

[2] Author of the well-known Latin Grammar and Lexicon. See his apologetic 'Slavery and the Domestic Slave Trade in the United States: In a series of letters addressed to the Executive Committee of the American Union for the Relief and Improvement of the Colored Race' (Boston, 1836); and *Lib.* 6:38, where, under the caption, "A Pernicious Publica-

tour of observation as far as Richmond; in May of the following year held a public meeting to counsel patience with wrongdoing, and calmness towards the oppressor, and then followed the Cambridge Anti-Slavery Society and the Massachusetts Colonization Society to their long resting-place. Some thought it was only the spook of the latter body. Mr. Garrison, in an address to his colored brethren, called it "a new society of old [colonization] materials." They would naturally ask what its object was. "The same question was propounded by an influential gentleman of this city (not an abolitionist) to one of the originators of this scheme. What was his reply? It was this:—'Our object is, TO PUT DOWN GARRISON AND HIS FRIENDS.' Now, who are my friends if you are not? You are all my friends—my most grateful, attached, devoted friends. The object, then, of the 'American Union' is *to put you down*, along with myself! I suspected as much, long ago." But they need only stand by him as heretofore, "and we will soon scatter to the winds this lofty but fragile fabric of persecution, pride and cowardice."

Lib. 6:87, 91, 99, 105.

Lib. 5:103.

Lib. 5:23.

Charles Tappan, Lib. 10:10.

In fact, the colored citizens of Boston refused emphatically to be "relieved" by the new saviour of society. The soulless diversion met the early doom predicted for it by its intended victim. His friends refused to be seduced or panic-stricken, or to assist in putting him down. Its most distinct achievement during its brief career was to paralyze the attempt to revive a lapsed anti-slavery society among the Andover students, with whom, in the first weeks of January, George Thompson was powerfully laboring. It encouraged the pro-slavery portion of the Faculty to warn the students against any connection with the American A. S. Society, on the ground that this would repel men who "are prejudiced against the name

Lib. 5:35.

Lib. 5:27, 29, 50.

tion," Mr. Garrison banteringly reviews the book. Andrews's account of his interview with Arthur Tappan in New York shows how completely the American Union had lost its hold on the latter. Another unobjectionable publication was 'Letters from the West Indies,' by Prof. Sylvester Hovey (*Lib.* 8:87).

'Anti-slavery,' because they do not wish to identify themselves with 'Garrison and his imprudences.'" So the renascent organization took the harmless name of the "African's Friend Society," calculated, like that of the American Union, to exert "a kind, moral influence on the community." Then Prof. Moses Stuart advised that the Colonization committee be dissolved, and cautioned the students against excitement on the subject of slavery, and above all not to "pray about it publicly." Thus the peace of the graveyard was secured in the Theological Seminary at Andover.[1]

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The American Union had both miscalculated the extent of the dissension among the abolitionists, and failed from sheer dishonesty to take advantage of that which actually existed. For, however unconsciously to Mr. Garrison, Northern sentiment, whether abolitionist or not, was gradually dividing itself into Garrisonite and anti-Garrisonite; and towards the latter class were surely gravitating the pietistic, theological and sectarian elements of society. Circumstances about to be described made the condition of the American churches the next great concern of the abolitionists, and consequently the subject of the *Liberator's* most uncompromising censure. All denominations were on the eve of throwing off the mask as apologists for the slave system, and of covering their guilt by exciting anew against Mr. Garrison the *odium theologicum* already incurred by his exposure of the colonization hypocrisy. The result could but confirm the fears of those genuine abolitionists who had been disturbed by his "unchristian" mode of denunciation, and effectuate the breach for which the American Union had not sufficed. The unscrupulous and malignant misrepresentations of his enemies were practically

[1] The neighboring institution of Phillips Academy underwent a similar experience; but fifty students, though nearly all professors of religion and studying for the ministry, were less subservient than those of the divinity school. Forbidden to organize among themselves, they joined a village A. S. society, and, disobeying an ex-post-facto regulation of the Faculty, were virtually expelled (*Lib.* 5:122, 130).

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unchecked (for the public at large) either by personal acquaintance or by candid perusal of his writings. A single contemporary instance will show the force of this ignorance and prejudice even in the most enlightened and unbigoted and humanitarian circles. At Concord, Mass., on his Middlesex County lecturing tour, Charles C. Burleigh[1] had a friendly conversation with Miss Emerson, the maiden aunt of the poet:[2]

MS. April 3, 1835, to S. J. May.

"'Why do you have that Garrison engaged in your cause?' said she, and proceeded to express her strong dislike of him and his paper. 'You might as well ask me,' I replied, 'why we permit the rivers to flow on in their channels, for the one could be prevented as easily as the other, while life remains, and the physical power to labor, in Garrison.' We thereupon discussed Mr. G.'s conduct and character, and I soon found she knew very little about either. I related some facts showing his self-denial, his sacrifice, his heart-and-soul devotion to the cause. Her countenance brightened as I proceeded, and before I could complete my narrative she exclaimed, 'He ought to be *canonized*.'"

Nothing marks more peculiarly Mr. Garrison's anti-slavery warfare than the maturity of it—the judicial measure which is visible in his earliest as in his latest utterances. There had been, since his programme was

[1] A native of Plainfield, Conn., born in 1810, and one of a highly-gifted family of brothers. His father, Rinaldo Burleigh, was a graduate of Yale (1803), acquired a high reputation as teacher of the academy in Plainfield, and became president of the first anti-slavery society in Windham Co. His mother, Lydia Bradford, a native of Canterbury, was a lineal descendant of Governor Wm. Bradford, of the *Mayflower*. Charles Burleigh was admitted to the bar in January, 1835, his examination showing remarkable proficiency. Already, however, his editorial defence of Miss Crandall *(ante*, p. 416) had committed him to the cause of abolition, and he soon exchanged his brilliant professional prospects for the hardships, odium, and perils of an anti-slavery lecturer. As an orator he was unsurpassed in fluency, logical strictness, and fervor, lacking only the measure of time and space. His tall figure, noble countenance, and unconventional dress, with sandy flowing beard and long ringlets, made his personal appearance as unique as his talent.

[2] Mary Moody Emerson, a very quaint personage. She was born in 1773 and died in 1863. Her home was in Waterford, Me. (See 'Worthy Women of our First Century,' pp. 114, 120, 138, 152, 175; *Atlantic Monthly*, December, 1883.)

announced in 1831, no deviation from it, no change in his spirit or his language. No shade had yet come over his orthodoxy. He had not ceased to quote the Bible against slaveholding, nor to depend upon the instrumentality of the churches in converting the North to his views. It was the conductors of a depraved religious press, rebuked without ceremony for its libels on the blacks and on the abolitionists; the trustees of theological schools invaded, or likely to be invaded, by the strife between colonization and immediate emancipation; the officers of denominations whose New England pulpits were, if usually closed, sometimes freely opened, to George Thompson and other anti-slavery lecturers,— it was these classes who were changed, but only into more bitter and more open opponents of the moral revolution they had failed to initiate, and could neither direct nor resist. The American Church, with its Northern and Southern brotherhood, had always acquiesced in slavery. Now first, in the year 1835, the progress of the agitation compelled the Northern wing to take sides deliberately for or against the old connection.

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One sees how the anti-slavery leaven had begun to work in it. On the one hand was the Boston meeting of members and pastors of various city churches, to form a union among professing Christians to determine the action of churches as such against slavery; the formation of an anti-slavery society among the preachers of the New England Methodist Conference at Lynn, under the influence of George Thompson, and at the New Hampshire Conference; anti-slavery declarations by the Maine General Conference, the Detroit Presbytery, the Utica Synod, the Michigan Synod, the Maine Baptist Convention. On the other hand, in Boston, churches and vestries were shut against abolition meetings even for prayer, and the notices of them were systematically suppressed. In New Hampshire, Methodist bishops issued a pastoral letter against coöperation with the aboli-

April 2, 1835. *Lib.* 5:59.

Lib. 5:99.

Lib. 5:109, 133,149; 105, 163,191; 173.

Lib. 5:59.

Lib. 5:173.

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tionists, and especially against allowing them pulpit hospitality. In New York, the American Bible Society publicly disclaimed any connection with them, and sought credit for its refusal to accept the offer of funds to place Bibles in the hands of the Southern slaves, or to recommend local societies to do so.[1] In Philadelphia, the Baptist General Tract Society exacted a pledge of its agents not to intermeddle in any way with the slavery question. At Pittsburg, the Presbyterian General Assembly referred numerous petitions on slavery to a committee four-fifths of whom were Southerners; and, after an animated debate over their report, assigned the whole matter to a select committee to report at the next Assembly. In a bold speech against delay, frequently interrupted by calls to order, Elder Stewart, from Illinois, declared the church the patron of slavery and responsible for its cruelties, and added: "Slavery cannot be sustained by the Bible, and if it could, the Bible could not be sustained." So thought not the Synod of Virginia, whose report on abolition pronounced the dogma that slavery was sinful, "contrary . . . to the clearest authority of the word of God."[2]

Lib. 5:189.

Lib. 5:189.

Lib. 5:93, 102, 103.

Lib. 5:181.

Looking over the whole field, Mr. Garrison found the religious press, without regard to denomination, "filled with apologies for sin and sinners of the worst class," though all of "the preëminently corrupt and servile" at

Lib. 5:154.

[1] The offer of $5000 to that end, made by the American A. S. Society in 1834 (*Lib.* 6:27), was renewed at the annual meeting in 1835, on motion of Elizur Wright, Jr. (2d Ann. Report Am. A. S. Society, p. 29).

[2] A Northern Orthodox clergyman, the Rev. Hubbard Winslow, of Boston, a colonizationist, went a step further, preaching that the laws of the land must be obeyed even if God's commandments were violated (*Lib.* 5:103). So the Massachusetts Attorney-General Austin, prosecuting at the time the Rev. Geo. B. Cheever to conviction, asked the jury: "Can there be a safer mode of determining what is right or wrong than, Is it lawful?" On this Mr. Garrison commented (*Lib.* 5:107): "Now, I care not what the law allows me to do, or what it forbids my doing. If I violate it, I will submit to the penalty, unresistingly, in imitation of Christ, and his apostles, and the holy martyrs. But to learn my duty, I will not consult any other statute-book than THE BIBLE; and whatsoever requirement of man I believe is opposed to the spirit of the gospel, I will at all hazards disobey."

the North were Orthodox save one[1]; and drew from the developments of the day as to the demoralization of the churches proof that "*American* (not Bible) Christianity is the main pillar of American slavery."[2] He had been painfully affected by the coincidence that the first denomination to succumb to the test which he had prepared for all the number, was that in which he had been reared, and which from early childhood he had been taught to regard "as most truly apostolical in its doctrines." The Baptist General (Eighth Triennial) Convention having been appointed to meet, in the spring of 1835, at Richmond, Va., it appeared opportune to the Baptist Board of Foreign Missions to make public their answer, dated September 1, 1834, to an address from the Board of Baptist Ministers in and near London, England, dated December 31, 1833, to the Baptist churches in America, urging them to promote emancipation. The address itself was carefully withheld, and first appeared in the *Liberator*, which copied it, together with the reply, from a London organ of the Baptists. The American Board declined compliance, on the ground that slavery was not originated by the American colonies, and that hence both the nation and the free States were guiltless in regard to it; that Maryland, Kentucky, and Virginia were endeavoring to get rid of the system; that slaveholders knew best the true interests of the negro; that emancipation was hazardous and must be gradual; that what was needed was calm and affectionate argument; that agitation would divide the Northern and Southern Baptists. "Our slaveholding brethren" were vouched for as "Christians, sincere followers of the Lord Jesus."[3]

Lib. 5:163.

Lib. 5:51.

Lib. 5:41.

[1] "All the religious papers at the South," said the *Evangelist*, "now take the ground that slavery is no sin" (*Lib.* 5:196).

[2] So Birney's short-lived Kentucky A. S. Society resolved that slaveholding by professors of religion was the greatest barrier to emancipation (*Lib.* 5:77).

[3] The Society of Friends had received a similar epistle from a meeting of Friends in London, but remained discreetly mum (*Lib.* 5:67; see, also, Mr. Garrison's resolution concerning the abatement of their zeal in 2d Ann. Report Am. A. S. Society, p. 32, and S. J. May's experience with the Newport Quakers, 'Recollections,' p. 147).

Lib. 5:67. This "shallow attempt to evade," as the London *Abolitionist* justly termed it, was duly dissected by Mr. Garrison in the *Liberator*, but we can find room here only for these general prefatory remarks:

Lib. 5:43, 47, 51. *Lib.* 5:43. "It is a fact, alike indisputable and shameful, that the Christianity of the 19th century, in this country, is preached and professed by those who hold their brethren in bondage as brute beasts! and so entirely polluted has the church become, that it has not moral power enough to excommunicate a member who is guilty of MAN-STEALING! Whether it be Unitarian or Orthodox, Baptist or Methodist, Universalist or Episcopal, Roman Catholic or Christian,[1] it is full of innocent blood—it is the stronghold of slavery—it recognizes as members those who grind the faces of the poor, and usurp over the helpless the prerogatives of the Almighty! At the South, slaves and slaveholders, the masters and their victims, the spoilers and the spoiled, make up the *Christian* church! The churches at the North partake of the guilt of oppression, inasmuch as they are in full communion with those at the South. To each of them *Psalms*, l. 18. it may be said—'When thou sawest a thief, then thou consentedst with him, and hast been partaker with adulterers.' 2 *Cor.* vi. 17. And the plain command to each of them is, 'Wherefore, come out from among them, and be ye separate,[2] saith the Lord, and touch not the unclean thing; and I will receive you, and will be a Father unto you, and ye shall be my sons and daughters, saith the Lord Almighty.'"

As if to heighten the evil example of the Baptist Board, two English delegates to the Richmond Convention, the Rev. Dr. F. A. Cox and the Rev. Dr. J. Hoby, returned thence to New York in season to attend the annual meeting of the American Anti-Slavery Society, to which, indeed, they were formally invited. But they declined to take part in it. Dr. Cox, a member of the *Lib.* 5:109. British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society, and, though passive, one of the committee who sped George Thompson on his mission to America, was privately exhorted

[1] Pronounced with the first *i* long. "A name assumed by a sect which arose from the great revival in 1801" (Bartlett's 'Dictionary of Americanisms').

[2] The full *political* application of this text occurred later to Mr. Garrison.

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by the latter, but carefully avoided the gathering of the abolitionists. Dr. Hoby, it is true, protested from the gallery, in answer to Thompson's indignant rebuke of them, that they did not wish to compromise the "spiritual and sacred" objects of their journey; and Dr. Cox by letter urged political objections to foreigners sharing in the anti-slavery agitation. In short, they remained silent in New York, as they had been eloquently dumb in Richmond, where their Southern brethren received them with perfect cordiality and the Convention audaciously resolved, that slave-owners ought to awake to the importance of giving religious instruction (not Bibles) to their slaves.[1]

The hostility of the churches and the timidity of public-hall owners now began to be a most serious embarrassment to the abolitionists in their oral propaganda. In Philadelphia the resolve was formed to build an Anti-Slavery Hall, and in Boston the need was even greater. The New England Convention, at its May session, was shut out of seven churches, of the Masonic Temple, and of every hall in the city but two — including Faneuil Hall itself, by the questionably legal action of the city authorities. Thereupon, on June 22, a meeting was held at Julien Hall to take measures for the erection of a Free Church[2] building "in which all the great moral questions of the day may be discussed without let or hindrance." Francis Jackson presided, and Mr. Garrison was among

Lib. 5:70.

Lib. 5:87, 89; *4th Ann. Report Mass. A. S. Soc.*, *p.* 16.

Lib. 5:99, 103, 107.

[1] See the apology of Drs. Cox and Hoby in 'The Baptists in America: A Narrative of the Deputation from the Baptist Union in England,' etc., N. Y., 1836, Chap. 5; and Mr. Thompson's public review of the whole matter in London (*Lib.* 6:133, 137, and also 146, 194, 198). Dr. Cox was afterwards present at the Faneuil Hall meeting in Boston (Chap. 11; *Lib.* 6:138; and below, p. 497), where Mr. Thompson was no longer the accuser, but the murderously accused.

[2] A congregation had already been formed with this designation, and had with difficulty obtained recognition from an Orthodox council, owing to the following rule of covenant: "All persons who use or traffic in ardent spirits as a drink, all adhering masons, and all slaveholders, or those who are concerned in the buying and selling of slaves, shall be excluded from the communion-table and the pulpit." See the whole story and its sequel in 'Right and Wrong in Boston' for 1837.

CHAP. XIV. 1835. the speakers, as was also Benjamin F. Hallett, editor of the *Daily Advocate*, who, in reporting the proceedings in his paper, said they meant to build "a new Cradle of Liberty," "where free discussion, and not the caprices of deacons, and committees, and aldermen, shall be the presiding genius; where the Constitution, and not the constable, shall be consulted whether it will do to discuss such and such principles for fear of a mob. Mobs are the fruits of checking free discussion. . . . You can never get up a mob in Boston to repress free discussion, even of heresy and error." His brother-editor of the *Commercial Gazette*, however, knew Boston better when, with reference to this very movement on the part of the abolitionists, he called on "all good citizens to combine for the purpose of putting down their nefarious transactions"; and again, on the 4th of July, when, the editor of the *Liberator* delivering an address at Julien Hall, the *Gazette* proposed throwing "the mischievous Garrison" and his hearers overboard like the tea spilt in Boston Harbor during the Revolution. "A cold bath would do them good."

Lib. 5:105.

Lib. 5:109.

Two influences Boston could not escape: one, the example of Congress in repressing free speech; the other, the example of sister cities carried away by Southern panic. On February 2, Mr. Dickson, of New York, presented in the House of Representatives the petition of eight hundred ladies for the abolition of slavery in the District of Columbia, and, in a favorable speech, asserting the power of Congress in the premises, moved its reference to a select committee; but the House, by a three-fifths vote, chose to lay it on the table. On February 11, like petitions were presented in the Senate from Ohio, Pennsylvania, and Maine, and referred to the Committee on the District. More petitions reached the House on the 16th, this time from Massachusetts also, and now the resentment of the South, feeling the censure involved in the proposed action in the District, could no longer be contained. Clay, of Alabama, said the anti-

Lib. 5:26, 30.

Lib. 5:30.

Lib. 5:31.

slavery agitation "was confined to a few fanatics, urged and guided by the Garrisons, the Tappans, and others, their wire-workers." Wise, of Virginia, declared the South would fight to the hilt against emancipation in the District unless upon a petition from slave-owners. The House, which had adopted Mr. Dickson's motion (seconded by his colleague, Mr. Fillmore) to print a memorial from Rochester, N. Y., bearing the mayor's signature, was persuaded by Wise to reconsider and lay it, like the several petitions, upon the table. The same fate attended petitions afterwards introduced by John Quincy Adams; but the slavery question had come to stay in Congress. CHAP. XIV. 1835.

The Southern panic was especially caused by the activity of the admirably directed American Anti-Slavery Society. A circular from the management[1] to its auxiliaries, in June, urged the raising of $30,000 for the current year, to multiply agents, societies, and periodicals, and provide for the gratuitous distribution of anti-slavery publications. In the first week of each month a small folio paper called *Human Rights* would be issued; in the second week, the *Anti-Slavery Record*, "a small magazine with cuts"; in the third, an enlarged sheet of the *Emancipator;* in the fourth, the *Slave's Friend*, a juvenile magazine — all struck off by the thousand. Of the sum required, $14,500 had been raised at the annual meeting in May; $4,000 by the New England Convention, where Isaac Winslow handed in a thousand-dollar bill. Such a practical programme, backed by such energy and such ready funds, was well calculated to startle the South. *Lib.* 5:98.

On July 10, a group of Southerners, chiefly Mississippian and all Gulf-State, met at the American Hotel in New York, and appointed a committee to prepare an address summoning a public meeting in that city ten days later, "to take into consideration the alarming subject now *Lib.* 5:115.

[1] The Executive Committee consisted of Arthur Tappan, John Rankin, Lewis Tappan, Joshua Leavitt, Samuel E. Cornish, William Goodell, Abraham L. Cox, Theodore S. Wright, Simeon S. Jocelyn, and Elizur Wright, Jr. — Messrs. Cornish and T. S. Wright being colored clergymen.

CHAP. XIV. 1835. being agitated — the doctrines disseminated and the measures adopted by some of their fellow-citizens of the non-slaveholding States, avowing a solemn determination to effect an immediate and unconditional emancipation of the slaves at the South"; and to avert the disastrous consequences of such interference.

Lib. 5:87. Before the day fixed for the meeting, Mr. Garrison, whose health was not good, yielding to the solicitations

July 18, 1835. of his aunt Newell, sailed with her[1] to the British Provinces, to visit their relatives and look after certain inheritances. On his return, in the first week of August, he found the whole country ablaze with an excitement that threatened the safety of every abolitionist.

Lib. 5:118. What had happened, meantime, was this. The Southern meeting in New York had come off (July 20). Moderate resolutions were presented, admitting slavery to be an evil, but apologizing for it as entailed (in the manner of the Baptist Board of Foreign Missions), and on the ground (already used to justify the persecution of Prudence Crandall) that "amalgamation" of the two races would be revolting; protesting that agitation would compel the slaveholders in self-defence to tighten the bonds of the slave; and calling for a convention of delegates from the slaveholding States to consider the present crisis. To these the "fire-eaters" objected as conceding too much, and to the convention as giving undue importance to a set of fanatics powerless for mischief. It was thereupon resolved rather that, "*whether slavery in our country be an evil or not*, it is a question belonging solely to the States in which it is tolerated"; that the South could not believe the abolitionists would seriously affect public opinion at the North, and confidently relied upon the North to put them down; but that if the issue were forced, the rights of property were sacred and would be maintained.

[1] In the *Boundary*, Capt. Shackford. On this trip Mr. Garrison learned his true birth-year, 1805 — almost the only compensation he got for his outlay and discomfort.

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The Northern mind was prepared to give full weight to this manifesto in consequence of a ferocious anti-negro riot in Philadelphia the week previous (July 13, 14), growing out of a colored servant's having struck his employer with an axe. Nor was it allowed to recover its equilibrium, if prejudice would have allowed it, for directly (July 24) a mass meeting was held at the Capitol in Richmond to stem the progress of abolition, and adjourned for greater deliberation to August 4. Simultaneously came the news of an alleged slave insurrection in Mississippi, with the hanging of two of its white promoters[1] on the Fourth of July! And then, to crown all, the leading citizens of Charleston, on the night of July 29, broke into the post-office and took possession of "incendiary" matter brought from New York by the U. S. mail packet *Columbia*, among which were discovered the *Emancipator*, the *Anti-Slavery Record*, the *Slave's Friend*, *Human Rights* — unmistakably issued from the office of the American Anti-Slavery Society and (to Southern eyes) intended for circulation among the slaves. On the next night three thousand persons gathered to assist in burning them in front of the main guard-house, and to hang and afterwards burn effigies of Arthur Tappan, Garrison, and the Rev. Dr. Samuel H. Cox. Two days later, with appropriately lurid metaphor, the City Council called a mass meeting for August 3, to defeat "the incendiary acts of those base and unprincipled fanatics who are improperly interfering with our domestic policy."

Lib. 5: 119, 121.

Lib. 5: 122.

Lib. 5: 123, 126. 127, 130; *Niles' Register*, 48: 403; 49: 118.

Lib. 5: 129.

On August 4, the Richmond meeting was held, and its appeal, strengthened by the outrage on the mails in South Carolina, made a profound impression at the

Lib. 5: 133.

[1] Described as "steam-doctors," *i. e.*, Thomsonians (see Bartlett's 'Dictionary of Americanisms', *s. v.*) The plot was said to have embraced the extermination of the whites from Maryland to Louisiana. The abolitionists were not accused (as an association) of having any hand in it, but were of course vaguely connected with it (see 'Memoirs of S. S. Prentiss,' 1: 162). The local excitement was greatly intensified by the barbarous lynching of white gamblers at Vicksburg and Natchez (*Lib.* 5: 126).

CHAP. XIV. 1835. North. Virginia, said the committee making the skilfully worded report which formed the business of the meeting, had taken no notice of the abolition associations so long as they seemed feeble and ineffectual. Now, they had grown strong, with a more perfect organization, and, having presses of their own, were sowing their doctrines broadcast, and sending their inflammatory publications to the Southern States "for the undisguised purpose of producing by fraud or by force the immediate emancipation of our slaves." The meeting conjured the North to repress them "by strong yet lawful, by mild yet constitutional means"; by new laws if those existing were insufficient. The South had a constitutional right to its slave property in the States, the Territories, and the District of Columbia. And since the abolition of slavery anywhere, or the regulation of the inter-State slave trade, would be in violation of the Compact and destructive of the Government, the only way to preserve the Union was by the suppression of the abolitionists. The Postmaster-General was invoked to prevent transmission, through mail-delivery, of "all printed papers *suspected of a tendency* to produce or encourage an insubordinate and insurrectionary spirit among the slaves of the South." The resolutions closed with an affirmation of belief that the North shared the Southern indignation against "deluded fanatics." Will it show its sympathy, asked the Richmond *Whig*, by *works* as well as by words?[1]

Lib. 5:130. Nowhere was this question more seriously pondered than in Boston, where the *Atlas* at once called for a

[1] At a meeting held on August 22, 1835, at Gloucester Court-house, Va., John Tyler, then a Senator of the United States, held up a copy of the *A. S. Record*, which had been sent him through the mail. "Here," said he, "is a picture upon the external covering designed to represent each of you, gentlemen. A scourge is in your hand, and three victims bound and kneeling at your feet. You are represented as demons in the shape of men; and by way of contrast here stands Arthur Tappan, Mr. Somebody Garrison, or Mr. Foreigner Thompson, patting the greasy little fellows on their cheeks, and giving them most lovely kisses. *They* are the exclusive philanthropists — the only lovers of the human race — the only legitimate defenders of the religion of Christ" ('Letters and Times of the Tylers,' 1:576).

meeting in the same Faneuil Hall that had been denied the abolitionists, and urged that Webster, Otis, Adams, Story, Sprague, Austin, Choate, and Everett should "vindicate the fair fame of our city." One thus invited to declare his sentiments against men accused of preparing a civil and servile war in the name of philanthropy, John Quincy Adams, wrote as follows in his diary: CHAP. XIV. 1835.

August 11, 1835.—"The theory of the rights of man has taken deep root in the soil of civil society. . . . Anti-slavery associations are formed in this country and in England, and they are already co-operating in concerted agency together. They have raised funds to support and circulate inflammatory newspapers and pamphlets gratuitously, and they send multitudes of them into the Southern country, into the midst of swarms of slaves. There is an Englishman, by the name of Thompson, lately come over from England, who is travelling about the country, holding meetings and making eloquent inflammatory harangues, preaching the immediate abolition of slavery. The general disposition of the people here is averse to these movements, and Thompson has several times been routed by popular tumults. But in some places he meets favorable reception, and makes converts. . . . There are now calls in the *Atlas* (the Webster paper) and the *Morning Post* (the Jackson and Van Buren paper) for a town-meeting to put down the abolitionists; but the disease is deeper than can be healed by town-meeting resolutions." *Memoirs*, 9:251.

August 12.—"Mr. Abbott Lawrence told me that they were going to have a very great meeting at Boston to put down the anti-slavery abolitionists; but, he said, there was no diversity of opinion upon that subject here. That, I think, will depend upon the measures to be proposed. If the measures are vaporing resolutions, they will pass unanimously and be inefficient. If the measures are efficient, there will be diversity of opinion."

August 18.—"There is something extraordinary in the present condition of parties throughout the Union. Slavery and democracy — especially the democracy founded, as ours is, upon the rights of man — would seem to be incompatible with each other. And yet at this time the democracy of the country is supported chiefly if not entirely by slavery. There is a small, shallow, and enthusiastic party preaching the abolition of slavery upon the principles of extreme democracy; but the

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democratic spirit and the popular feeling is everywhere against them. There have been riots at Washington, not much inferior in activity to those at Baltimore. . . . In Charleston, S. C., the principal men of the State, with the late Governor Hayne at their head, seize upon the mail, with the co-operation of the Postmaster himself, and purify it of the abolition pamphlets;[1] and the Postmaster-General, Amos Kendall, neither approves nor disapproves of this proceeding. . . . In Boston there is a call for a town-meeting, with H. G. Otis and P. C. Brooks at their head. This meeting is to be held next Friday, and is to pass resolutions against the abolitionists, to soothe and conciliate the temper of the Southern slaveholders. All this is democracy and the rights of man."

August 21, 1835.

Mr. Garrison, in what he called the "hurricane excitement of the times," with its special draught towards his own person, might well be excused for not taking Mr. Adams's passionless view of the situation. His first editorial article after his return from the Provinces was entitled "The Reign of Terror."

Lib. 5: 131 (*August* 15, 1835).

"All Pandemonium," it begins, "is let loose — that insanity which precedes self-murder has seized upon the mind of the nation, 'for whom God purposes to destroy he first makes mad'—the American Constitution, nay, Government itself, whether local or general, has ceased to extend the arm of protection over the lives and property of American citizens — Rapine and Murder have overcome Liberty and Law, and are rioting in violent and bloody excess — all is consternation and perplexity, for perilous times have come.

Cf. Niles' Register, 49: 1.

"It is scarcely practicable, and it would certainly be premature, to make any extended comments upon the direful transactions which are going on in various sections of our land. Appeals to reason and justice and liberty, while the tempest of human passion is raging, will be in vain. When it shall have spent its fury, and given place to the ominous silence of utter desolation, the voice of man and the voice of God may again be heard, to the terror and condemnation of the guilty.

"And what has brought our country to the verge of ruin, and substituted anarchy for order, rebellion for obedience,

[1] After the burning, the Charleston Committee of Twenty-one arranged with the postmaster to suppress anti-slavery documents in the office. The mail-packets were boarded on crossing the bar, and kept anchored till morning, or until the Committee could make their inspection.

jacobinism for religion, and blood-guiltiness for innocence? THE ACCURSED SYSTEM OF SLAVERY! To sustain that system, there is a general willingness to destroy the LIBERTY OF SPEECH and of the PRESS, and to mob or murder all who oppose it. In the popular fury against the advocates of bleeding humanity, every principle of justice, every axiom of liberty, every feeling of humanity — all the fundamental doctrines of a republican government, are derided and violated without remorse and with fatal success. . . .

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"The newspapers are crowded with allegations against the abolitionists. These allegations are *diabolically false* — they are LIES of the hugest dimensions, of the most malicious aspect, and of the most murderous tendency. We have never sent any pamphlet or paper to any slave; we have never, in any document, advocated the right of physical resistance on the part of the oppressed; we have never maintained that Congress is empowered to legislate upon the subject of slavery in slaveholding States; we have never asked that the slaves may be 'turned loose'; we have never returned evil for evil. The head and front of our offending is, that we hold slavery to be a blot upon our national escutcheon, a libel upon the Declaration of Independence, A SIN AGAINST GOD which exposes us to his tremendous judgments, and which ought to be immediately repented of and forsaken. We use precisely the same measures, and wield exclusively the same weapons, that have been used in the cause of Temperance and of Peace. It is simply by 'the foolishness of preaching' that we expect to triumph. . . .

"Finally, . . . we tell the South that we regard its threats and warnings with supreme contempt and utter scorn; that our course is still onward, right onward; that we shall never desist from our practice of publishing 'the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth,' respecting its thievish and murderous acts, while life remains, or a slave pines in bondage; for *truth* is against the South — HUMANITY is against it — and GOD is against it."

In the same number of the *Liberator* Mr. Garrison had this flying word for the approaching Faneuil Hall meeting:

"THE OLD CRADLE OF LIBERTY, it seems, is to be desecrated by a meeting of the friends of slavery and slaveholders! Better that the lightning of heaven should smite and devour the building — better that the winds should scatter it in frag-

Lib. 5: 131 (*August* 15, 1835).

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ments over the whole earth — better that an earthquake should engulph it — than that it should be used for so unhallowed and detestable a purpose! Is the SPIRIT OF SEVENTY-SIX cowering beneath the whip of the slave-driver? Has BUNKER HILL no voice for a crisis like this? What! is Faneuil Hall to ring with curses upon the heads of those who plead for liberty and equal rights — for the emancipation of millions of enslaved AMERICAN citizens! O, horrible prostitution! O, base subserviency to tyrants! O, damnable stain upon its fair fame, throughout all time! Let those who contemplate addressing that meeting in opposition to the inalienable rights of their colored countrymen, pause before it is too late — their names and their memories will be covered with eternal infamy. No fiction, no sophistry, can hide the fact from the intelligence of an impartial posterity, that the contemplated meeting is a meeting to take sides with the *slaveholder*, and against his *victim* — to palliate and countenance a bloody despotism, and to plant a dagger in the bosom of Liberty!"

MS. to W. L. G.

Perilous times had surely come. Simeon Jocelyn, just arrived on August 17 at New Haven from New York, reported a horrible state of things in the latter city. There would be no safety there for Thompson — no, nor even in New Haven, thronged with Southerners attending the Yale Commencement; that very day Thompson had taken the stage from New Haven for Boston *via* Hartford, where (it was rumored) a mob had burnt the colored people's church the day before; Thompson, Garrison, the Tappans, were all marked for assassination. Still, the good man found comfort in the thought that "the bonfire at Charleston is exciting a great curiosity to read our papers."

Mrs. Child wrote to Mrs. Ellis Gray Loring from New York, on August 15:

Letters of L. M. Child, p. 15.

"I am at Brooklyn, at the house of a very hospitable Englishman, a friend of Mr. Thompson's.[1] I have not ventured into the city, nor does one of us dare to go to church to-day, so great is the excitement here. You can form no conception of it. 'Tis like

[1] Henry Ibbotson, a merchant of Sheffield, England. Mr. Garrison had stayed with him in March, in Mr. Thompson's company. See R. R. Gurley's letter to him in the *African Repository*, April, 1833 (9:51).

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the times of the French Revolution, when no man dared trust his neighbors. Private assassins from New Orleans are lurking at the corners of the streets to stab Arthur Tappan; and very large sums are offered for any one who will convey Mr. Thompson into the slave States. I tremble for him, and love him in proportion to my fears. He is almost a close prisoner in his chamber, his friends deeming him in imminent peril the moment it is ascertained where he is. . . . Your husband could hardly be made to realize the terrible state of fermentation now existing here. There are seven thousand Southerners now in the city; and I am afraid there are not seven hundred among them who have the slightest fear of God before their eyes."

Henry Benson, now clerk of the Anti-Slavery Office in Boston, wrote to his brother George, on August 19, of Thompson's arrival unmolested on the 18th, and immediate departure for Lynn with Mr. Garrison; but that he was not safe there nor in Boston or vicinity:

MS. Aug. 19, 1835.

"I believe there are those in Boston who would assassinate him in broad daylight. Did you know the state of feeling here you would not have suggested that Brother May should speak at the Faneuil Hall meeting. Even if permission were granted, the rabble would not allow him a hearing. It has been a question with our friends whether they should attend at all. Garrison nor May would not be safe there on an evening, and I doubt whether they would not meet with trouble in the daytime. The least attempt to interfere on our part would be highly disadvantageous, as the meeting is called by an expressed class of people,— viz., those opposed to immediate abolition, — for an *express purpose*. A petition is being signed to procure the Hall for the abolitionists, but it will *unquestionably* be denied. After the meeting we may expect a mob. The *Liberator* office has been threatened in consequence of the article on Saturday. We are putting out an address to the public which will be ready to-day. Ten thousand are to be circulated here in the city. Garrison drew up an admirable one, but they could not swallow it. Thought it most too fiery for the present time. You will see it in the next *Liberator*. It is equal to the Declaration of Sentiments. We have received a great quantity of the publications which were sent to the South, for gratuitous distribution in this city, and have inserted a notice to that effect in the daily papers. . . .

Aug. 15, *ante*, p. 489. *Boston Advertiser*, *Aug.* 20, 1835.

Lib. 5: 134.

Aug. 14, 1835. *Letters of L. M. Child, p.* 16.

"Five thousand dollars were offered on the Exchange in New York for the head of Arthur Tappan on Friday last. Elizur Wright is barricading his house with shutters, bars and bolts. . . . Judge Jay has been with us two or three days. He is as firm as the everlasting hills."

Lib. 5 : 134.

The protests of the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society[1] and of the editor of the *Liberator* against the Southern and pro-slavery charge of sending their publications to the slaves — ("Not one of the Southern editors," said Mr. Garrison, "ventures to quote a single paragraph or sentence from the 'incendiary' publications which, as they declare, have been sent to the South") — could have no effect amid the thick-gathering storm of public and official fury. During the week before the Faneuil Hall meeting assembled, committees of vigilance were being formed at the South to look out for abolition emissaries and documents; steamboats and railroad trains were put under surveillance; the mails were violated with impunity. At a public meeting in the Charleston City Hall, the free States were urged to manifest their disapprobation of the disseminators of a "moral pestilence," not merely by word of mouth, but "by the most active, zealous, and persevering efforts" to put them and their organizations down; and it was firmly declared that the post-office could not constitutionally be made an instrument for disseminating publications prohibited from circulation by the laws of any State. Worse than all, Jackson's Postmaster-General, Amos Kendall, despite his Massachusetts birth, responded to the postmaster at Charleston that while he could not exclude papers from the mails for their tendency, he would not instruct his subordinates to forward them. He took the postmaster's word for it that the papers in question were "the most inflammatory and incendiary — and insurrectionary in

Lib. 5 : 133, 135.

Lib. 5 : 135.

Lib. 5 : 135.

[1] An address to the public, in the same sense, written by William Jay, was put forth on Sept. 3, by the American A. S. Society, of which Judge Jay was the Secretary for Foreign Correspondence ('Life of Arthur Tappan,' p. 246; *Lib.* 5 : 146; *Niles' Register*, 49 : 28).

the highest degree." "We owe," he said, "an obligation to the laws, but a higher one to the communities in which we live; if the *former* be perverted to destroy the *latter*, it is patriotism to disregard them."[1] "I cannot," he continued, "sanction, and *will not condemn*, the step you have taken. Your justification must be looked for in the character of the papers detained, and the circumstances by which you are surrounded." CHAP. XIV. 1835.

Even more frankly, when the postmaster in New York,[2] Jackson-like, "took the responsibility" of refusing to despatch the papers of the American Anti-Slavery Society, Kendall wrote him that he could not sanction his action, but would do the same thing if he were in his place. Postmasters had a right to inspect all news matter, and if this tended to beget the commission of the most aggravated crimes, it was their duty to retain it, or even hand it over to the civil authorities,—with the risk, to be sure, of suffering for improper detention. Anti-slavery publications tended directly to produce the horrors of slave insurrection at the South, being calculated to fill every family with assassins. Southern demonstrations against them, as "power which is exerted in palpable self-defence," were not lawless. Abolitionists might have a right to circulate their documents in New York, where it was lawful, but not in Louisiana or Georgia. The State laws against such circulation were not voidable in the case of Federal officials, nor could postmasters and mail-carriers be protected against the penalties of State laws. "Was it to give impunity to crime that

Lib. 5:135.

[1] This pro-slavery "higher-law" doctrine was identical with that on which the right of secession and the falsity of Federal officers to their oaths were afterwards based.

[2] Samuel L. Gouverneur, son-in-law of ex-President Monroe. The New York *Evening Post*, edited by the intrepid William Leggett, alone of the party press of that city, protested against the postmaster's action (*Lib.* 5: 152; *Evening Post*, Aug. 29, 1835). On August 19, Henry Benson wrote to his brother that the *Liberators* for Philadelphia had apparently been detained by postmasters and boat captains (MS.) All delays or failures of the mail naturally came to be attributed to the same cause by the abolitionists (*Lib.* 5:137).

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the several States came into the Union, and conferred upon the General Government the power to establish post-offices and post-roads?" If Congress should uphold the right of transmission, the South would have to regard that body as a common enemy.[1]

As if to symbolize the Federal impotence to maintain the freedom of the mails and the freedom of speech in its special Territory, Dr. Reuben Crandall, younger brother of Prudence Crandall, was thrown (August 17) into a noisome jail in Georgetown, in the District of Columbia, on a charge of "circulating Tappan, Garrison & Co.'s papers, encouraging the negroes to insurrection," for which a mob would fain have lynched him.[2] Finally (that there might be no lack of topics for the Boston "town-meeting"), on August 10, at Canaan, N. H., the building of the Noyes Academy, opened to pupils of both colors,[3] was, in pursuance of a formal town-meeting vote that it be "removed," dragged by one hundred yoke of oxen from the land belonging to the corporation and left on the common; three hundred yeomen of the county participating, and consummating their outrage with "resolutions" against the "combination of disorganizers, led on by an Englishman sent to this country to sow seeds of discord and contention between the North and the South." The teacher and colored pupils were given a month in which to quit the town.

Lib. 5:135, 137; 6:71, 75; *Life of A. Tappan*, p. 165; *and pamphlet report of the trial.*

Ante, p. 454.

Lib. 5:135, 141, 159, 162.

With all these astonishing evidences of the far-reaching pretensions and authority of the Slave Power, with the disclaimers of the abolitionists spread broadcast before them, and with copies of the papers suppressed at

[1] With a lack of humor surprising in a Northern man, Kendall approved Gouverneur's course on this ground, among others, that it would save the South the trouble of destroying obnoxious mail matter!

[2] It was nearly a year before he was brought to trial, and meantime his health had been ruined (Goodell's 'Slavery and Freedom,' p. 437; *Lib.* 8:31, 43).

[3] A little while before, the Managers of the Massachusetts A. S. Society had recommended that the funds raised for the Manual Labor School be turned over to this Academy (*Lib.* 5:105).

Charleston[1] obtainable gratuitously at the Anti-Slavery Rooms; above all, with full knowledge of the spirit of violence anxious to be loosed against the abolitionists in the midst of them, the social, political, religious and intellectual élite of Boston[2] filled Faneuil Hall on the afternoon of Friday, August 21 — Mayor Theodore Lyman, Jr.,[3] being in the chair, and Abbott Lawrence a vice-president — to draw up an indictment against their fellow-citizens. The preliminary resolutions confessed Boston's eagerness to lead in bowing to the Southern demand for a general Northern manifesto against the abolitionists; belittled the number of the agitators; accused them of wishing to "scatter among our Southern brethren *firebrands, arrows, and death*," and of attempting to force abolition by appeals to the terror of the masters and the passions of the slaves; and denounced with "indignation and disgust the intrusion upon our domestic relations of *alien emissaries* sustained by the funds of a foreign people." They pledged the meeting to support with all its might constitutional laws applicable to overt acts growing out of measures "the natural and direct tendency of which is to excite the slaves of the South to revolt, or of spreading [*sic*] among them a spirit of insubordination." At the same time, they deprecated all riotous or violent proceedings. For the rest, the pro-slavery compromises of 1789, the solemn obligation of the Constitutional compact, and the necessity of depriv-

Lib. 5: 135.

Lib. 5: 139, 141, 144.

[1] They had been addressed only to respectable free citizens at the South (*Lib.* 5: 135).

[2] The call for the meeting had 1500 signatures, filling one and a half solid columns of fine print in the *Daily Advertiser*. Among the signers were some who were abolitionists by nature, and presently became so in name and generous deed. We need only mention Samuel May, uncle of S. J. May, and Charles F. Hovey.

[3] Mr. Lyman was born Feb. 22, 1792, and graduated at Harvard College in 1810. His interest in the State militia secured him the rank of Brigadier-General, and the customary title of General. He was mayor of Boston for the years 1834-35, and died in 1849. His relation to the abolitionists, as about to be described, was typical of that of the best citizens, among whom for humanity and public spirit Mr. Lyman was justly held in the highest esteem.

CHAP. XIV. ing the South of a pretext for disunion, furnished the
1835. staple of the bill of fare upon which Richard Fletcher,[1] Peleg Sprague, and Harrison Gray Otis were presently to enlarge.

1812. Peleg Sprague, a native of Massachusetts, a graduate of Harvard College, a distinguished lawyer, a member of
1825-29. the lower House of Congress for four years, just retired
1829-35. from a six years' term in the Senate, where he represented the State of Maine, and now come to Boston to resume the practice of his profession, was an ideal mouthpiece of Northern respectability. If *his* discourse was heated and malevolent towards the abolitionists, the feelings of the populace could safely be inferred by the
Lib. 5:141. South. He did, in fact, assert that their language and measures clearly tended to insurrection and violence; that if their sentiments prevailed, it would be all over with the Union, which would give place to two hostile confederacies, with forts and standing armies. As to their doctrine that there was a higher law than the Constitution, and something above the Union,—that no law sanctioning slavery could have any moral obligation, and that slaveholders were detestable and abhorrent and the North should have no communion with them—"Time was," he exclaimed, "when such sentiments and such language would not have been breathed in this community; and here, on this hallowed spot, of all the places on earth, should they be met and rebuked."

Lib. 5:141. "Time was, when . . . the generous and gallant Southrons came to our aid, and our fathers refused not to hold communion with slaveholders.[2] . . . When HE, that slave-

[1] An eminent lawyer, a native of Vermont, who came to Boston in 1825. He did not long remain in the ranks of repression. In 1838 he was ready to have Congress abolish slavery in the District and the inter-State slave trade, and to exclude new slave States from the Union (*Lib.* 8:179). As a member of the House of Representatives in the 25th Congress (1837-39), he supported Mr. Giddings in agitating for the first-named end (Buell's 'Joshua R. Giddings,' p. 91).

[2] Very naturally, as they were slaveholders themselves.

holder [pointing to the full-length portrait of Washington],[1] who from this canvas smiles upon you—his children—with paternal benignity, came with other slaveholders to drive the British myrmidons from this city and this hall, our fathers did not refuse to hold communion with him or them. With slaveholders they formed the Confederation, neither asking nor receiving any right to interfere in their domestic relations; with them they made the Declaration of Independence, coming from the pen of that other slaveholder, Thomas Jefferson, a name dear to every friend of human rights.[2] And in the original draft of that Declaration was contained a most eloquent passage upon this very topic of negro slavery, which was stricken out in deference to the wishes of members from the South."

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Mr. Sprague taunted the abolitionists with their prudence in not going South, albeit they professed that one ought to do right regardless of consequences. Then, still further to incite at home the violence they would have been sure to encounter there, he singled out George Thompson, by saying: the anti-slavery doctrines

"have attained their greatest prevalence and intensity within the past year, since a certain notorious foreign agent first landed upon our shores; . . . an avowed *emissary*, sustained by foreign funds, a *professed agitator* upon questions deeply, profoundly *political*, which lay at the very foundation of our Union. . . . He comes here from the dark and corrupt institutions of Europe to enlighten *us* upon the rights of man and the moral duties of our own condition. Received by our hospitality,[3] he stands here upon our soil, protected by our laws, and hurls 'firebrands, arrows and death' into the habitations of our neighbors, and friends, and brothers; and when

Lib. 5: 141.

[1] So far was the sense of shame for the national guilt of slavery, or for the only blot on the character of Washington, from having seized upon the most cultivated and respectable classes at the North, that this allusion produced "an effect perfectly electrical" ('Baptists in America,' p. 387); and so far were they from suspecting the nearness of the overthrow of slavery, that Peleg Sprague retained this speech and this passage in the volume of his collected 'Speeches and Addresses' published in Boston in 1858 (p. 449).

[2] Nothing could more strikingly illustrate the cant begotten by a democratic constitution based on compromises with slavery than such a sentence in such a connection. And what shall be said of the artifice of concealing the public testimonies of both Washington and Jefferson against slavery!

[3] See Thompson's first taste of it on landing, *ante*, p. 451.

CHAP. XIV. 1835. he shall have kindled a conflagration which is sweeping in desolation over the land, he has only to embark for his own country, and there look serenely back with indifference or exultation upon the wide-spread ruin by which *our* cities are wrapt in flames, and *our* garments rolled in blood. . . . If the storm comes, *we* must abide its pelting; if convulsions come, *we* must be in the midst of them. To *us*, then, it belongs to judge of the exigencies of our own condition, to provide for our own safety, and perform our own duties without the audacious interference of foreign emissaries."

Such incendiary language, whatever its motive, could have but one logical effect in a community so overwrought as that of Boston. When the orator, in conclusion, bade the philanthropist go back to England, and see if he would be safe in denouncing the wrongs of Ireland and of India;[1] and declared that Christ did not denounce Roman slavery in his native country, and was no immediate abolitionist ("No, his precept was, 'Servants [slaves], obey your masters,'"), but allowed his religion to work changes in the condition of mankind by degrees, he had enumerated nearly all of the stock arguments against emancipation which were available in the next twenty-five years of moral conflict.

1817-22. Harrison Gray Otis, who followed Peleg Sprague, was, like him, an eminent lawyer and ex-Senator of the United States, and more recently mayor of Boston, where few names, personal or family,[2] were held in greater honor. He was a consummate orator, and his speech on this occasion was more measured and less violent than his colleague's, but even better calculated to make "society" tolerate mob violence against the abolitionists. He began

Lib. 5: 144. by affirming that to debate the expediency of abolishing slavery was the same as to debate that of abolishing the Union — a truism which in time Mr. Garrison acknowledged by making disunion a policy. Fresh from his first

[1] It will appear hereafter how much Mr. Thompson's Indian labors in the meantime reconciled the Spragues to him on his second visit to America, in 1851.

[2] He was a nephew of James Otis, of Revolutionary fame.

reading of the anti-slavery constitutions and proceedings, with their frank avowal of an intention "to propagate a general sentiment favorable to the immediate abolition of slavery," the speaker was prepared to denounce the Society as a "dangerous association." If "not yet an unlawful association (which some sound jurists think it is), it is in a fair way to become so, by its design to trench upon the provisions of the Constitution by overt acts, and its tendency to break down the sacred Palladium." Its immediatism makes it a revolutionary society; and "I deny," said Mr. Otis, "that any body of men can lawfully associate for the purpose of undermining, more than for overthrowing, the government of our sister States. There may be no statute to make such combinations penal, because the offence is of a new complexion." He endorsed the Southern view, that the case was analogous to international interference. "To all this they [the abolitionists] have the temerity to answer that their construction of the Constitution is the same with that of Mr. Webster[1] and other jurists: that they aim at abolition only with the consent of the slaveholding States." Then, why don't they go South to present their appeals? To *send* them through the mails and otherwise was shocking. Their printed documents, for which "the Scriptures have been eviscerated from Genesis to Revelations, to supply their armory of wrath," and some of which are "illuminated with graphic insignia of terror and oppression — with pictorial chains, and handcuffs, and whips," "they gravely say are for the master and not for the slave"; but "such a pretext is an insult to common sense." If slaves are taught to read the Bible, as "a great champion of abolition" recently proposed, they can read these tracts.

Mr. Otis found an even stronger objection to the Society in "its evident direction towards becoming a political association, whose object it will be, and whose tendency now is, to bear directly upon the ballot-boxes

[1] Webster, Choate and Everett were conspicuously absent from the Faneuil Hall meeting (*Lib.* 5: 142).

Ante, p. 455. and to influence the elections," as in the recent case of Abbott Lawrence. "How soon might you see a majority in Congress returned under the influence of [anti-slavery] associations?" He exhorted the abolitionists to consider the consequences of their agitation already — in riots and lynch law; denounced the "higher law"; denied that the Scriptures were anywhere opposed to slavery; repeated that Christ "was not an immediatist"; said that charity began at home; and closed by depicting the horrors of a servile insurrection, of which the result would be extermination on one side or the other.

Such was, in brief, the nature of the Whig Faneuil Hall demonstration, whose local weightiness, and impressiveness for the country at large, can now hardly be appreciated to the full. It exposed the abolitionists to public odium as disorganizers, seeking unconstitutional ends by unconstitutional means, aiming to excite a servile insurrection under pretext of enlightening the masters, and calling to their aid the hereditary foreign enemies of the republic; who were responsible for popular tumults directed against themselves, and whose further tolerance meant a speedy end of the Union between the States. Not a syllable was uttered in protest against the Charleston bonfire, or against the unconstitutional decision of the Postmaster-General, by which every postmaster was authorized to judge what publications had a "tendency" to produce certain evil results, and to refuse them circulation in the mails — a censorship never surpassed in the most despotic country on earth, and, if never possible of enforcement at the North, never relaxed at the South till slavery went under in blood and fire. Not even the jealousy of party spirit warned against such Democratic autocracy.[1] Neither the future

[1] "Suppose the friends of Judge White [Hugh Lawson White, of Tennessee, a Presidential candidate of the time], at the South, should appoint committees to plunder the mail of all letters and newspapers which espoused the cause of Mr. Van Buren; how long would the partizans of the latter gentleman submit to the robbery?" (W. L. G. in *Lib.* 5:139). Both Judge White and John C. Calhoun suspected that their private correspondence

Judge Sprague nor his brother lawyer, neither Mayor Otis declaiming nor Mayor Lyman presiding, and all paving the way for riot in the streets of Boston, bethought them of Judge Thacher's law of libel (as applicable to their printed speeches and resolutions as to the *Liberator*) — "Every publication which has a *tendency* to promote public mischief, whether by causing irritation in the minds of the people that may induce them to commit a breach of the public peace, . . . is a libel." Not one of them had, either then or to his dying day, the smallest scruple for having committed the genuine libel which consists in falsifying the character and purposes of others, and holding them up to general execration and abuse.

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Ante, p. 310.

But this sort of libel was the natural utterance of every "respectable" Whig Bostonian when alluding to the abolitionists. Take, for example, that future ornament of the Supreme Court, Benjamin Robbins Curtis, who wrote to Mr. George Ticknor, then abroad, under date of August 23, 1835:

"The topic which engrosses the public attention, to the exclusion of almost every other, is the 'Anti-Slavery Society.' You will see by the newspapers, which I suppose you receive, that a great meeting has been held at Faneuil Hall on this subject. It was caused by the excitement which exists through all the slaveholding States, in consequence of the efforts of that Society to excite the slaves to insurrection. Dreadful scenes have already occurred in Mississippi. The mob have hung numerous persons, *suspected* of being emissaries of the Society, without legal trial; and so great have been the commotions excited in many parts of the South, and so excited is the public mind there, that there are strong fears felt here by the friends of the Union that, unless something is done here to check the abolitionists, and convince the South that the great body of the people of the Northern States are unfavorable to the Society, the Union will not continue for a single year. All

Memoir of B. R. Curtis, 1:72.

was tampered with by their political opponents in the post-office (*Lib.* 6:64); and as early as 1830, Henry Clay, "to guard against the treachery of the post-office," advised Webster to address him under cover, and proposed to do the same in return (Webster's 'Private Correspondence,' 1:505).

CHAP. XIV. 1835. those persons in the Southern States who are enemies to the Union have seized the present occasion, and are endeavoring to do their utmost to increase the excitement. Some idea may be formed of the interest felt in the subject, from the fact that numerous Southern gentlemen came from all parts of the country to be present at the meeting. You will see the result of the meeting in the newspapers, and we are all glad it is so *well* over. Would that the whole subject could be as easily disposed of!"

The presence of Southern gentlemen in Boston in great numbers, naturally expecting to see pro-Southern words confirmed by pro-Southern deeds, and to lend a hand if need be, rendered the city for the time being no place for the leader of the abolitionists.[1] On the day following the meeting, Mr. Garrison and his wife left their home at 23 Brighton Street[2] for "Friendship's Valley." The *Liberator*, appearing on the same day, gave this preliminary notice of the occasion which Mr. Curtis rejoiced was "so *well* over": "Yesterday afternoon this building [Faneuil Hall] was turned into a worse than Augean stable, by the pollutions of a pro-slavery meeting held for the first time within its venerable walls. . . . Call it no longer the CRADLE OF LIBERTY, but the REFUGE OF SLAVERY." This meeting, it said later, proves the guilt of New England to be equal to that of the South, and answers conclusively the senseless inquiry, "Why don't you go to the South?" Abolitionists would not be disturbed or intimidated by it. "Having now our own liberties to gain, in addition to those of the slaves, (for tyranny has become universal, and our own rights as men and as citizens are trampled in the dust,) we have new motives to urge us forward in the great cause of universal emancipation."

Lib. 5:135.

Lib. 5:139.

[1] Anonymous menaces through the post-office had already recommenced (*Lib.* 5:135).

[2] In May, they had removed from "Freedom's Cottage" to a boarding-house on Guild Row (now Washington Street), near Dudley Street. In the course of a few weeks, to oblige Mr. Thompson, they had taken off his hands the lease of the house on Brighton Street—in convenient proximity to the city jail. See the map in the first chapter of the next volume.

"This meeting will not satisfy the South—it will not even mitigate their anger. Nothing will suit them but an open advocacy of perpetual slavery, and the suppression of anti-slavery publications by penal enactments.[1] So, Bostonians, you have disgraced yourselves in vain, and will receive in exchange for your servility an abundance of kicks, cuffs, and curses—from your *chivalrous brethren at the South.*" "As to the Mayor of Boston, in presiding at this liberty-hating meeting, we shall have something to say about his consistency and impartiality." CHAP. XIV. 1835.

In the same number, Mr. Garrison defended George Thompson by an extended parallel between his mission and methods and Lafayette's; and again, in an article headed "Forbearance of the Abolitionists," considered the causes which would justify their rising in defence of their rights:

"Utterly deprived of that protection and of those immunities which belong to them as citizens, and given up to be the prey of ruffians and assassins, the popular theory of self-defence and the example of worldly patriotism in all ages authorize them to resist unto blood—to proclaim a war of extermination—to light up the fires of a new revolution—and to rally together upon the 'tented field,' armed and equipped for mortal combat. As a body, moreover, they are numerous. In physical strength and courage, as well as moral, they are powerful. *The causes which induced our revolutionary fathers to rush to the strife of blood, were as dust in the balance, compared with the anguish, outrage and peril to which abolitionists are subjected.* *Lib.* 5:139.

"Now, then, in view of this epitome of facts, let the inquiry be made, How have the abolitionists behaved under all these provocations, and exposed to all imaginable suffering? Have they, in a single instance, returned evil for evil? Who,

[1] Instantly confirmed by the comments of the Richmond papers on the meeting (*Lib.* 5:146). Thus, the *Whig*, of Aug. 27: "The people of the North must go to hanging these fanatical wretches if they would not lose the benefit of Southern trade; and they will do it." The *Enquirer* declared that the failure of Northern legislatures to restrain abolitionists from acts of aggression would be regarded as acquiescence, and the South would take decisive measures of defence, beginning with no fellowship, social or political.

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among them all, has given blow for blow? or who has girded on his sword? or who has recommended an appeal to force? Would not such conduct, on their part, astonish even their enemies? When rotten eggs and brickbats have been hurled at their heads, what have they sent in return? *Forgiveness.* When tar-and-feathers have been prepared for their persons, what recompense have they bestowed? *Forgiveness.* When their private and public meetings have been ruthlessly invaded, what course have they adopted to prevent a repetition of the outrage? *Forgiveness.* When their property has been burnt in the streets, and their lives hunted like partridges upon the mountains, what have they manifested by way of retaliation? Still—*forgiveness!* Why? Are they pusillanimous? Do they lack nerve? No. But they fear Him who says—'Vengeance is MINE—I will repay;' and they can love their enemies, bless them that curse, do good to them that hate, and pray for them which despitefully use and persecute them.

"We appeal to the world. The Society of Friends aside, what other body of men, whether political or religious, besides abolitionists, would suffer themselves to be insulted and outraged, and their meetings forcibly suppressed or systematically interrupted by their opponents, without making a prompt and violent appeal to the *lex talionis*? . . .

"Thanks be to God that the abolitionists are generally men of peace. The spirit of non-resistance and of forgiveness is omnipotent."

From his tranquil retreat at Friendship's Valley, Mr. Garrison sent to the *Liberator* his unstinted comments upon the principal speeches at the Faneuil Hall meeting, beginning with a letter to the Hon. Peleg Sprague. Whatever respect he had hitherto cherished for this person's character as a patriot and statesman, had fled on perusing his late speech. "In my opinion, there is not more of crime, or of moral turpitude, in firing a whole city—in committing highway robbery or murder—than in the delivery of such a speech, in such a place, on such an occasion, and under such circumstances." Human barbarity towards one's fellow-creatures, or impiety towards heaven, could go no further. At the judgment day, Mr. Sprague would be answerable, as

Lib. 5: 142.

far as one man could be, for all the horrors of American slavery. CHAP. XIV. 1835.

"Where are you, sir? In amicable companionship and popular repute with thieves and adulterers; with slaveholders, slave-dealers, and slave-destroyers; with those who call the beings whom God created but a little lower than the angels, *things* and *chattels;* with the proscribers of the great chart of eternal life; with the rancorous enemies of the friends of universal emancipation; with the disturbers of the public peace; with the robbers of the public mail; with ruffians who insult, pollute and lacerate helpless women; and with conspirators against the lives and liberties of New England citizens. *These facts are undeniable.* Talk not of more honorable associates, for no men deserve that epithet who throw the weight of their influence into the scale of oppression. Peradventure, you will ask, in due time, for the suffrages of Bostonians. Sir, we will remember you at the polls! . . . *Lib.* 5: 142.

"Sir, the Faneuil Hall meeting, though intended to strengthen the feeble hands and comfort the desponding hearts of Southern taskmasters, will in the sequel prove of more benefit to our cause than forty anti-slavery lectures and twice that number of tracts, prodigious as is their moral effect. It has already multiplied our converts, animated our zeal, and emboldened our spirit. . . .

"I mean to make your harangue, and the speeches of your associates, of signal use in the anti-slavery struggle. They are crowded with evidence of our national guilt, and clearly prove every allegation that has fallen from the lips of abolitionists — as shall be shown in the progress of this review. Upon your authority, henceforth, will I arraign the people of the free States — of New England — of Massachusetts — as the abettors, upholders and guardians of as tyrannous a system as the sun has looked down upon since his creation. Upon your authority I will prove that there is not a drop of blood extracted from the bodies, nor a tear which falls from the eyes, nor a groan which bursts from the bosoms of the heart-broken slaves, for which the North is not directly responsible. Sir, the more searchingly I investigate this great subject, the stronger is my conviction that hitherto I have erred — nay, that I have been alike unwise and partial — in declaiming so much against Southern, and so little against Northern criminality. I am not sure — especially since reading the speeches above alluded to —

CHAP. XIV. 1835. that, in the sight of God, (and it is of very little consequence how we stand in the sight of men), there is not more guilt attaching to the people of the free States from the continuance of slavery, than in those of the slave States. At least, I am ready to affirm, *upon your authority*, that New England is as really a slaveholding section of the republic as Georgia or South Carolina!"

To Peleg Sprague's taunt that the abolitionists affirmed "we must do right, regardless of consequences," but carefully avoided going to the South where they should most desire to make converts, Mr. Garrison rejoined:

Lib. 5: 142. "Sir, there may be wit, but there is little truth, in the above extract. To do right is always to regard consequences, both to ourselves and to others. Since you are pleased to banter us for prosecuting our labors at the North, I will take for my text the interrogation that is so constantly, either by ignorance or impudence, propounded to us. It is this:

"'*Why don't you go to the South?*'

"I proudly answer—Not because we are afraid to go there. Not because we are not prepared for danger, persecution, outrage, and death. Not because the dungeon, or the halter, the rack or the stake, appals us. Yet the question is sneeringly put, and sometimes with murder evidently in the heart, as if we were deficient in fortitude and courage, with all our seeming boldness. 'O, forsooth, it is very safe and convenient for Mr. Garrison to denounce the holders of slaves a thousand miles off, in Boston. A great deal of heroism is required to do this! But he is very careful to keep out of the slave States. Why don't he go to the South? Let him go there and denounce slavery, and we will then believe that he is sincere.'

"This is the language which is constantly uttered — by men, too, permit me to say, who have never peculiarly signalized themselves in any hazardous enterprise, whether moral or physical. I am vain enough to believe that those who bring this charge of cowardice against me, do not doubt my readiness to go wherever duty requires. Will they give me no credit for having published an anti-slavery publication in Maryland, as long as it could be sustained by meagre patronage? — a publication in which my denunciations of slavery and slaveholders were as severe as any to be found in the *Liberator*. Did my spirit quail under my imprisonment in a Southern cell, for

denouncing the domestic slave trade? And is it indeed true that I am hazarding neither my safety nor my life in my advocacy of freedom in Boston? Has no endurance, no unusual courage, been required to oppose all classes of society, and to sustain the odium, derision and hatred of a slaveholding nation? Is it nothing to have large rewards offered by a Southern legislature, and by private combinations, for my seizure and destruction? Sir, slaveholders and their apologists may call me a fanatic—they may call me a madman, or an incendiary, or an agitator, and believe me to be such; but to call me a coward—that is an epithet which they have too much good sense to believe is applicable to me, although they have so small a modicum of conscience as to resort to it. The Southern oppressors themselves regard me in any other light than that of a craven: all the trembling, and shrinking, and alarm is felt and manifested on their part—not on mine. I may be rash—I may be obstinate—but I fear no man or body of men. In this vindication of myself, I am simply vindicating every other abolitionist who is publicly engaged in this cause.

"'*Why don't you go to the South?*'

"Why, sir, when we denounce the tyranny exercised over the miserable Poles, do we not go into the dominions of the Russian autocrat, and beard him to his face? Why not go to Constantinople, and protest against the oppression of the Greeks? Why assail the despotic governments of Europe here in the United States?—Why, then, should we go into the slaveholding States, to assail their towering wickedness, at a time when we are sure that we should be gagged, or imprisoned, or put to death, if we went thither? Why rashly throw ourselves into the ocean, or commit ourselves to the flames, or cast ourselves into the jaws of the lion? Understand me, sir, I do not mean to say that even the *certainty* of destruction is, in itself, a valid reason for our refusing to go to the South;—for we are bound to take up any cross, or incur any peril, in the discharge of our duty to God and our suffering brother. Prove to me that it is imperatively my duty, in view of all the circumstances of the case, to locate myself among slaveholders, and I will not hesitate to do so, even (to borrow the strong language of Martin Luther) though every tile upon their houses were a devil. Moral courage—duty—self-consecration—all have their proper limits. When He who knew no fear—the immaculate Redeemer—saw that his enemies intended to cast him down from the brow of a hill, he prudently withdrew

CHAP. XIV. 1835. from their midst. When he sent forth his apostles, he said unto them, 'When they persecute you in one city, flee ye into another.' Was there any cowardice in this conduct, or in this advice?

"'*Why don't you go to the South?*'

"If we *should* go there, and fall — as fall we certainly should — martyrs to our zeal, our enemies would still call us, what we then should deserve to be called, *fanatics* and *madmen*. Pointing at our mangled bodies, they would commence their derisions afresh. 'Poor fools!' they would exclaim — 'insane enthusiasts! thus to rush into the cage of the tiger, with the certain knowledge that he would tear them in pieces!' And this, sir, would be the eulogy which they would pronounce over us!

"'*Why don't you go to the South?*'

"Because it is essential that the beam should first be cast out of the eyes of the people of the free States, before they attempt to cast out the mote in the eyes of the people of the slave States. Because they who denounce fraud, and cruelty, and oppression, should first become honest, and merciful, and free, themselves. 'Thou that sayest, a man should not steal — dost thou steal?' Thou that preachest, a man should not be a slaveholder — art thou a slaveholder? 'Physician, heal thyself!'

"'*Why don't you go to the South?*'

"Have I answered the question satisfactorily? If not, sir, you will help me to additional reasons for our staying here at the North, in my answer to another question which is iterated on all occasions — viz.

"'What have *we* to do with Southern slavery?'

"This question is put, sometimes with reference to legislation — at others, it refers to moral obligation. I answer, then, that WE, THE PEOPLE OF THE UNITED STATES, have legislated on the subject of slavery, and we have a right to legislate upon it, within certain limits. As to our moral obligation, it belongs to our nature, and is a part of our accountability, of which neither time nor distance, neither climate nor location, neither republican nor monarchical government, can divest us. Let there be but one slave on the face of the globe — let him stand on one extremity of the globe, and place me on the other — let every people, and tribe, and clime, and nation, stand as barriers between him and myself: still, I am bound to sympathize with him — to pray, and toil, and plead for his deliverance — to make known his wrongs, and vindicate his rights. It may not be in my power, it may not be my duty, directly to emancipate him;

for the power rests in the hands of the tyrant who keeps him in chains, and it is his duty to break them asunder. But it matters not, except to demand an increase of zeal and activity, if every interposing tribe or nation, if the whole world, is to be changed, before that solitary slave can go free. Then I will begin with him who stands next by my side, and with my associates, and with my country; and if the impulse must be sent by proxy, if every man, woman and child must be abolitionized by detail, before the captive can be disenthralled, I am nevertheless bound to commence the work, if no others will, and to coöperate with them if they have begun it. Why? Because he is my neighbor, though occupying the remotest point of the earth; and I am charged by the Lamb of God, the judge of quick and dead, to love my neighbor as myself. . . . Because by it an example is set which, if passively submitted to, *may lead to the enslavement of others* — of a community — of a people — of myself. *Enslave but a single human being, and the liberty of the world is put in peril.* . . . Hence it is, that whether I contemplate slavery singly or in the aggregate, my soul kindles within me — the entire man is moved with indignation and abhorrence — I cannot pause, I cannot slumber — I am ready for attack, and will admit of no truce and of no compromise. The war is a war of extermination; and I will perish before an inch shall be surrendered, seeing that the liberties of mankind, the happiness and harmony of the universe, and the authority and majesty of Almighty God, are involved in the issue. . . .

"What have *we* to do with Southern slavery? What has *England* to do with it? And yet, a few years since, the American Colonization Society (of which, Mr. Sprague, you are a champion) sent out an agent to that country to procure the charities of her philanthropists, in order to undermine and abolish American slavery — this being the great object of the Society, as stated to the British public by that Agent. Now, if *Old* England may meddle with this 'delicate' subject, surely *New* England may venture to do so likewise. If that which is remote is or ought to be interested in the abolition of American slavery, how much more that which is near!

"I rejoice — join with me in this exultation, friends of freedom! friends of humanity! — I rejoice that Old England did not meanly wrap herself up in the garb of indifference or selfishness, but acted in a manner worthy of her Christian renown. I am glad, and grateful, that she promptly responded to the call of the Agent of the American Colonization Society,

CHAP. XIV. 1835. *for assistance to put down American slavery;* and I honor her wisdom and discernment in *refusing to trust that Agent and his Society,* and in sending out to our aid *one whom she could trust*— one who was signally instrumental in bringing herself to repentance — one who has the confidence, and love, and admiration of her wisest and greatest and best of men and philanthropists— the self-sacrificing, the indefatigable, the courageous, the eloquent, the patriotic, the fearless THOMPSON! Sir, I shall come, in due course, to your scurrilous and ferocious attack upon the motives and designs of this devoted friend of God and man — an attack which is, upon the face of it, as malignant as the spirit of murder. GEORGE THOMPSON is the steadfast and sincere friend of this country, and will hereafter be ranked among her greatest benefactors. In respectability, sir, he is your equal; and in eloquence and intellectual strength, (and I extol your abilities), incomparably your superior."

Lib. 5: 146. With the second letter to Sprague we need not detain ourselves. It was no less pungent and forcible than the foregoing, nor less irresistible in its logic; but the handling was lighter. The orator's opening professions with regard to slavery,—that he had always regarded it as a great moral and political evil, and earnestly desired its entire abolition by the South,—were retorted upon him as those of the abolitionists, and as warranting the Richmond *Enquirer*, say, in offering a reward for his abduction, but for his blowing hot and cold in the same breath. And why so much uproar over *a few* abolitionists — with their, to be sure, six State and three hundred auxiliary associations, all formed since 1831 and in despite of persecution; and their four hundred meetings appointed for the next three months, as an offset to the series of Northern town meetings now in progress for their suppression? "So, then, we derive from our opponents these instructive but paradoxical facts — that without numbers, we are multitudinous; that without power, we are sapping the foundations of the confederacy; that without a plan, we are hastening the abolition of slavery; and that without reason or talent, we are rapidly converting the nation!" But, "the success

of any great moral enterprise does not depend upon numbers. Slavery will be overthrown before a majority of all the people shall have called voluntarily, and on the score of principle, for its abolition"—a striking prophecy, fulfilled to the very letter. CHAP. XIV. 1835.

Mr. Garrison's first letter to the Hon. Harrison Gray Otis was in a different tone, being tempered by a still lingering respect and personal attachment: *Lib.* 5: 142.

"In proceeding to review your speech, I am filled with sorrowful emotions. I remember how intimately associated is the name of OTIS with the revolutionary struggle that emancipated this nation from the thraldom of the mother country. You have dishonored that name—you have cast a stain of blood upon your reputation. You have presumed to lift up your voice, even in the very Cradle of Liberty, in panegyric of the vilest 'brokers in the trade of blood,' in denunciation of the best friends of insulted freedom, and in support of 'A BARGAIN' which, according to your own showing, is a loathsome compound of selfishness, oppression and villany. Well, therefore, in respect to yourself particularly, may I feel sad and indignant. Some of the earliest effusions of my pen were in earnest and generous defence of your character against the calumnies of your political adversaries; for in one particular, at least, there is a coincidence of suffering between us,—all manner of evil having been uttered against us FALSELY. It is my lot to be branded throughout this country as an agitator, a fanatic, an incendiary, and a madman. There is one epithet, I fervently desire to thank God, that has never been applied to me:—I have never been stigmatized as a *slaveholder*, or as *an apologist of slavery*. No—no! Bad as my traducers conceive me to be, they have never reduced me so low in the scale of humanity, nor so cruelly impeached my honesty, nor so aspersed my patriotism, as to bring so scandalous and degrading an accusation against me. As they have been *too conscientious* to throw that calumny upon my character, I cheerfully forgive them all the rest, and thank them for their magnanimity. *Lib.* 5: 142. *Ante*, pp. 47, 74, 120.

"On other occasions, sir, I have been your advocate. With youthful ardor I supported your nomination for the office of Governor of this Commonwealth. My maiden speech before a Boston audience was in your behalf, successfully urging the *Ante*, p. 47. *Ante*, p. 74.

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propriety of nominating you to represent this District on the floor of Congress. I never doubted your attachment to the Union of these States—I never believed you to be inimical to the rights of man. These disclosures I make,—not that I am any longer a politician, for I now view the politics of this country to be essentially corrupt and unholy,—but to show you that in my strictures I am not actuated by any political grudge, and that my regard for principle is stronger than my partiality for persons. That you still love liberty, I do not deny. Liberty for whom? For the black as well as the white man? O no! For yourself, your children, and your white countrymen—for tyrants, but not for slaves—for the strong and powerful, but not for the weak and needy—for the rapacious and violent, but not for the guiltless and submissive! That you are still a patriot, I care not to dispute; but your patriotism excludes one-sixth portion of your countrymen from its embrace, and talks approvingly of making two millions and a half of your species '*nonentities*'! That you hate oppression, I cannot doubt; but it is not the oppression of the black man, but only of the white!

"Sir, this great transgression of your life has been committed under circumstances of peculiar criminality. 'The frost of nearly three-score years and ten' is upon your head;—the hand of 'time and affliction' presses heavily upon you—your 'days are nearly numbered'; and you will be soon called to stand at the tribunal of Him who died to redeem as well the blackest as the whitest of our race! Yet, at this solemn period, you have not scrupled, nay, you have been ambitious, to lead and address an excited multitude, in vindication of all imaginable wickedness, embodied in one great system of crime and blood—to pander to the lusts and desires of the robbers of God and his poor—to consign over to the 'tender mercies' of cruel taskmasters multitudes of guiltless men, women and children—and to denounce as 'an unlawful and dangerous association' a society whose only object is to bring this nation to repentance, through the truth as it is in Jesus! You have made a speech in public, (in your opinion, 'probably for the last time,') to prove the *innocence* of the people of tho free States, because they have agreed to acquiesce in 'the claim of the South to consider their slaves [the rational, accountable creatures of God] as CYPHERS or NONENTITIES'—'to seize and restore runaway slaves'—to allow the master to 'exercise all the political rights *of the slave*, and that he

should be NOTHING'—and because, on framing the Federal Constitution, the whole nation was licensed to pursue, for twenty years longer, the foreign slave trade, which even *you* are compelled to designate as 'the abominable traffic!' 'Such,' you declare, 'is the bargain which we, THE PEOPLE OF THE UNITED STATES, have made with each other,'—'with our eyes open'—'with a full knowledge of all the circumstances of the case, of all the inducements to make it, of all the objections that could be made against it'!!—And then you have the infatuation or temerity to ask, 'In what age of the world, and among what people and states, was a compact ever made more *solemn* and SACRED?!!' . . .

"Sir, do you wish to put it within the power of impartial truth, after your death, to place upon your tombstone this awful inscription? If not, humble yourself before God, confess your sin, and lift up your voice in behalf of the perishing slave, as loudly as you have spoken in defense of his lordly master!

"Here lies the body of

H —— G —— O ——

* * * *

Reader, weep at human inconsistency and frailty!

The last public act of his life,

A life conspicuous for many honorable traits,

Was an earnest defense of

THE RIGHTS OF TYRANTS AND SLAVE-MONGERS

To hold in bondage, as their property,

The bodies and souls of millions of his own countrymen!

This was made in

'THE OLD CRADLE OF LIBERTY,'

In the year of our Lord, 1835, and the fifty-ninth of the

Declaration of American Independence!

Pause, terrible Truth!

He has gone to the judgment-seat of Christ!

'Inasmuch as ye did it not unto one of *the least* of these my brethren, ye did it not to me.'"

Mr. Otis's failure to find in the Scriptures any prohibition of slavery, and challenge to produce any, were met

CHAP. XIV. 1835. by an array of pertinent extracts from the Old and New Testaments. Then, after detailing the circumstances of the refusal of Faneuil Hall, three months before, by the city authorities, in response to the customary petition of citizens, for the needs of the New England Anti-Slavery Convention — as if the request were an "incendiary" one, and the proposed use of the hall would pollute it — Mr. Garrison declared: "*The cause of the bleeding slaves shall yet be pleaded in Faneuil Hall*, in tones as thrilling, in language as stirring, in eloquence as irresistible, as were ever heard within its walls."[1] And his letter closed with lofty assurances of the ultimate and speedy triumph of the cause of freedom.

We need not try to imagine the effect of these letters (we pass over the second to Mr. Otis) on the eminent men to whom they were addressed, and who assuredly had never been publicly impeached before in such a manner. It is possible that the same ignorance of the *Liberator's* contents which had permitted Messrs. Sprague and Otis to libel the abolitionists, saved their dignity from being deeply wounded. To the editors of the city press, and to the public at large so far as the letters could reach them at first or second hand, there was something almost sacrilegious in Mr. Garrison's censure, particularly of Otis.[2] An obscure young man, not yet thirty, whose name was

Boston Atlas, Oct. 22, 1835; *Right and Wrong in Boston*, 1836, (1) p. 57.

[1] This prediction was recalled by its maker in Faneuil Hall itself when first opened by the city authorities to the abolitionists on Jan. 24, 1839; on which occasion "it was an affecting and thrilling sight to see the venerable SETH SPRAGUE, of Duxbury, (father of Peleg Sprague of this city,) stand up in the very place where his son stood in 1835, advocating with all his soul a cause which that son had so strongly reprobated as detrimental to the Union, and repugnant to the spirit of the U. S. Constitution" (*Lib.* 9: 19, 25).

[2] At the impeachment trial of Judge Prescott, April 26, 1821, Josiah Quincy, Jr., of the then graduating class at Harvard College, had on either side of him "personages of no less importance than President Kirkland and Harrison Gray Otis. This was much," he remarks, sixty years afterwards, "as if a student of Columbia College should find himself sitting between Secretary Evarts and Cardinal McCloskey on an occasion of great public interest. No, it would not be the same thing, after all; for none of the conspicuous men of to-day tower so majestically above the rest of the world as their predecessors seemed to rise above the smaller communities which were subject unto them" ('Figures of the Past,' p. 47).

unknown to Puritan or later annals, who had no college training to recommend him to an aristocracy based partly upon wealth and partly upon training, who was beyond the usual social restraints, and professed no church connection while manifesting the fervor of a revivalist, was attacking (so it must have seemed, instead of simply repelling) the sum and flower and very type of "respectability." Such audacity could but scandalize the class to which Messrs. Otis and Sprague belonged, and whose pent-up violence was now shortly to be visited upon Mr. Garrison. CHAP. XIV. 1835.

Meantime, let us see how the editor of the *Liberator* was passing his temporary exile in Brooklyn. Two days after his arrival he writes to Henry Benson in Boston:

"We are all on the tiptoe of expectation, and wait with great impatience for the arrival of the mail this forenoon. It may be, after all, that the Faneuil Hall meeting will prove anything but satisfactory to the fiery spirits of the South, for they have already declared that to '*rebuke*' the fanatics will effect nothing, and that they will be satisfied with nothing short of the suppression of anti-slavery presses by legal enactments or mobocratic violence. As for ourselves, you know, we care not what course the enemy pursues: — whether he threatens or rebukes, whether he is placable or furious, our cause is sure, and will go ahead. *MS. Aug.* 24, 1835.

"The quietude of Brooklyn is refreshing to my spirit. It seems as if the moral elements had suddenly become hushed, and that violence, oppression and sin no longer abounded in our land. Would it were so indeed! . . .

"Unless you and friend K. supply me pretty freely and very regularly with letters and papers, I shall not be able to content myself here long, away from the field of strife. I trust Mr. K. will examine all the papers carefully, and cut out of them every paragraph that meets his eyes relative to our subject." *Isaac Knapp.*

To the same and Knapp jointly he writes, August 29, that he has received the *Atlas* containing the Faneuil Hall speeches. "They are all bad, but Sprague's is truly diabolical. I have sent you a letter to him for the next paper, and do not mean to spare him. Another letter — *MS.*

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to Otis — I shall send by the next conveyance. That meeting, with its speeches, will do our cause immense good — there can be no doubt of it. . . . I wish brother Thompson would prepare a reply to Sprague's murderous attack." They must advise him [Garrison] when to return. Though enjoying himself in Brooklyn, he is ready to start at any moment. On September 1, to Geo. W. Benson in Providence, he writes that he shall probably remain a week or ten days longer. "Our enemies are working bravely to put down slavery — God grant they may succeed! Give my choicest affections to all my dear brethren in P.; I trust none of us will prove recreant to our God, our country, the cause of the slave, and the interests of mankind. The arm of the Almighty will be made bare in our defence."

Geo. Thompson.

To Henry Benson, September 3, acknowledging a missive "addressed to 'George Benson,' alias Wm. Lloyd Garrison":

MS.

"Every line from you, assuring me of the continued safety and repose of dear Thompson, awakens thankfulness to God in my heart. I am rather sorry that he has concluded to visit Plymouth [N. H.] at present; for, though his personal risk may not be great, yet it is more than probable that if he attempts to speak, the meeting will be disturbed. There is yet too much fever, and too little rationality, in the public mind, either for him or any of us to make addresses to the patient without having him attempt to knock us down. Write — print — distribute — this we may do with profit to our cause. I am glad to learn from you that the public curiosity still continues to thirst after our publications. Let it have a full supply — for, though we have not sown to the wind, hitherto, yet we are able to reap *in* the whirlwind. The resolutions and speeches of our enemies will furnish us with an inexhaustible supply of arms and ammunition to carry on the war. I would not take a thousand dollars for those that were adopted and delivered in what was once the old Cradle of Liberty. . . . Let our step be firm — our demeanor dignified — our speech just and fearless. . . .

J. H. Garrison.

"You write nothing about brother James. Has he yet sailed from Boston? and if so, under what circumstances did he leave?

My heart bleeds over him. God is merciful and long-suffering — and there lies all my hope of his complete restoration." CHAP. XIV. 1835.

To George W. Benson, at Providence, September 4:

"How imminent is the danger that hovers about the persons of our friends George Thompson and Arthur Tappan! Rewards for the seizure of the latter are multiplying — in one place they offer three thousand dollars for his *ears* — a purse has been made up, *publicly*, of $20,000, in New Orleans, for his person. I, too, — I desire to bless God, — am involved in almost equal peril. I have just received a letter written evidently by a friendly hand, in which I am apprised that 'my life is sought after, and a reward of $20,000 has been offered for my head by six Mississippians.' He says — 'Beware of the assassin! May God protect you!' and signs himself 'A Marylander, and a resident of Philadelphia.'"[1] *MS.* *Lib.* 5: 153, 157.

To the same, September 12:

"Rumor is very busy in disposing of the persons of abolitionists. One day, she sends Arthur and Lewis Tappan across the Atlantic as fast as the winds and waves can carry them. On the next, she puts you into Providence jail, at the suggestion of your friends, for safe keeping from your enemies. Thompson she transports to Pittsburgh; and she says I am here because I dare not go back to Boston. It is thus we relieve the tediousness and monotony of those who have nothing to do but to scandalize and gossip. *MS. to G. W. Benson.*

"I have just received a letter from Brother May, written immediately after his meeting was broken up by a shower of brickbats, &c., in Haverhill. By the tone of it you would suppose he had done something better than making a fortune. He manifests a lofty spirit and indomitable courage. *September* 2, 1835. *Lib.* 5: 143; *May's Recollections, p.* 152.

"Our brother Thompson had a narrow escape from the mob at Concord, and Whittier was pelted with mud and stones, but *Lib.* 5: 157; *Kennedy's J. G. Whittier, p.* 112a.

[1] About the same time must have reached Mr. Garrison a precious MS. document, postage ($1.50) wilfully unpaid, mailed in his care from Pocotaligo, S. C., by W. Ferguson Hutson, Secretary of the Vigilance Committee of Prince William's Parish, and addressed to Levi Woodbury, of New Hampshire, as the supposed author of "a certain incendiary publication called Human Rights." The writer hints at offering rewards for the abduction of "the leading men who are thirsting for our blood" — "your Tappans, Garrisons, and Woodburys" — and thinks the Yankees would readily turn to "vending more profitable notions than wooden nutmegs."

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he escaped bodily damage. His soul, being intangible, laughed at the salutation.

"That some of us will be assassinated or abducted, seems more than probable — but there is much apparent, without any real danger. There is a whole eternity of consolation in this assurance — he who loses his life for Christ's sake shall find it. 'To die is to gain.'

> "'The soul, secured in her existence, smiles
> At the drawn dagger, and defies its point.'

Thomas S. Grimké.

"Angelina E. Grimké, sister of the lamented Grimké, has sent me a soul-thrilling epistle, in which, with a spirit worthy of the best days of martyrdom, she says — 'A *hope* gleams across my mind, that *our* blood will be spilt, instead of the slaveholders'; *our* lives will be taken, and theirs spared.'[1] Is not this Christ-like?

"The Southern clergy are openly abandoning their God, and bowing down to Satan, the prince of men-stealers. They are indeed 'greedy dogs, and dumb dogs that cannot bark,' except at abolitionists. They will not frighten you, nor

"Your brother, W. L. G."

MS. Sept. 12, 1835.

On the same day he wrote to Henry Benson, with reference to the mobbing of Thompson at Concord: "These things cannot last long, but while they do last, we had better not attempt to lecture. I think our first public meeting in Boston ought to be with reference, exclusively, to the abolition of slavery in the District of Columbia." He should not return to Boston till the week after next, as George W. Benson was coming to Brooklyn on a visit. "Helen is filled with anxiety and alarm on my account. She trembles when she thinks of

Mrs. Garrison.

[1] The full sentence reads: "At one time I thought this system would be overthrown in blood, with the confused noise of the warrior; but a hope, etc." (see *Lib.* 5:150, and the pamphlet published by Isaac Knapp in 1836, in which Miss Grimké's letter stands third in the table of contents). "It comes to us," said the editor in the *Liberator*, "as the voice of an angel. . . . Yes, we respond to her cheering declaration, ***This is a cause worth dying for*** — dying, not in the midst of carnage, upon the battlefield, but upon the scaffold, in the dungeon, or at the stake, unresistingly, bearing testimony to the truth as it is in Jesus, and in imitation of his illustrious example. If by the shedding of *our* blood the lives of our enemies may be saved, let it be shed. Father, thy will be done!" (*Lib.* Sept. 19, 1835).

our returning to Boston: probably there is less danger than she imagines." CHAP. XIV. 1835.

To George W. Benson, Thursday A. M., September 17:

MS.

"Jail or no jail, we are expecting to see you in Brooklyn to-morrow noon, or on Saturday at farthest. . . .

"I suppose you have heard of the presentation of a stout gallows to me, at 23 Brighton Street, Boston, by order of Judge Lynch. It was destroyed by the city authorities.[1] I regret that it was not preserved for our Anti-Slavery Museum. Thompson has presented a brickbat to it, but this would have been a more substantial curiosity.

"The slave States continue to be excessively agitated. They appear to have organized Vigilance Committees and Lynch Clubs in various places. The most daring propositions are made in the open face of heaven for the abduction of Arthur Tappan, George Thompson, and myself. Public and private appropriations of money, to a large amount, are made for our seizure. Our preservation is remarkable. I presume that our principal cities will be visited by assassins, legalized by the 'State Rights' Government to destroy us. It matters not. To the obedient, death is no calamity. If we perish, our loss will but hasten the destruction of slavery more certainly. My mind is full of peace—I know what it is to rejoice in tribulation.

"The two rival political parties, Whigs and Jacksonians or Van Buren men, are striving to see who will show the most

[1] This incident is thus referred to in the *Liberator* of Sept. 19 (5:151): "A HEAVY PRESENT.—On Thursday night [Sept. 17], some persons (who evidently belong to that thriftless crew who are spoken of in holy writ as laboring in vain, and spending their strength for nought,) at considerable cost and trouble, but with the utmost quietude, erected a substantial gallows in front of our domicil, by order of their master, Beelzebub. It was made in real workmanship style, of *maple joist*, five inches through—8 or 9 feet high—for the accommodation of two persons. Two ropes were suspended at equal distances, with knots in hanging order—signifying, perhaps, that JUSTICE is about speedily to execute those twin-monsters, SLAVERY and COLONIZATION. By 9 o'clock in the morning the street was thronged with curious spectators, and soon after the city authorities ordered it to be sawed up and removed: no disturbance ensued. . . . 'So they hanged Haman on the gallows that he had prepared for Mordecai.'" An eye-witness remembers that it was decorated with sea-weed gathered from the conveniently near tide-water. It also bore the superscription, "By order of Judge Lynch." "If the Judge has arrived here," said the *Post*, "we advise him to take private lodgings while he stays, and clear out as soon as possible—he has got into the wrong box. Garrison has taken off his door-plate."

CHAP. XIV. 1835. hatred towards us, and do us the most injury, in order to win Southern votes. They are all ferocious and unprincipled, caring not for God—truth—honesty—or justice."

Mr. Garrison's fellow-tenant of the gallows (in the makers' intention) was meantime writing him as follows:

George Thompson to W. L. Garrison.

MS.

MARBLEHEAD BEACH, Tuesday night,
September 15, 1835.

MY DEAR BROTHER GARRISON: Your letter of the 3d, obtained on my return from the Granite State, was truly refreshing. Its advice with reference to my visit to Plymouth [N. H.] was received too late. I am not sorry, as I had the privilege of giving three lectures to quiet, respectable, and very intelligent audiences, including many of the delegates to the General Association, then in session. We had a delightful sojourn under the roof of our truly excellent friend, N. P. Rogers. He is a charming man—as a companion I hardly know a man with superior endowments. A full mind; ready, polished wit, and a comprehensive and glowing heart: the whole adorned and sanctified by the influences of religion, which I believe he humbly but deeply enjoys.

You would have been delighted to have shared our adventures in *Concord* (??) on the memorable night of the 4th inst. The mirthful and the melancholy were so strangely and equally blended throughout, that I scarcely know which had the advantage, and certainly could not tell the story of our "hair-breadth 'scapes" without exciting your risibility. However, my escape from the ignorant and murderous rabble that clamored and thirsted for my blood was very providential, and I desire to feel grateful to Him who I believe watches over our persons and our cause, and will restrain the malice of our foes, or cause our sufferings to advance his glory.

Lib. 5:157; *Kennedy's J. G. Whittier, p.* 112.

Poor Whittier was compelled to receive a tithe of the vengeance accumulated for me. I had really little expectation and less desire to be stoned by proxy, but such is the fruit of keeping bad company. My friends must be cautious lest perchance they be made the vicarious victims of that wrath which has been kindled by the "foreign emissary."

The signs of the times are encouraging. I do not think the Boston *Gazette* is quite right in saying, "The public press, with

scarcely an exception, is now out in opposition to the anti-slavery party." There are, Mr. *Gazette*, many noble and very cheering exceptions: instance the New York *Evening Post*, New York *Sun*, Salem *Gazette*, &c., &c. And even the Boston *Courier* appears to be looking out afar — elevating his nose like a pig in the wind — and carefully oiling the pivot of the vane that it may easily tack about when the right breeze shall spring up. I have this day's *Courier* before me. It contains the first of a series of letters to Messrs. Otis, Sprague and Fletcher, taking anti-slavery ground, and having many shrewd and just remarks. If the others are as good, good will follow from their publication. Buckingham evidently cares little for the South. He commends the resolutions offered at New Haven as substitutes for those brought forward by the pro-slavery party, and adds: "In most of the resolutions passed on this subject [abolition] in the Northern States there is a *lamentable want of self-respect*, and manifestations of an *overflowing spirit of cowardly truckling to Southern arrogance and presumption.*

Joseph T. Buckingham.

May, who was with me to-day, informed me that a recent Southern paper has stated that if the prominent fanatics were not put down by the strong arm of the Law in the North, ASSASSINATION *would cease to be reprehensible or dishonorable.* Such writing must do good. Let the South go the whole length of the rope, and let there henceforth be no mistake about the meaning of the words "Southern chivalry," "highmindedness," "nobility," "bravery," "generosity," &c., &c.

S. J. May.

I have greatly admired all the articles you have written since the recent tornado commenced. Go on, go on. One word of counsel — no, suffer the expression of a thought. There is now *enough excitement.* An appetite to read has been created, and this is the time for a full, dignified and explicit development of our principles, and a calm retrospect of the course we have pursued. Might not these be woven into the replies to the Faneuil Hall Triumvirate? Hundreds are now just awake on the subject. I want their first food to be simple, pure and nourishing. . . .

The final editorial directions to Henry Benson from his brother-in-law were as follows, under date of Saturday, September 19:

"Your letter of the 16th, with a bundle of papers, was brought here yesterday by brother George. I have gone over

MS. G. W. Benson.

Isaac Knapp.

their contents minutely, and now send the fruits of my *scissors*. Friend K. will be puzzled to know how to meet such a rush of matter in the best way — but in another week I will relieve him. Let all these, with the other selections, be most carefully preserved. Let the last page — except poetry column — be filled up with the pieces *favorable* to our side, especially those which come from papers *not* abolition, as they will have more weight than others. Of course, the first page may be filled with the 'Refuge.' As it is difficult to dispose of long articles, let the shortest have the precedence as a general rule. We will not insert the whole proceedings of any other public meetings than those already published — I will make a synopsis of them all. Those pieces which tell of new outrages at the South, and of the designs of the Southerners, should be promptly inserted."

END OF VOLUME ONE.